



*HISTORICAL GRAMMAR  
OF  
INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS*

*Deccan College Dissertation Series*

3

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR  
OF  
INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS

By  
M. A. MISHRA

DECCAN COLLEGE  
FOUNDED BY AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE  
POONA

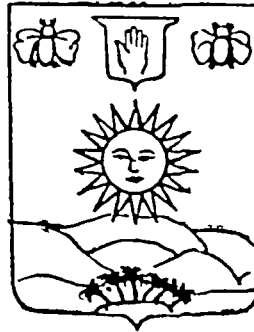
# HISTORICAL GRAMMAR OF INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS

By

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M A , Ph D (Bombay)

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RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED  
TO  
MAJOR GENERAL HIS HIGHNESS FARZAND-I-KHAS-I-DOULAT-I-INGLISHIA  
/ MAHARAJA SIR PRATAPSIKHA GAEKWAR,  
SENAKHASKHEL, SHAMSHER BAHADUR  
G. C. I. E., LL. D.,  
MAHARAJA OF BARODA  
PATRON OF  
ORIENTAL LEARNING AND LIBERAL EDUCATION  
BY  
THE AUTHOR  
WITH FEELINGS OF DEEP GRATITUDE



## PREFACE

August 17, 1939 saw the reopening of the old Deccan College as the Deccan College Postgraduate and Research Institute providing facilities for research to young graduates. I had the good fortune of joining this Institute since its very inception as a research scholar and of remaining there for about four years until I finished my thesis for the Ph.D. degree. It was a happy coincidence for me to have Dr. S. M. KATRE, the Institute's present Director, as my research guide, and it was he who suggested to me the theme of the present work as a subject for Ph.D. thesis and enabled me to complete my work on it.

When the present work was submitted to the University of Bombay for the doctorate degree, it comprised the study of only the Prakrits in the Brāhmī inscriptions. Subsequently when the thesis was approved for the degree, the study of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions and the early Lena inscriptions from Ceylon was added to it before the copy was sent to the press for publication. It was then intended also to include a complete index verborum to the present work. But it was found that the addition of such an index would much increase the extent of the work, which even as it stands has run into some 400 pages. The cost of publication also having far exceeded the normal expectation it was decided to drop the index verborum but give the subject index in a general way.

It is, however, planned to make good this defect by bringing out later another volume, serving as a companion to the present one, giving the texts of the inscriptions and a complete etymological and comparative index verborum. This second volume would bring together the texts of all Prakrit inscriptions, save those of Aśoka, the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, the Barhut inscriptions and the Udayagiri and the Khandagiri inscriptions which are easily available at one place in the works of HULTZSCH, KONOW, and BARUA. True, the versions of Aśoka's Minor Rock Edict discovered at Kopbal and Yerrāguḍi are not to be found in HULTZSCH's edition. But that affords little justification for publishing the whole group once more. Taken together, these two volumes will have given full treatment to the subject of Inscriptional Prakrits.

The corrigenda to the present work gives only important corrections. It was found out by me at a very late stage that the press had not sufficient types to show short or long ( ~ ) and the mistakes due to this shortage have crept in at many places. Thus in all the cases where I had intended to mean short or long ( ~ ), the printing shows only long ( - ). I crave the indulgence of readers for not having corrected such mistakes in the corrigenda.

Before I conclude it is my pleasant duty to acknowledge my debt to various persons and institutions. First and foremost, I have been laid under heavy obligations by His Highness the Maharajasaheb of Baroda by his kind consent to allow me to dedicate this work to him. The Government of Baroda have always sought to champion the cause of Oriental learning and the dedication of this Volume to His Highness is an humble token of that benevolent patronage.

Next, I feel an altogether different pleasure in acknowledging my debt to Dr S M KATTE. Not only do I owe him the suggestion to carry on research in this fruitful field but I am also indebted to him for his guidance and valuable advice throughout the period for which I was engaged on this work. It is indeed difficult for me to give an adequate expression to my deep sense of gratitude to Dr KATTE.

I am also indebted to all scholars who have earlier worked in this field and have done much to decipher and interpret the Prakrit inscriptions. It is on the labour of these sages that I have built up the present edifice.

I take this opportunity to express my thanks to the Librarian and the Library staff of the Deccan College Research Institute for the help they gave me in getting on loan many books from outside libraries.

So far as the printing of the work is concerned I am glad to express once more my indebtedness to Dr KATTE for his kind consent to include the publication in the Institute's Dissertation Series. But for this arrangement I am doubtful whether the work would have appeared in a book form for many years to come. I have also to express my sincere thanks to Mr M M PATKAR for all the troubles he has taken in seeing the work carefully through the press.

In conclusion I have pleasure in acknowledging my indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the grant in aid received by me from the University towards the cost of publication of this work.

M A MEHENDALE

## ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ABORI</i>	Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute
<i>A<sub>1</sub> Gr</i>	Altindische Grammatik, by J. WACKERNAGEL.
<i>Amara</i>	Amarāvati Inscriptions
<i>Aś</i>	Aśokan Inscriptions
<i>b</i>	Bairāt Minor Rock Edict
<i>Banav</i>	Banavāsī Inscriptions
<i>bb</i>	Barābar Cave Inscriptions
<i>BDCRI</i>	Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute.
<i>bh</i>	Bairāt Bhābrū Minor Rock Edict.
<i>Bhaṭṭ</i>	Bhaṭṭiprolu Inscriptions
<i>Bhar</i>	Bharaut Inscriptions.
<i>Bodh</i>	Bodhgayā Inscriptions
<i>br</i>	Brahmagiri Minor Rock Edict
<i>BSOS</i>	Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies
<i>CII</i>	Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum
<i>Centr Gr</i>	Central Indian Group of Inscriptions
<i>Cop Pl</i>	Copper-Plate Inscriptions
<i>D</i>	Dhaulī Rock Edict
<i>d</i>	Dhaulī Separate Edict
<i>EI</i>	Epigraphia Indica.
<i>EZ</i>	Epigraphia Zeilenica
<i>G</i>	Girnār Rock Edict.
<i>H</i>	Hemacandra
<i>IA</i>	Indian Antiquary
<i>IHQ</i>	Indian Historical Quarterly
<i>Ind Cul</i>	Indian Culture.
<i>J</i>	Jaugaḍa Rock Edict.
<i>j</i>	Jaugaḍa Separate Edict.
<i>JAOS</i>	Journal of the American Oriental Society
<i>JASB</i>	Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
<i>JBBRAS</i>	Journal of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society
<i>JBORS</i>	Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society
<i>Jogī</i>	Jogīmārā Inscription
<i>JPASB</i>	Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal
<i>JRS</i>	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
<i>r</i>	Jatinga-Rāmeśvara Minor Rock Edict
<i>K</i>	Kālsī Rock Edict.
<i>kb</i>	Allahabad Kauśāmbī Pillar Edict (Minor)
<i>Khair</i>	Khairigarh Inscription
<i>Kolh</i>	Kolhāpur Inscription.
<i>kpb</i>	Kopbāl Rock Edict.
<i>Kq</i>	The so-called "Queen's Edict" at Allahabad
<i>ksb</i>	Allahabad Kauśāmbī Pillar Edict.
<i>L</i>	Lüders' List of Prakrit Inscriptions.
<i>M</i>	Mānschrā Rock Edict
<i>Mahāsth</i>	Mahāsthān Inscription
<i>Malav</i>	Malavallī Inscriptions.
<i>Math</i>	Mathurā Inscriptions.
<i>Mat</i>	Mattepāḍ Inscription
<i>Mbh</i>	Mahābhārata.
<i>M<sub>1</sub></i>	Delhi-Merath Pillar Edict.
<i>B</i>	

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Varanasi )  
December, October, 1947 )

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## INTRODUCTION

§ 1 *Historical Linguistics* The science of Linguistics which now forms a very important chapter in the Book of Knowledge seems to have passed through three well-distinguished stages before it attained its present status. The first stage was marked by the studies of individual languages mostly as they were recorded in literature. India can rightly claim to have given birth to the pioneers of the Linguistic Science in its cradle. Though pre-Pāṇinian efforts in Linguistics are only partially shadowed in the *Prāśākhya*s, the *Nighaṇṭu*, and the *Nirukta*, Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*<sup>1</sup> bears ample evidence to the remarkable intelligence of the scholars who indulged in linguistic discussions centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. This tradition of studying individual languages was upheld in later centuries by Prakrit grammarians who unfortunately lacked the unique grasp of the methods pursued by their forerunners in this field. The very method of studying the grammar of a particular language and especially of the literary type exposed the efforts of these early linguists to two glaring defects. First, they failed to study these languages from a comparative stand-point which could be developed only when a particular language was studied in relation to other cognate languages comprising one family. It is due to this defect in approach that those otherwise giant linguists failed to give to posterity the picture of a language in its proper perspective from the point of view of linguistic changes introduced in it at various stages. Secondly, the materials with which they raised their structures were mostly drawn from literature. Now it is well-known that a language lives its true life not in literature but in the form in which it is brought into daily use by the people. These early scholars, however, remained content with the examples drawn from standardised languages which were more or less fossilized in literature.

As it happened, this science of Linguistics which was once so vigorously studied here in India, suffered a long break after the first millennium of our era. The stage of scholarship was then shifted to the west in Europe and America where this science began its history early in the nineteenth century. It was at the hands of the Western scholars that Linguistics attained the second stage in its development which may be styled as Comparative Linguistics. The discovery of Sanskrit to the Western Scholars had almost a revolutionising effect on the theories previously held by them. The importance of Sanskrit and especially of Vedic Sanskrit was quickly appreciated, and its study was zealously undertaken in all Universities<sup>2</sup>. Immediately languages began to be grouped in various families and were studied within and without these family limits from a comparative stand-point. This method of comparing a particular linguistic phenomenon in a language either within the bounds of its own lingu-

---

1 For fresh approaches to our grammatical heritage cf. Paul THIEME'S *Pāṇini and the Veda* and Barend FADEGON'S *Studies on Pāṇini's Grammar*. The latter work points out that some of Pāṇini's conceptions are even more scientific than those enunciated by modern linguists.

2 For some monumental work done in the field of OIA Linguistics cf. Jacob WACKERNAGEL'S *Altindische Grammatik*, Louis RENOU'S *Grammaire Sanscrite* and in India Bala Krishna GHOSH'S *Linguistic Introduction to Sanskrit*.



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As it happened, this science of Linguistics which was once so vigorously studied here in India, suffered a long break after the first millennium of our era. The stage of scholarship was then shifted to the west in Europe and America where this science began its history early in the nineteenth century. It was at the hands of the Western scholars that Linguistics attained the second stage in its development which may be styled as Comparative Linguistics. The discovery of Sanskrit to the Western Scholars had almost a revolutionising effect on the theories previously held by them. The importance of Sanskrit and especially of Vedic Sanskrit was quickly appreciated, and its study was zealously undertaken in all Universities<sup>2</sup>. Immediately languages began to be grouped in various families and were studied within and without these family limits from a comparative stand-point. This method of comparing a particular linguistic phenomenon in a language either within the bounds of its own lingu-

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istic family or outside it helped to solve many of the shelved linguistic riddles. The school of Junggrammatiker which was founded at this stage largely contributed to give this science a shape which it held till recently.

But as days rolled on the 'Jung' became old and their methods antiquated. As the discovery of Sanskrit helped the early linguists to strike at the comparative approach, the fortuitous discoveries of Hittite and Tocharian heralded the advance of Historical Linguistics.<sup>3</sup> This science had then come of age and had particularly outgrown that stage when all brains were directed towards the reconstruction of PIE forms. The new historical approach to the study of languages lays emphasis not merely on the comparative study but also on the chronological and the regional one. The knowledge of PIE which we have today is based on the faulty method of comparing documents belonging to different centuries and countries. Torn as this data is of wide gaps both in chronology and geography, the structure of PIE built on it does not correspond to a synchronic state. Historical linguistics seeks to rectify this defect. It will not now suffice to cite parallels from different languages comprising a particular family, it is now almost imperative to give the date and geographical location of this parallel. All future work based on this point of Historical Linguistics should thus be primarily directed towards the fixing of the chronology of a given linguistic family.

§2 *Importance of Prakrit Inscriptions* In spite of the efforts of a band of scholars working in the east and west in the field of MIA, a comprehensive linguistic grammar of this family has not yet been attempted. Even the monumental work of PISCHEL suffers from the absence of Pāli and inscriptional Prakrits. "What is needed today to place MIA grammar on a sound foundation is a very comprehensive linguistic grammar of all dialects which strictly belong to the MIA field, namely the three types of non-classical Sanskrit (Jaina, Buddhist and Epic Sanskrit), the Prakrits of the inscriptions from Aśoka downwards, the religious Prakrits (Pāli, Ardhamāgadhī, Jaina Mahārāṣṭrī and Jaina Śaurasenī), the Prakrits found outside India as in the Prakrit Dhammapada or the Kharoṣṭhī Documents, the Prakrits found in Classical Sanskrit plays and in the Prakrit lyric poetry (Mahārāṣṭrī) and finally in Apabhramśa and in the grammatical and rhetorical literature"<sup>4</sup> Of all these sections the importance of Prakrit Inscriptions, which form one part of the MIA field, to the study of Historical Linguistics can never be overrated. They are very widely scattered all over India and range from about the middle of the third century B.C. to the end of the fourth century A.D. The all important advantage which they easily yield is that they can be definitely localised in point of place and very much approximately in point of time. And once the venue of these inscriptions and their period are ascertained it would be easy to scrutinise them in their space-time context.

With the meagre advance made till today in the laborious task of publishing

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3 Importance of these languages to the study of Indo-European grammar is shown by the remarkable results arrived at by BENVENISTE in France and KURYLOWICZ in Poland. They are revolutionary especially in theories of PIE vocalic system. cf. E. BENVENISTE, *Origines européennes I* Krakow 1935, J. KURYLOWICZ, *Etudes indo*

4 S. M. KATRE, Presidential Address to the Philology and Indian Linguistics Section, 9th All-India Oriental Conference, Trivandrum, 1937. *Proceedings and Transactions*, pp. 1165-90.

critical editions of Prakrit works, the importance of Prakrit inscriptions will be still more felt from a different angle. Similar attempts based on Historical Linguistics if applied to literary remains will be seriously hampered in the absence of definite chronology of Prakrit writings. As long as the literary works in Prakrit have not been critically edited this vast literature will remain an uncultivated field. It is a piece of good fortune, however, that scholars like ALSDORF in Germany and P. L. VAIDYA, Hiralal JAIN, and A. N. UPADHYE in India have started to supply this badly felt need.

There is also one more factor, and certainly of not less significance, which adds to the value of Inscriptional Prakrits. Literary compositions, since they are usually written by accomplished writers and are meant for the advanced classes in society, do not perfectly reflect the language of the people. On the other hand the very nature of a very large number of Prakrit inscriptions which are donative guards them from this defect. They were essentially recorded by the people and for the people which naturally led them to be of the people. The dialects, or at the least the dialectal variations recorded in them are, therefore, the best available representatives of the living forms of speech which were current in different regions of India in those days. It is not, however, intended to suggest that these inscriptions, especially the long ones written in an artificial style, are altogether free from literary influences.

§3 *Distribution of Prakrit Inscriptions* It has been already noted above that these inscriptions are widely distributed both in point of time and place. It will not be out of place here to give the details of these inscriptions from the point of their distribution. Leaving aside the inscriptions of Aśoka whose geographical locations are well known, all the rest can be conveniently divided into four groups viz. the Western, the Southern, the Central and the Eastern.

### I PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE WESTERN GROUP

It may be noted that almost all of them come from the districts of Mahārāṣṭra

1	E. Khandesh Dt.	Pittalkhorā	2nd cent. B.C.	7
2	Nasik Dt.	Nāsik	1st cent. B.C. to 1st or 2nd cent. A.D.	25
3	Thana Dt.	Vakālā	3rd cent. B.C.	5
4	Bombay	(i) Padana (ii) Kanherī	1st cent. A.D. 1st or 2nd cent. A.D.	10 25
5	Kolaba Dt.	(i) Koṇḍāne (ii) Kuḍā (iii) Kōl (iv) Mahād	2nd cent. B.C. 2nd or 1st cent. B.C. 1st cent. A.D. 2nd cent. A.D.	1 25 3 3
6	Poona Dt.	(i) Bhājā (ii) Beḍṣā (iii) Kārle (iv) Nānāghāt (v) Junnar (vi) Śailārwaḍī	2nd cent. B.C. 2nd cent. B.C. 2nd cent. B.C. and 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. 2nd or 1st cent. B.C. and 1st cent. A.D. 1st cent. B.C. to 1st cent. A.D. 1st cent. A.D.	8 3 49 9 34 1



7	Bhor State	Nādsur	2nd cent. B C	2
8	Satara Dt.	Karāḍ	1st cent. B C	1
9	Kolhapur State	Kolhāpur	2nd cent. B C	1
10	N Canara Dt.	Banavāsī	2nd cent. A D	1
11	Aurangabad Dt.	Ajaṇṭā	2nd cent. B C	3
	(Nizam's Dominions)			
[12	Kangra Dt	Paṭhyār	3rd cent. B C	1]
	(Punjab)	As this find-spot lies in the North it is not shown in the map		

## II PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE SOUTHERN GROUP

This group comprises the Telugu and the Kannada districts

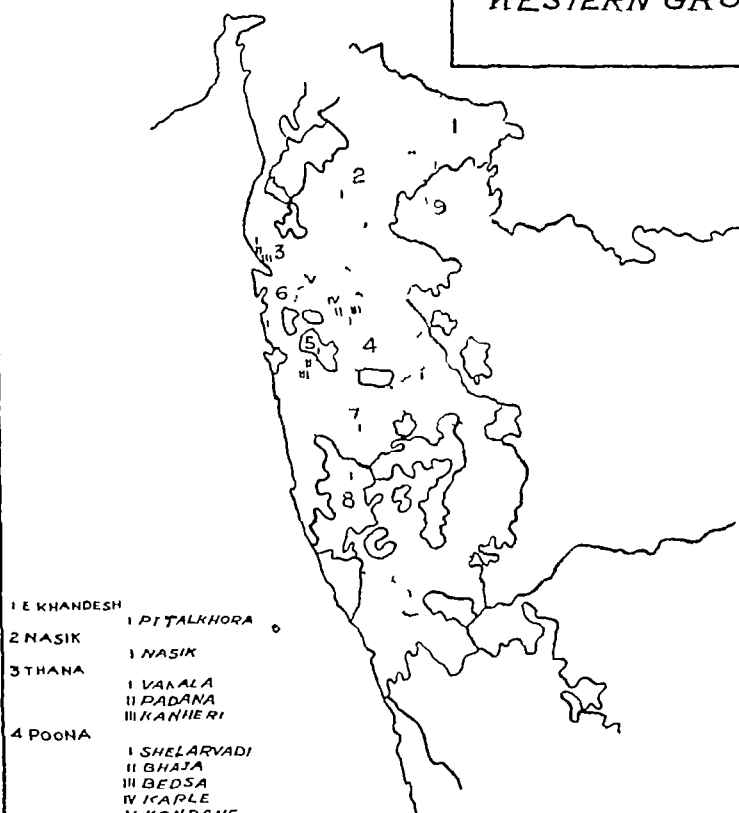
1	Godavari Dt	(i) Kodavolu	2nd cent. A D	1
		(ii) Elūrā	3rd cent. A D	1
2	Kistna Dt	(i) Bhaṭṭiprolu	3rd cent. B C	11
		(ii) Amarāvati	2nd cent. B C and 1st or	
			2nd cent. A D	180
		(iii) China	2nd cent. A.D	1
		(iv) Jagayyapeṭa	2nd cent. A D	3
		(v) Mayidavolu	3rd cent. A D	1
		(vi) Koṇḍamudi	3rd cent. A D	1
3	Guntur Dt.	(i) Dharanikoṭa	2nd cent. A D	1
		(ii) Gurzāla	2nd cent. A D	1
		(iii) Maṭṭepāḍ	2nd cent. A.D	1
		(iv) Nāgārjunikoṇḍa	3rd cent. A D	48
		(v) Gunapadeya	3rd cent. A D	1
4	Bellari Dt.	(i) Ādōm	2nd cent. A D	1
		(ii) Hīrahaḍḍagallī	3rd cent. A D	1
5	Shumoga Dt	Maḷavallī	2nd cent. A D	2
	(Mysore State)			

## III PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE CENTRAL GROUP

1	Muttra Dt (UP)	(i) Mathurā	3rd cent. B C and	
			1st cent. A D	15
		(ii) Parkham	2nd cent. B C	1
2	Bhilsā Dt.	(i) Bhojpur	2nd cent. B C	3
	(Gwalior St)	(ii) Besnagar	2nd cent. B C	7
		(iii) Andher	2nd cent. B C	6
3	Bhopal St	(i) Sāñci	2nd cent. B C	827
		(ii) Satdhāra	2nd cent. B C	2
		(iii) Sonārī	2nd cent. B C	7
4	Akola Dt. (CP)	(i) Bāsim	4th cent. A.D	1
5	Bhandara Dt. (CP)	(i) Paunī	1st cent. A D	1
6	Rewah St	(i) Kevatī Kuṇḍa	2nd cent. B C	1
		(ii) Silharā	1st cent. A D	7
7	Nagod St.	(i) Bharaut	1st cent. B C	217



*MAP*  
*SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION*  
*OF*  
**PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS**  
*IN THE*  
**WESTERN GROUP**



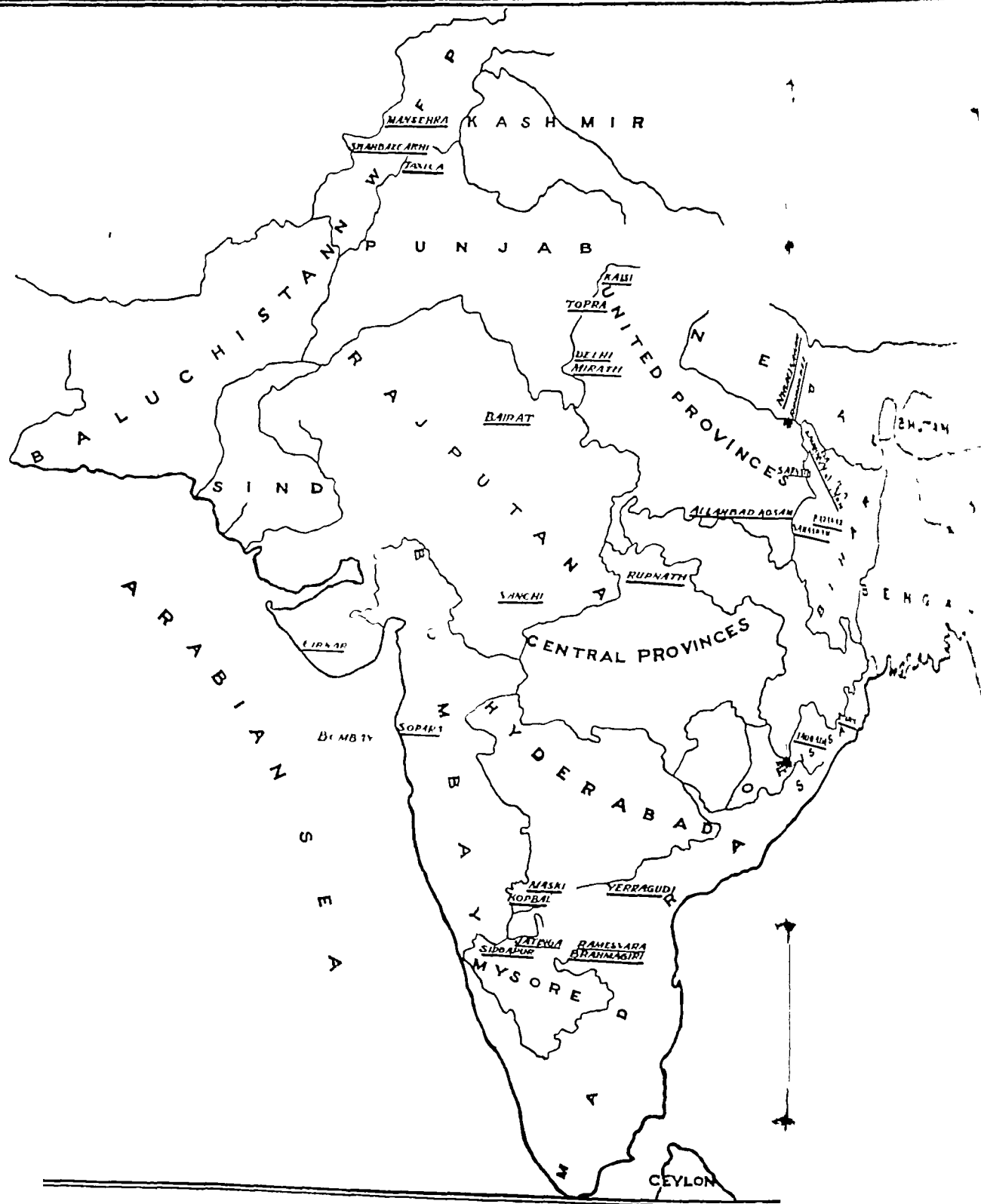
- 1 E KHANDESH  
 2 NASIK  
 3 THANA  
 4 POONA  
 5 BHOR STATE  
 6 KOLABA  
 7 SATARA  
 8 KOL STATE  
 9 HYD STATE  
 10 KANARA  
 MYS STATE
- I PITALKHORA  
 I NASIK  
 I VAAALA  
 II PADANA  
 III KANHERI  
 I SHELARVADI  
 II BHAJA  
 III BEDSA  
 IV KAPLE  
 V KONDANE  
 I NADSUR  
 I KUDA  
 II MAHAD  
 III KOL  
 I KARAD  
 I KOLHAPUR  
 I AJANTA  
 I BANAVASI

# MAP SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF

## PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE SOUTHERN GROUP



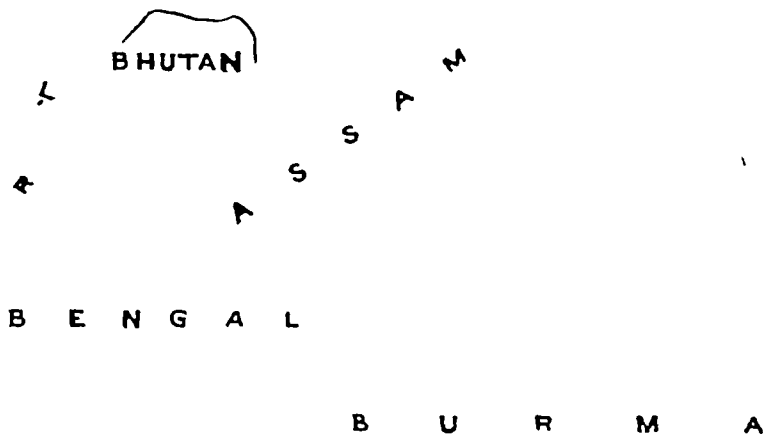
- I KODA
- I JAGAYYAPETA
- II AMARAWATI
- III ELLORE
- IV KONDMODI
- V BHATTI PROLU
- I MAYE DAVOLU
- II NAGARJUNI KONDA
- III GUPTALA
- IV DHARMIKOTA
- V
- VI
- I ADONI
- II HIRAHADAGALLI
- I MALAVALLI



# MAP OF INDIA

SHOWING THE GEOGRAPHICAL  
DISTRIBUTION OF

## ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS

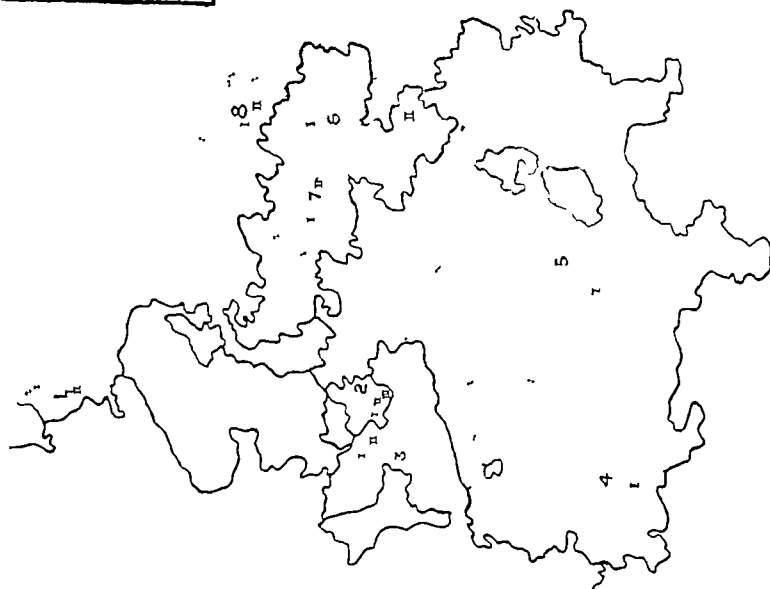


**MAP**  
SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION  
OF

**PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS**

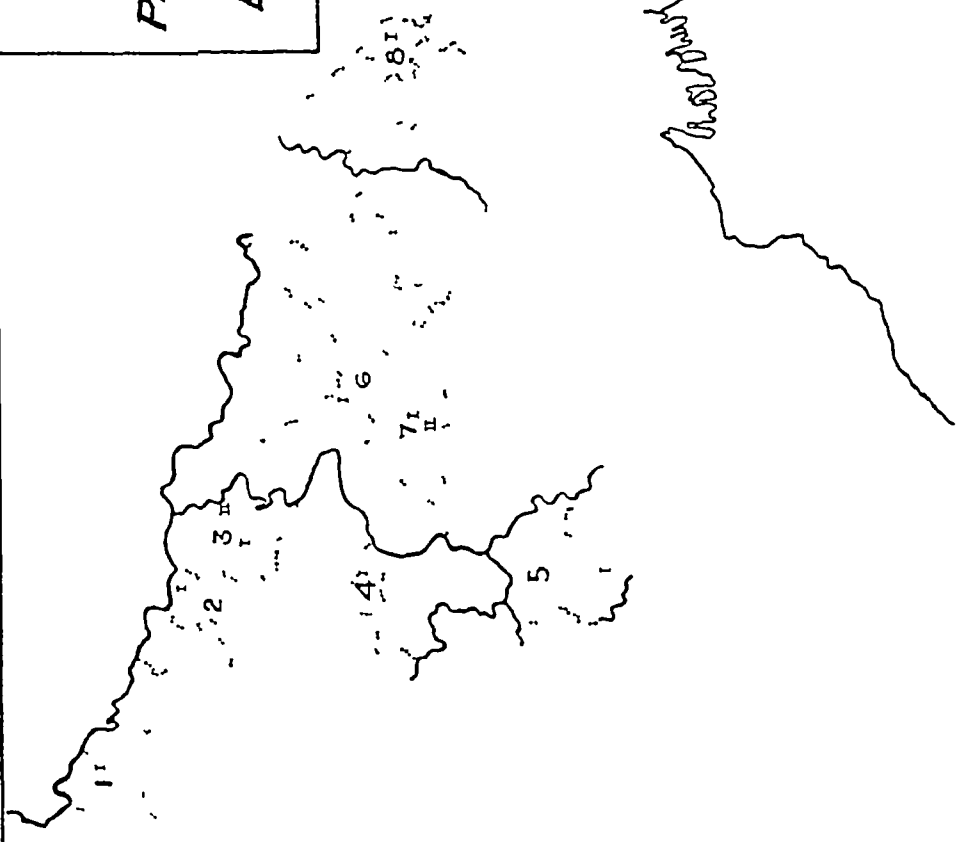
IN THE

**CENTRAL GROUP**



- 1 MATHURA
- II PAUKYAM
- 2 BHILAI
- 1 BBSNABAR
- II BHOGPUR
- III A VDHAR
- 3 BHOPAL
- 1 SAT DHARA
- II SONARI
- 4 AIKOLA
- 1 GASIM
- 5 BHANDARA
- 1 PAUNI
- 6 REWAH
- 1 KEOTIKUNDA
- II SILAHARA
- 7 NAGOD
- II GHARAUT
- 8 BALLAHABAD
- II KOSAM
- II BHITA

MAP  
SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION  
OF  
PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS  
IN THE  
EASTERN GROUP



- |             |              |
|-------------|--------------|
| 1 KHERI     | 1 KHAIRAGARH |
| 2 BASTI     | 1 PIPRAHWA   |
| 3 GORAKHPUR | 1 GORAKHPUR  |
| 4 BENARES   | 11 KASIA     |
| 5 SURGUTA   | 1 SARNATH    |
| 6 PATNA     | 1 RAMGARH    |
| 7 GAYA      | 1 PATNA      |
| 8 BOGRA     | 1 BARABAR    |
|             | 11 BODHGAYA  |
|             | 1 MAHASTHAN  |





8	Allahabad Dt. (U.P.)	(i) Kosam (ii) Bīṭhā	1st cent. B C 1st cent. A D	3 1
IV PRAKRIT INSCRIPTIONS IN THE EASTERN GROUP				
1	Kheri Dt (U P)	Khairīgarh	4th cent A D	1
2	Basti Dt. (U P)	Piprāhwā	3rd cent. B C	1
3	Gorakhpur Dt (U P)	(i) Sohgaure (ii) Kāsī	3rd cent. B C 1st cent A D	1 1
4	Benares Dt. (U P)	Sāmāth	2nd cent B C	5
5	Surguja Dt. (Chhota Nagpur)	Rāmgarh	3rd cent. B C	2
6	Patna Dt (Bihar)	Pāṭṇā	1st cent. A D	2
7	Gaya Dt. (Bihar)	(i) Bodhgayā (ii) Barābar	3rd cent B C. 3rd cent B C	10 2
8	Bográ Dt. (Bengal)	Mahāsthān	3rd cent B C	1
9	Puri Dt (Orissa)	Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri	2nd cent B C	14

§ 4 *Difficulties encountered in the study* Despite the advantages of the inscrip-  
tional Prakrits noted above, their study at the present stage bristles with difficul-  
ties. To begin with we have not as yet before us perfect transcriptions of these in-  
scriptions which could be readily relied upon. The wide progress which the science  
of palaeography has made since the advent of the twentieth century is easily reflected  
in the scholarly works of HULTZSCH, BARUA and N. G. MAJUMDAR<sup>5</sup>. But in spite  
of these efforts, limited as they are in their scope, there yet remains a very large  
number of inscriptions which awaits critical study by eminent paleaographers. A  
glance at the list of inscriptions prepared by LUDERS will convince any one of this  
fact. At least a hundred of the inscriptions listed by him are characterised as 'not  
read' and more than this number have been so badly edited at a time when the art of  
deciphering had made little progress, that the earlier they are revised the better it will  
be for the students. It is high time for the department of Archaeology in India to  
undertake this work with the help of established Research Institutes.

These inscriptions which are either not read so far or badly read deprive the  
student of a fairly large material from his study. But even when the reliable texts of  
these inscriptions are made available one will have to handle them after having made  
sufficient allowance for the scribe's ignorance of the language or his negligence. It is  
not at all uncommon to find mistakes being committed in inscribing the votive inscrip-  
tions of our own days. The emperor Aśoka who probably initiated this inscrip-  
tional activity in India was perfectly aware of this drawback for he expressly put down the  
following in his fourteenth Rock Edict: "In some instances (some) of this (i.e. rescripts  
on morality) may have been written incompletely, either on account of the locality, or  
because (my) motive was not liked, or by the fault of the writer (*lip-karāparādha*)".  
The mistakes in inscribing the inscriptions are very likely to occur especially in put-  
ting down the lengths of vowels and the marks for anusvāra. As the detailed analysis  
of these inscriptions will bear out, such lapses are frequently met with. The conclu-  
sions therefore that are drawn from this material especially in the two respects noted  
above are likely to remain open for correction at all times.

5 Cf. their works on Aśoka's Barabar, Udayagiri and Khaṇḍagiri and Śāhi's inscriptions.

The distribution of these inscriptions in various geographical regions is not at all even. As the above paragraphs discussing the geographical distribution of the inscriptions will bear out the collective material derived from different groups varies enormously. Then again their chronological distribution in a particular group is far from satisfactory. Though the inscriptions on the whole cover a wide period of about seven centuries, when they are divided according to their dates the material afforded by different centuries is awfully unequal. This puts in our way a serious hindrance, for it is rather risky to compare the linguistic tendencies noted from meagre material available in a particular region at a particular period with those which are based on abundant material available in a different period at a different place. Worse difficulties are encountered when in a certain region not a single inscription is available in a given century. Thus the absence of later inscriptions in the Eastern group precludes the possibility of comparing the linguistic changes introduced in that group at a later stage.

If a study of these inscriptions is undertaken with a view to making a detailed inquiry into the verbal system of the dialects preserved in them one is bound to meet with utter disappointment. Though these inscriptions afford enough material for phonetic study, they definitely lack in the variety of morphological forms. This is especially due to the fact that a very large number of these inscriptions is donative in character. No verbal form is required in Sanskrit or Prakrit to express the idea that 'a pillar, a tank, or a *stūpa* (is) a gift of some one.' The discussion pertaining to verb forms in the following chapters cannot, therefore, compare with the one centering round Phonology or the Declensional system.

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§ 5 *The method of treatment* The present work is limited to the study of Prakrit inscriptions in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī from the earliest times to the fourth century A.D. As the study of Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions was undertaken at a very late stage it is added to this work by way of last chapter. The linguistic treatments found therein are referred to in the chapter on Conclusions and also in the Summary of Important Results in the Introduction. This work, however, leaves out of account the legends on coins, as they are very short and principally contain proper names only. It also excludes the inscriptions in the Mixed dialect which will have to be studied separately.

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are published but to their number in LUDERS' List with the short form L indicating LUDERS. The inscriptions at Sāñci which have been lately edited by N G MAJUMDAR and were not previously listed by LUDERS have been referred to with their number in MAJUMDAR'S (M) list. All other inscriptions not included in LUDERS' List bear full references to their publications. The superior number which will be found on the top of this reference indicates the line number of the inscriptions.

In the studies on Morphology the declensional system of the nouns comes first. The nouns have been divided according to their endings in Sanskrit and their terminations are then studied. Next comes the study of Pronouns and Numerals where full forms of the words have been cited as examples. In the end comes the treatment of verb forms both conjugational and non-conjugational.

The second part of the present work consists of the three chapters beginning with Chapter VI. Chapters VI and VII are devoted to Synoptic Tables based on the results of the regional studies dealt with in the first part. Having studied the inscriptions in a particular group from a chronological point of view it now remains to compare the results, at a given point of time, over all regions. The Synoptic Tables are therefore so arranged as to give to the reader an idea of linguistic tendencies in various regions in successive periods. The method of arrangement as usual follows the chronological order of these inscriptions. Barring a few exceptions, since the inscriptions of Aśoka are the earliest dated records in India the Synoptic Tables begin with them at every stage. The tendencies noticed in other Prakrit inscriptions have been put below them, in a chronological order.

The Synoptic Tables are thus prepared while laying proper emphasis on these two factors—time and place—so essential for Historical Linguistics. They will help the students to see where for example the voicing of intervocal *-k-* first took place. It could also be seen where this intervocal *-k-* was preserved for some time and then a tendency appeared to voice it to *-g-* or weaken it to *-y-* or drop its occlusion altogether. On comparing such tendencies in different regions it may be possible for us to fix hypothetically the movements of linguistic changes. It is true that these inscriptions were not recorded with a definite purpose of including all linguistic phenomena and hence they are not expected to yield a complete grammar of the different dialects. Even then the influence of a particular region over others with regard to a given linguistic innovation which is actually recorded cannot be overlooked. Chapter VIII is devoted to derive such conclusions wherever possible.

The chronological study of all Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions (with the exception of those of Aśoka) comes at the end of the present work as Chapter IX. It deals with all the inscriptions included by Sten KONOW in *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol II, Part I. The method of study is the same as adopted in the case of the Brāhmī inscriptions in the present text. The north-western Prakrit of these inscriptions shows some peculiar developments which are not met with in the rest of the inscriptional Prakrits but which in certain cases find parallels in the language of the Kharoṣṭhī documents from Chinese Turkestan. All these similarities or dissimilarities as the case may be have been duly noted in the footnotes to this Chapter with references to section numbers from T BURROW'S work on these documents (Cambridge, 1937).

There are also a few cave and rock inscriptions in Brāhmī from 2nd century B.C. and 2nd cent. A.D. in Vessagiri and other places in Ceylon. Some of the features of

this Prakrit like the loss of aspiration in aspirate stops and gen sg term *-ha* are quite interesting and all these have been indicated at proper places in the footnotes to Chapter III dealing with the Southern group of inscriptions

§6 *Previous work in the field of Prakrit Inscriptions* Roughly speaking a century has elapsed since scholars undertook to decipher these inscriptions. The honour of revealing the mystery of the Brāhmī alphabet goes, as is well-known, to James PRINSEP. Numerous scholars have since come forward to decipher and interpret the Prakrit inscriptions. It is not necessary to recount here in detail the history of the discovery, decipherment and interpretation of each of the Prakrit inscriptions. The Bibliography which LUDERS has added in his list will easily point out the labour which has been already spent on the inscriptional Prakrits. Thanks to the efforts of scholars like PRINSEP, CUNNINGHAM, BUHLER, BURGESS, SENART, HULTZSCH, Bhagwanlal INDRAJI, Rajendralal MITRA, FLEET, and FRANKL, we have now before us the authoritative transcripts of a fairly large number of inscriptions. The Bibliography which is attached to this work includes some of the articles and books which were published in respect of Prakrit inscriptions since LUDERS brought out his list in 1910. Numerous new inscriptions have been edited for the first time<sup>7</sup> and some of the old ones included in the LUDERS' List have been revised by learned scholars and epigraphists like K. P. JAYASWAL, D. R. BHANDARKAR, R. D. BANERJI, H. LUDERS, V. S. SUKTHANKAR, J. Ph. VOGEL, B. M. BARUA, R. C. MAJUMDAR, N. G. MAJUMDAR, V. V. MIRASHI, D. C. SIRCAR, Ramaprasad CHANDA and Madho Sarup VATS. This list, however, does not include scholars who have worked in the field of Aśokan inscriptions. It could be seen from the Bibliography that the inscriptions of Khāravēla have in recent times attracted the attention of many a scholar. They have been published in a book form by B. M. BARUA in 1929. Only two other groups have been similarly brought out in book form, the inscriptions at Barhāt by B. M. BARUA and K. G. SINHA and the inscriptions at Sāñci by N. G. MAJUMDAR.

But the attempts of all these scholars were directed towards the decipherment and interpretation of these inscriptions. No doubt some of the editors have also favoured us with writing some linguistic notes. But all these efforts are limited in their scope inasmuch as they are principally meant for bringing out a particular group of inscriptions. No attempt has been undertaken so far to deal comprehensively at one stretch with the material afforded by these inscriptions for the study of MIA languages. As has been already remarked, even PISCHEL's *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen* omits these inscriptions, with the exception of only a few copper-plate grants from the South. The present attempt is therefore aimed at dealing with this whole material from a comparative stand-point of Historical Linguistics and thus it marks an advance over the previous work done in this field. It not only consolidates the material made available by early researchers but also views it from a comparative angle not arrived at so far. For the first time in the field of MIA languages this attempt is made to fix up the movements of linguistic changes.

§7 *Summary of Important Results*. A detailed discussion on the conclusions which could be deduced from the space-time context study of Inscriptional Prakrits

<sup>7</sup> All these have been pointed out in the introductory remarks at the beginning of Chapters II to V and in the Appendix.

forms Chapter VIII of the present work. It is intended here to summarise only the important results

## PHONOLOGY

I VOWELS The Sk. vowels, with the noted exceptions of  $\gamma$  and the diphthongs  $ai$  and  $au$ , are usually preserved in the Inscriptional Prakrits. The vowel  $\gamma$  normally becomes  $a$ - in an initial syllable in the West and  $i$ - in other regions in the 3rd cent. B.C. In the subsequent inscriptions it tends to be  $a$ - in all regions. In the non-initial syllables it generally becomes  $-a$  at all places and at all times. The change of the vowel  $\gamma$  to  $u$  is noted mostly in the nouns of relationship in all regions, except in the East and the Centre where it tends to become  $i$ .

The Sk. short vowels  $a$ ,  $i$  and  $u$ , though mostly preserved, are sometimes lengthened to  $\bar{a}$ ,  $\bar{i}$  and  $\bar{u}$  respectively in a metrically long syllable. It must be noted that on the whole this tendency is less evident in these inscriptions. The orthography of Prakrit inscriptions allows a single consonant to serve the purpose of a double one. It does not, therefore, enable us to say with precision whether the assimilated conjunct following this long vowel was pronounced as a single or double consonant.

The Sk. long vowels are also normally preserved. Yet the reverse process by which the long vowels are shortened before a consonant cluster is more in evidence and especially so in the case of the vowel  $\bar{a}$ . Whereas the change  $\bar{a} > a$  is noted often in the West, the change  $\bar{i} > i$  is frequent in the East, Centre and the North. The long vowels are also sometimes shortened before case terminations and when they stand at the end of the first member of a compound. They are sometimes shortened in mistake too.

II SIMPLE CONSONANTS The simple consonants, with the exception of sibilants and the semi-vowel  $\gamma$ , are almost rigorously preserved in their initial position. In their medial position, however, they undergo a few changes which are, more often than not, tendential in their character. Among these is found a tendency to voice unvoiced intervocal stops or sometimes change them to  $-y-$  which constitutes a very important step in the evolution of MIA and NIA<sup>8</sup>.

The voicing of intervocal surds unaspirate is usually seen first in the non-Western and non-Southern regions whence it has travelled in other directions. As could be seen from the Synoptic Tables (Ch. VI) the speed with which this tendency has influenced other regions varies with different vocables.

Examples showing the voicing of intervocal surd aspirates are not numerous and with the exception of  $-th-$  >  $-dh-$  come forth from later inscriptions. The change of  $-th-$  to  $-dh-$  is a characteristic which appears only in the non-Western regions. The voicing of  $-kh-$  to  $-gh-$  and  $-ṭh-$  to  $-ḍh-$  is, however, seen in the West also together with other regions.

The change of intervocal stops to  $-y-$  was started mostly in the 3rd and 2nd cent. B.C. Even in this case the weakening of intervocal stop, if we may say so, is first instanced almost in all cases in the non-Western regions. It is only in the case of  $-d-$  becoming  $-y-$  that the tendency is first noticed in the West and then in the South and Centre.

<sup>8</sup> For the middle stage of spirantisation of intervocal stops cf. S. K. CHATTERJI, *Origin and Development of Bengali Language*, p. 252 ff.

The devoicing of intervocal sonants is a peculiar characteristic and it would be well to remember that its sphere of operation is mostly restricted to proper names. Though the devoicing has first appeared in a few instances in the East and the North-West, it obtains a relative frequency in the South at a later date.

The changes that are noted above do not affect the class of labials. The change of intervocal *-p-* to *-v-* has come to the west perhaps from the East. This change which appears in the N-West from the 1st cent. B.C. is very frequent there.

The semi-vowel *-y-* is medially changed to *-j-* first in Northern and Eastern India and thence it descends to the West and the South. In the initial position, however, the change is first noticed in the South though at a later date in the 2nd cent. A.D.

The semi-vowel *r* is changed to *l* in the regions other than the West, North-West, and the South (where, however, sometimes we find *-l-*), in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Later on this regional distinction—barring of course a few exceptions from the East and N-West—is not maintained in the inscriptional Prakrits.

The three Sanskrit sibilants are almost invariably<sup>9</sup> merged into the single dental sibilant. It is only the N-Western inscriptions of Aśoka and the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions which preserve the distinction between the three sibilants. The presence of *ś* and *ṣ* in the Kālsī edicts of Aśoka in the North and the Bhaṭṭiprolu casket inscriptions in the South is attributed by scholars, not as much to the knowledge of the distinction between the sibilants on the part of the speaker of the dialects, as to the ignorance of the scribe. The palatal *ś* is found only in a few inscriptions of the East in later period. Then again the preservation of *ś* in certain cases and the change *s* > *ś* is observed in the Ceylonese inscriptions.

Unlike most of the phonetic changes noticed above, the loss of intervocal consonants is first met with in the Western inscriptions almost in all cases. This tendency occurs in the N-West almost in all cases from the 1st cent. A.D. It has only slightly affected the inscriptions of Central and Southern India. The tendency is not met with in the East at all in the early inscriptions. It must be noted that inscriptions following the 1st cent. A.D. are not available in this region.

*Palatalisation* The clusters *ty*, *ts*, *dy* and *dhy* are usually palatalised to *c*, *ch* (or *tś*), *j* and *jh* respectively (the single consonants stand for the double ones) at all times and in all regions. The guttural *k* is palatalised in the East and Centre even in the 3rd cent. B.C. As regards the treatment of the cluster *kṣ* the inscriptions of Aśoka divide themselves into two groups—those in the West and the N-West show the palatal *ch* and the rest *kh*. Later on this distinction is not evident as *kh* alone is found in the N-West and *lh* and *ch* appear in all other regions. The cluster *ry* is palatalised to *j* only in the South and the Centre.

*Cerebralisation*<sup>10</sup> The dentals under the influence of *r* or *ṛ* are cerebralised in all inscriptions of Aśoka save those in the West (only *ṛdh* is cerebralised so early as that in the West). The influence is observed in the West mostly from the beginning of the Christian era. The dentals *t* and *th* in combination with *s* are, however, cerebralised at all places since the earliest times. The dental nasal *ṇ* is initially cerebralised with some frequency in the N-West from the 1st cent. A.D. but in other regions it occurs only in rare cases. In the medial position it is increasingly cerebralised from

<sup>9</sup> For cerebralisation in the eastern dialect see CHATTERJI *On the and Deities of Bengal* p. 483 ff.



ence. The tendency in favour of dental *n* in the non-Western regions is noticed even in the assimilation of the cluster *mn*. The preservation of the cerebral *n* in the assimilation of *ny* is a characteristic peculiar to the two distant corners viz the N-West and the South in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Later on it is found even in the West. But the earlier treatment of palatalisation is the only one preserved in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

In certain instances the cluster *jñ* is cerebralised to *n*. As this tendency is evinced in the N-West and the South in the same century viz the 3rd cent. B.C. it would not be wrong to presume that the tendency was brought into play in those regions without mutual influence. It has of course spread over other regions in later centuries, though in the N-West itself it is found very rarely later on.

## MORPHOLOGY

I. DECLENSION. The declensional system of the inscriptional Prakrits, as of the Prakrits of the grammarians, is very much simplified through the processes too well known to require a detailed description here. Thus, for example, the dual is altogether lost and the bases ending in consonants are mostly transferred to the *-a* stem. In many instances, however, the forms of these bases originally ending in consonants but now brought over to the *-a* class do not follow the declensional system of that class but are directly derived from the corresponding Sk. forms with the necessary phonetic changes.

As the termination in most cases are the same in all regions, except in the Aśokan inscriptions, there is not much to be summarised in this respect. The regional differences in the terminations which could be discerned in the Prakrits of Aśokan inscriptions are mostly obliterated in the following centuries so that almost in all cases the Western influence over other regions is vividly borne out. Thus the nom. sg. term of the mas. nouns ending in *-a* is *-o* in the Western and *-e* in the non-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. But in later inscriptions only the term *-o* is found in all regions. It may be noted, however, that the term *-e* is the normal one in the Ceylonese Prakrit, and is to be found, though less frequently, in the N-Western Prakrit. Similarly the loc. sg. term is *-e* or *-mhi* in the West and *-si* in other regions in the earliest Prakrit inscriptions. But later inscriptions normally show the term *-e*, though the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions show a variety of terminations. The *-s-* of the gen. sg. mas. is sometimes turned into fricative in the N-Western Prakrit.

In the Instrumental and Genitive sg. and the Gen. pl. terminations the nasal *n* is only sometimes cerebralised, generally after *r* and *ṣ* as in Sk., in earlier inscriptions and sometimes even where Sk. does not require it, in later inscriptions. In a majority of cases the cerebralisation is first noticed in the West, N-West and the South mostly round about the beginning of the Christian era. It is noticed in the Centre in very late inscriptions but never in the East. The North-Western Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, however, continue to give both *-n-*, and *-ṇ-*.

Then again the instr. sg. term *-a* of nouns ending in *-a* is a noteworthy feature of the N-Western Prakrit which is not found elsewhere.

Similarly the dat. pl. ending noticed in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. Vihāraśāla Rock inscription of Ceylon is noteworthy. The usual ending that we get for dat. pl. in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions is *-hi*. But the Ceylonese inscription gives the

the Aśokan inscriptions downwards. The wholesale change of  $n > \tilde{n}$  is observed only in the 4th cent. A.D. copper-plates of Central India. It may be noted here that the cerebral nasal  $\tilde{n}$  is usually changed to  $n$  in the non-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. Later on, however,  $\tilde{n}$  is preserved even in these regions.

A peculiar trait of the N-Western Prakrit which does not appear in any of the Brāhmī inscriptions is the change of intervocal consonants into fricatives which are represented in writing by the addition of  $r$  (or in a few cases  $y$ ). These fricatives appear mostly in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D., but in some cases in the 1st cent. B.C. also. The following are the fricatives that appear in these Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions:  $-k(r)-$ ,  $-g(r)-$ ,  $-<-k-$  or  $-g-$ ,  $-ḍ(r)-$ ,  $-<-ḍ-$ ,  $-ṭ(r)-$ ,  $-ḍ(r)-$ ,  $-m(r)-$ ,  $-g(r)-$ ,  $-<-y-$ ,  $(r)$ ,  $-vḥ(r)-$ ,  $-<-v-$ ,  $ṣ(r)$ ,  $-ṣ(r)-$ , and  $-s(r)$ , or  $-s(y)-$ .

III CONSONANT CLUSTERS. The consonant clusters are usually assimilated to the stronger of the two consonants coming together. Some of them are dissolved by svarabhakti and a few which are formed with  $r$  and  $s$  are preserved. Such clusters where  $r$  or  $s$  precedes the dental are preserved mostly in the West and the North-West in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Later on, except in the North-Western Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, they are assimilated to the stop in the West as in other regions. Later N-Western inscriptions, however, preserve  $-st-$  and in the case of  $-ṣṭh-$  and  $-stḥ-$ , besides assimilation, they also preserve them as  $-st-$ .

Later N-Western inscriptions not only preserve clusters with  $r$  and sometimes with sibilant, but also those with  $y$ . Thus the clusters  $-ky-$ ,  $-ty-$ ,  $-lhy-$ ,  $-py-$ ,  $-śy-$ ,  $-ṣy-$  and  $-sy-$ , are no doubt sometimes assimilated or dissolved but they are also very often preserved.

Where a consonant precedes  $r$  such clusters as  $kr$ ,  $gr$ ,  $tr$ ,  $ḍr$ ,  $pr$ ,  $vr$  and sibilant +  $r$  are sometimes preserved in the Western and North-Western inscriptions of Aśoka and the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. This tendency to preserve the clusters with  $r$  which forms one of the characteristics of the Western inscriptions of Aśoka is exemplified, though in fewer instances, even in the later inscriptions of this region. On the other hand this tendency becomes more and more strong in the N-West so that later inscriptions show preservation of  $rg$ ,  $rgḥ$ ,  $rṭh$ ,  $rd$ ,  $rdḥ$ ,  $ry$ ,  $kr$ ,  $gr$ ,  $tr$ ,  $ḍr$ ,  $pr$ ,  $br$ ,  $ṣr$ , and  $sr$ . It is worth noting that such clusters with  $r$  are sometimes preserved even in Central India usually from the first cent. B.C.

Similarly the clusters with  $v$  and with sibilants are sometimes preserved in the Western and the N-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. The cluster  $-ṣv-$  is medially preserved even outside this Western and N-Western zone in the Aśokan age. But for a few instances of preservation, all these clusters are normally assimilated in all Brāhmī inscriptions of later centuries. But in the N-Western Kharoṣṭhī such clusters as  $-ṭv-$ ,  $-rv-$ ,  $śv$  (as  $śp$  or  $śv$ ),  $sv$  and  $kṣ$  are sometimes preserved.

Among the clusters with nasals those with  $\tilde{n}$ ,  $n$ ,  $\tilde{n}$  and  $m$  show some peculiarities. Normally such clusters are assimilated to the nasal or the stop as the case may be and the anusvāra in the assimilated form is sometimes left out in writing. It is only the Prakrit portion of the 4th cent. A.D. copper-plates of Basim that preserves the clusters with nasals obviously under the influence of Sanskrit.

In the inscriptions of Aśoka the clusters  $j\tilde{n}$ ,  $n\tilde{y}$  and  $\tilde{n}y$  are assimilated usually to the palatal nasal  $\tilde{n}$  in the Western and N-Western (also Southern) regions but to the dental nasal elsewhere. They are also palatalised in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. In later centuries the Western and non-Western regions indicate mutual influ-

ence. The tendency in favour of dental *n* in the non-Western regions is noticed even in the assimilation of the cluster *mn*. The preservation of the cerebral *n* in the assimilation of *ny* is a characteristic peculiar to the two distant corners viz the N-West and the South in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Later on it is found even in the West. But the earlier treatment of palatalisation is the only one preserved in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

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As the termination in most cases are the same in all regions, except in the Aśokan inscriptions, there is not much to be summarised in this respect. The regional differences in the terminations which could be discerned in the Prakrits of Aśokan inscriptions are mostly obliterated in the following centuries so that almost in all cases the Western influence over other regions is vividly borne out. Thus the nom. sg. term of the *mas* nouns ending in *-a* is *-o* in the Western and *-e* in the non-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. But in later inscriptions only the term *-o* is found in all regions. It may be noted, however, that the term *-e* is the normal one in the Ceylonese Prakrit, and is to be found, though less frequently, in the N-Western Prakrit. Similarly the loc. sg. term is *-e* or *-mhi* in the West and *-si* in other regions in the earliest Prakrit inscriptions. But later inscriptions normally show the term *-e*, though the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions show a variety of terminations. The *-s-* of the gen. sg. *mas* is sometimes turned into fricative in the N-Western Prakrit.

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term *-hiya* (cf *satehiya*, EZ III 165<sup>a</sup>) which seems to have come from < *\*-bhuyah* < *-bhuyah*

The forms of nouns ending in *-ṛ* in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are more or less derived from the corresponding Sanskrit forms so that they give an appearance of semi-tatsamas

The *-y-* of the term. *-ya* and *-ye* which appear for dat. sg mas and instr, dat, gen, and loc sg fem is very often dropped in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions so that we get the ending *-a*, or *-e*

II PRONOUNS The conclusions in Chapter VIII of the present work are generally drawn where the space-time context study enables us to indicate the movements of linguistic peculiarities. As the pronouns do not tend to show anything of the kind no conclusions are deduced from their study. A few words, therefore, may be put here on some peculiar forms noticed in them. Almost all plural forms of the first personal pronoun are derived from the base *amha-*. The rest of the forms are the same as those used in Sk. The use of *mahiya* as gen sg in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions may however be noted. Similarly the nom. pl form *maye* found in the second separate edict of Aśoka at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa is quite peculiar. It is derived by HULTZSCH (cf *CII* Vol I (new edn) p cv1) from Sk *vayam* under the influence of inst sg *mayā*

The forms of the second personal pronoun are derived from the base *tuphaka* or from corresponding Sk. forms. The examples are quite few

The bases for the third personal pronoun are the normal ones viz *sa-* and *ta-* and though in most cases the Prakrit forms correspond to the Sk. ones, some of the gen pl forms of masculine are derived from the analogous application of the term *-nam* of the nouns. The other peculiar forms are *se* (or *sa*) and *tissa* in the gen sg masculine. The use of nom sg mas forms in the Neuter which is noticed in the Aśokan inscriptions may be regarded as archaism for it is never noticed later on

The forms of the demonstrative *etad-* are similarly derived from the base *ela-* or *esa-*. Under the peculiar forms we may notice the gen. sg *etisa* and *etesa*, the loc. sg *etesi*, the use of *ete* in the nom pl neut and the gen pl forms with the term. *-nam* (or *-na*)

The pronoun *idam* is not so simple. First of all the form *iyam* is used in the sg of all the three genders. The base *ima-* is evident even in the nom sg mas and neut. and in the forms of instr, gen, and loc. Still more interesting is the form *ima* in the nom sg neut in a Nāsik cave inscription (L 1147<sup>a</sup>). In later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions besides *imanti* we get *isa* or *ise* as loc sg

The normal base for the relative pronoun is *ya-*. It also gives the base *a-* with the occasional loss of initial occlusion, and *ja-* with the change of *y- > j-*. Even here the nom sg mas forms are used for the neuter in the earliest inscriptions. The loss of occlusion is an Eastern peculiarity almost confined to the inscriptions of Aśoka

Among the pronominal adjectives the important ones are *sarva* and *anya*. The former affords the base *sava-* and the latter *amñā* (in the West) or *amna* (in the East). The terminations applied to these bases are those used for the *-a* stem and not those which are peculiar to them in Sk.

III VERB FORMS While narrating the difficulties encountered in the study of Inscriptional Prakrits it has been already pointed out above that the number of verb

forms we come across is very small. As the terminations are more or less the same at all stages no remarks have been added with regard to them in Chapter VIII on Conclusions. It has been, therefore, found necessary to add a few remarks here.

In general the observations which are usually made with regard to the Prakrits of the grammarians apply to the Inscriptional Prakrits. Thus the variety of forms is lost, the dual number disappears as in declension and the middle voice has almost gone. Nothing can be said as regards the forms indicative of the past tense as their number is quite meagre. The forms that we generally get are of the Present Indicative, Imperative, Potential, (Imperfect, Aorist), Future—Active and Passive, Participles, Infinitive and Gerund.

Of the ten classes of verbs found in the old system normally we meet with only two classes. The *-a* class includes a large number of them. The second is the *-e* *-aya* class which includes usually the causatives and sometimes also some simple verbs. It must be noted that *-aya* is preserved in many cases. The system of inflection is the same for both of them.

The terminations for the Present are the same as in Sanskrit (with the loss of visarga) and as they are tabulated in the Synoptic Tables there is nothing to add about them. In causal the *-p-* of the suffix is sometimes changed to *-v-*. The terminations of the third sg. middle is *-le* but in passive we find *-ti* except in the West.

The change *-t->-d-* in the 3rd sg. term. of the Present and Imperative appears in later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. The change of *-th-* to *-dh-* in the Imperative second person plural termination is met with only in the 4th cent. A.D. inscriptions of Central India. The termination *-ru* of the third person plural in the Imperative which is found in one of the Girnar Edicts of Aśoka is noteworthy. It may be compared with the term *-rim* for 3rd pl. middle of the Present in the 2nd cent. A.D. Kharoṣṭhī inscription.

The terminations of the potential show a large variety, most of them being of the type *-yā*, *-eyā*. Sometimes we also get *-va* (in the sg.) and *-vñ* (in the plural) in Aśokan inscriptions. The use of *-ti* in third pers. sg. in this mood is peculiar to the N-Western and Northern inscriptions of Aśoka and later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. It is not met with in later inscriptions elsewhere. These later inscriptions on the other hand change *-yy-* of the termination to *-jj-*.

As the middle voice is dropped in these Prakrits, most of the Present Participles are of the active type ending in *-ata* or *-anta*. When we get the middle participles they are formed by the addition of *-māna* or *-mīna*. It may be noted that a few forms of this type are found in the West and the South even in later centuries.

The Past Passive Participles as usual end in *-ta* or *-na*, both of them sometimes being cerebralised in the 2nd cent. A.D. inscriptions of Western and Southern India. In the North-Western Kharoṣṭhī, however, *-t->-d-* or *-d(ṛ)-*.

The Potential Passive Participles have the familiar endings, viz. *-ya*, *-tavya* (> *-tata* or *-tatya*), and *-anīya*. There is nothing peculiar about them except that in the second cent. A.D. in the South we get a term. *-jja*.

The normal terminations for the Absolutes are *-tā* and *-ya*, only the Girnar edicts giving *-tā* (> *-tā*). The later inscriptions in the South give the terminations *-tāva(m)* or *-tāna(m)* which could be noticed earlier in the Calcutta-Bairāt rock inscription of Aśoka (cf. *abhiśādetām*). The Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions give *-ta*, *-ya* or *-cam*. The 4th cent. A.D. Copper plates of Central India give only *-tā*.

The forms of Infinitive are rarely met with outside the inscriptions of Aśoka. The terminations in the West are *-tu* and *-lave* and in other regions we get only *-lave*. The Eastern forms of the 2nd cent. B.C., however, show *-tum*, but the North-Western form of the 1st cent. A.D. preserves *-lave*.

## § 8 INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS IN THE LIGHT OF PRAKRIT GRAMMARIANS<sup>10</sup>

The grammars of Prakrit languages were written at a very late stage when the different languages described in them had already assumed a literary form, when they were more or less standardised by usage and were, therefore, no longer in the process of formation. The inscriptional Prakrits, on the other hand, were inscribed centuries before the school of Prakrit grammarians came into vogue and we may assume, *prima facie*, that they reflect the gradual process by which most of the tendencies noted by later grammarians came into play. As could be seen from the chapter on Conclusions or the summary of the results given above this assumption is amply borne out by the chronological study. The austere forces of conservation have always reined the revolutionary forces of innovation in the history of all languages and their influence in the development of inscriptional Prakrits cannot be missed. It is on account of this impact of one process over the other that most of the phonetic changes noticed in the inscriptions are rather of a tendential character, the number of instances exemplifying a particular change however getting multiplied with the march of time. As the present study is limited to the end of the fourth cent. A.D., rarely do we meet with any change of a sweeping nature.

Yet it would be interesting to view the reflection of these inscriptions in the light of Prakrit Grammarians. Though these grammars enumerate a large number of Prakrits in reality they treat of three or four principal Prakrits in detail. Of these we may leave aside Pāṣāṇī, the problem of the original home of which is not yet solved beyond doubt. Among the rest Māhārāṣṭrī may roughly correspond, geographically speaking, to the group of Western Inscriptions, Śaurasenī to the Central and Māgadhī to the Eastern group. We have at present no knowledge of a Prakrit deriving its name from a Southern country and thus correspond to the Southern Inscriptions. The purpose of the present analysis is to see how far the linguistic variations noted by later grammarians in the literary Prakrits have a historical bearing and this can be achieved by comparing the principal characteristics of the different Prakrits with those of the corresponding group of inscriptions noted above.

## PHONOLOGY

I VOWELS : The treatment of the vowel *ṛ* is not so specifically dealt with by grammarians as to point to any regional difference between them. Yet a dialectic division has been made by some of the modern scholars who point out that the *a* (< *ṛ*) treatment is predominant in the West and the South and the *i* (< *ṛ*) treatment in other regions<sup>11</sup>. In the study of Prakrit inscriptions we find that the *a* treatment is the principal one in the Western and *i* in the non Western inscriptions of

<sup>10</sup> The following discussion takes into account only Vararuci and Hemacandra as the most representative figures in the group of Prakrit grammarians.

<sup>11</sup> J. BLOCH, *La Formation de la Langue marathe*, § 31, S. K. CHATTERJEE, *Bengali Language*, § 137, PISCHEL, *Gr Pkt Spr* §§ 49-51, GEIGER, *Pāli Gr* § 12. All these are quoted by WOOLNER, *Intr to Pkt* § 60.

Aśoka Later inscriptions from all parts, however, tend to show the *a* treatment

As regards the change in the quantity of the vowels before consonant clusters though Hemacandra expresses himself in a definite manner in the Sūtras 143, 84, and 292, Vararuci is astonishingly silent about it "Are we therefore to interpret" asks COWELL in his edition of the *Prākṛta-Prakāśa* by Vararuci (p 186, second issue) "the silence of Vararuci as evidence that the principle in question grew up gradually in Prākṛit, and only became fully recognised in later times?" Colour is definitely lent to this statement by the study of Inscriptional Prakrits Hemacandra makes only a qualified statement in laying down that short vowels are lengthened before consonant clusters (143 and 292). But according to him the change of long vowels to short ones in similar circumstances is of a sweeping nature (184) Now the presence of many long vowels before assimilated conjuncts in Prakrit Inscriptions clearly points to the fact that this tendency had the widest application noted by Hemacandra only in later days Even here the dialectic distinction is not made by the grammarians and it is not so clearly evident in the inscriptions either

II CONSONANTS It is mostly in this sphere that the dialectal variations have been recognised by grammarians The elision of intervocal single consonants is a singular characteristic of Māhārāṣṭrī (V 22, H 1177) Now in the Inscriptional Prakrits the elision is definitely first met with in some examples of the Western India, and thus the elements of a tendency later on exaggerated in Māhārāṣṭrī literature are found in the earlier inscriptions of the corresponding region The change of *-l-* to *-d-* (also *d-*) and *-lh-* to *-dh-* is one of the salient features of Śaurasenī (V 123, H 4260-2 and 267) and Māgadhī (H. on 4302) In the Prakrit inscriptions though the change of *-l- > -d-* is noticed even in the West and North-West together with other regions, the voicing of *-lh- > -dh-* is a feature altogether absent in the West Its presence in other regions, therefore, seems to have developed into the Śaurasenī and Māgadhī characteristic

In the treatment of the palatal *j* and the semi-vowel *y* it may be gathered that the later usage does not quite correspond to the earlier tendencies The grammarians prescribe that intervocal *-j-* is dropped and sometimes *-y-* is developed in its stead in Māhārāṣṭrī (H 1177, 180), but it is invariably changed to *y*, both initially and medially, in Māgadhī (V 114, H 4292) Among the inscriptions, the Western, North-Western, and Central inscriptions also change *-j- > -y-* In the East, on the contrary intervocal *-j-* is preserved in all inscriptions With regard to *y* it is laid down that whereas it is preserved in Māgadhī (H 4292), it is changed to *j-* or *-j* in other languages (V 231, H 1248) In the inscriptions we do notice its preservation in the East and its change to *-j-* or *j-* in other regions

The cerebral nasal *ṇ* is preserved in all literary Prakrits except Paiśācī where it is changed to *ṇ* (V 105, H 4306) As this feature distinguishes all other Prakrits from Paiśācī it may be worth while to note that the Aśokan inscriptions too divide themselves in two parts in this respect those in the West, N-West and the South<sup>12</sup> show *-ṇ-*, and the rest *-ṇ-* Later on, however, many inscriptions in the West and N-West show *-ṇ-* and those in the Centre and East show *-ṇ-* Thus in this respect the preservation of *-ṇ-* witnessed in literary Prakrits is not borne out by the inscriptional Prakrits The tendency in favour of *-ṇ-* may, however be seen in the very late

12. Ceylonese inscriptions of all times preserve *r*

inscriptions e.g. of the fourth century A.D. Copper-plates of Central India (for the change of  $n > \eta$  see below under cerebralisation)

The change of  $r$  to  $l$  in all positions forms a principal characteristic of Māgadhi according to the grammarians (H 4.288). This change is optional in Śaurasenī, more frequent in Ardha-Māgadhi and a few instances have been pointed out where it occurs even in Māhārāṣṭrī (V 230). This account of the semi-vowel  $r$  is definitely borne out by the inscriptions of Aśoka which point out that  $l$  was substituted for  $r$  in the court language of Magadha but not in the West and the N-West. Later inscriptions from the East and especially those of Khāravela, however, point to  $r$  and not to  $l$ . Only the Piprahwa vase inscription, the Sogaura Copper plates and the Jogimārā cave inscriptions from the East change  $r$  to  $l$ .

The three Sk. sibilants are merged into the single dental  $s$  in all Prakrits except Māgadhi (V 243, H 1260, for Paśāci cf H 4309). The Māgadhi of the grammarians, on the contrary, accepts the palatal  $ś$  instead of the dental  $s$  (V 113, H 4.288). It is in this respect that the Eastern language of the inscriptions is at variance with the statements of the grammarians. Not only the inscriptions from non-Eastern India (except N-West) but even the Eastern inscriptions of Aśoka possess the dental  $s$  and not  $ś$ . The notable exception in later centuries is formulated by the Jogimārā cave inscription in the East which not only preserves  $ś$  but changes  $s$  to  $ś$  as is laid down by later grammarians. The Kālsī edicts of Aśoka situated in the Dehra Dun district of the United Provinces no doubt point to  $ś$  ( $< s$ ) but they even preserve  $ṣ$  or change  $s$  to  $ṣ$ . This confusion has been usually attributed by scholars to the ignorance of the scribe.<sup>13</sup> Even if we were to discard the ambiguous evidence of Kālsī edicts, which are again more Northern than Eastern, the Jogimārā inscription definitely points to an Eastern dialect with a palatal  $ś$  in its alphabet which, though not elevated to the status of a court language of Magadha, was current in an area adjacent to it.

Palatalisation of a few single consonants and mostly of dentals in combination with  $y$  is a feature common to all Prakrits, both of the grammarians and that of the inscriptions. The distinction in the treatment of the cluster  $kṣ$ , which was turned to  $ch$  in the Western and the N-Western inscriptions and to  $kh$  in the rest of the inscriptions of Aśoka, was obliterated in the later Prakrit inscriptions themselves (so that Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions show only  $kh$  or preserve  $kṣ$ ) and naturally it is not mentioned by grammarians. A few other peculiarities may be, however, pointed out. We have already seen that Māgadhi changes  $j$  to  $y$  and as a corollary to it the cluster  $dy$  is not changed to  $jj$  but to  $yy$  in Māgadhi (H 4.292). The Eastern inscriptions, however, have nothing in common with Māgadhi in this respect as they preserve  $j$  and palatalise  $dy$  to  $j$  (i.e.  $jj$ ). The treatment of the cluster  $ry$  is varied but here we are concerned with the one by which  $ry > j$  or  $jj$ . This treatment for the cluster is prescribed for Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī by Hemacandra (224, 4266). But as Māgadhi has  $y$  and not  $j$ , it becomes  $yy$  in this language (V 117 and H 4302) and optionally in Śaurasenī (H 4.266). Now palatalisation of  $ry$  is no doubt observed in very late inscriptions but without this distinction. The treatment of the cluster  $ry > y$  noticed in Prakrit inscriptions is also not a result of the change of  $j$  to  $y$ .

13 Similar confusion is witnessed even in Southern inscriptions of Bhaṭṭiprolu. The Ceylon inscriptions also preserve  $ś$  or change it to  $s$  and correspondingly preserve  $s$  or change it to  $s$ .

The cerebralisation of dentals under the influence of  $r$ ,  $ṛ$ , or a sibilant is noticed by the grammarians as a common feature to all Prakrits without any special dialectic distinction. Cerebralisation is also noticed in the inscriptional Prakrits of all groups with this difference that in certain regions it appears at an earlier or a later date. The cerebralisation of  $n$  to  $ṇ$  in all positions is, however, a later development of the literary Prakrits not noticed so strongly in inscriptions. Though Hemacandra allows the change  $n > ṇ$  in the initial position (H 1228-9), Vararuci makes the option for the change  $n > ṇ$  in all positions (V 242). It is again in this respect that the Paisāci Prakrit remains out of the group on account of its preservation of the dental  $n$ <sup>14</sup>. Comparing to the Inscriptional Prakrits we find that  $n$  is preserved in all inscriptions of Aśoka except those at Koptāl in H E H the Nizam's Dominions, where  $n > ṇ$  and  $n > ṇ$ . The later inscriptions from the 2nd cent. B C generally show both  $n$  and  $ṇ$ . It may be said, perhaps, that the preference for the dental is shown in the Central and Eastern groups, and for the cerebral in the rest. It is only in such late inscriptions as of the 3rd and 4th cent. A D that a sweeping change of  $n$  to  $ṇ$  is noticed. The change which was thus steadily creeping in saw its culmination in later Prakrits. Even in terminations we find both  $-n$  and  $-ṇ$  in inscriptions up to 2nd cent. A D. The stage reflected in the literary Prakrits which know of only cerebral  $n$  in terminations is reached perhaps in the 3rd and 4th cent. A D inscriptions.

In the treatment of the cluster  $-ṇ-$  the literary Prakrits make a difference. It is cerebralised to  $-ṇ-$  in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī (V 344, 128, H 242), but palatalised to  $-ṇ-$  in Māgadhi (H. 4293)<sup>15</sup> and Paisāci (H 4303-4). Now the palatal treatment is not noticed anywhere except the Western (and sometimes N-Western) inscriptions of Aśoka. The North-Western and the Southern Aśokan inscriptions show  $-n-$  which then prevails over all regions. But in the north-west itself it is the  $ṇ$  treatment which appears in later Kharoṣṭhī. The Central, Eastern and Northern inscriptions of Aśoka, however, point to  $-ṇ-$ . Thus the later treatment in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī is no doubt reflected in Prakrit inscriptions beyond the Aśokan inscriptions are India. Unfortunately, however, later instances beyond the Aśokan inscriptions are not available from the Eastern group so that we cannot say whether the Māgadhi treatment of  $-ṇ-$  has any historical background.

The change of intervocal sonants to surds both aspirate and unaspirate forms the salient characteristic of Paisāci (and Cūlikā Paisāci) Prakrit (V 103; H 4307, 325). This tendency is sporadically met with in the inscriptional Prakrits mostly in all regions (except perhaps the Central). What again strikes the reader is that in many cases (e.g.  $-ḡ > -k-$ ,  $-ḡ > -kh-$ ,  $-ḡ > -c-$ ,  $-d > -t-$ ) the origin of this change was situated in the East. Its appearance in other regions simultaneously with the East in some cases in the inscriptions of Aśoka may be attributed to the Eastern influence. After the days of Aśoka later inscriptions from South India<sup>16</sup> point to slightly frequent instances of this change, though mostly in proper nouns. Then again the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions give a few instances of the change  $-ḡ > -k(r)-$  and  $-d > -t-$  or  $-t(r)-$ .

### III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The principle of assimilation which has simplified

<sup>14</sup> We have already seen that in Paisāci  $r > ṛ$  (V 105 H 4305)  
<sup>15</sup> A few instances of the change  $-ḡ > -k-$  are found in Ceylonese inscriptions of 3rd  
 cent. A D.

Sk. clusters is common to both literary Prakrits as well as inscriptional Prakrits. A few peculiarities, however, may be discussed below.

(i) *Clusters with stops* The change of the cluster *-cch-* > *-śc-* noticed in Māgadhi (H 4 295) is not witnessed in inscriptions from any region. The clusters with sibilant + stops are sometimes preserved in Māgadhi. Thus *-ṭṭ-* and *-ṣṭh-* > *-ṣṭ-*, and *-stḥ-* and *-rth-* (this cluster however is formed with *r* and not a sibilant) > *-st-* (H 4 290-1)<sup>16</sup> Now the clusters *-ṭṭ-* and *-ṣṭh-* always become *-ṭ-* and *-ṭh-* (or *-th-*) in Prakrit inscriptions (in very few instances *-ṣṭh-* > *-st-* in later Kharoṣṭhi). The cluster *-stḥ-* either becomes *ṭh* or *th*. It is preserved only in the earliest inscriptions in the form *ṣṭ-* and *-st-* (< *st* and *stḥ*) but not in the Eastern inscriptions as one may expect from its being a Māgadhi characteristic but in the Girnar inscriptions of Aśoka. Later Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions also preserve at times clusters with sibilants + dentals. The cluster *-rth-* also becomes *-th-* or *-ṭh-* in Prakrit inscriptions. It is preserved only in the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions.

(ii) *Clusters with the semivowel y* Some of the peculiarities have been already noticed above in the discussion on palatalisation. The cluster *ry* presents a number of treatments. It is mostly dissolved by anaptyxis into *-riy-* or assimilated to *-y-*. Some of the later inscriptions also show the loss of *-y-* in *-riy-*, so that we get *-ry-* > *-ri-* (< *\*-riy-*) and then by metathesis *-īra-*. In a few cases we also get the treatment *-ry-* > *-r-* and in fewer cases still *-ry-* > *-ri-*. Now almost all these treatments have been noticed by later grammarians (cf. *-ry-* > *-ri-* V 3 20, H 2 107 also 67, *-ry-* > *-r-* V 3 18-9, H 2 63-4, *-ry-* > *-ara-* and *-ri-* together with *-ri-* in the treatment of *āścarya-* H 2 67). What is noteworthy in these treatments is that the treatment of *-ry-* > *-ri-* is not noticed by grammarians. They have, on the contrary, added one more highly advanced treatment, that of *-ry-* > *-(e)ra-* which is not exemplified in inscriptions. The clusters with sibilant + *y* are always assimilated to the sibilant or dissolved by svarabhakti in inscriptional Prakrits. Its change to *-h-*<sup>17</sup> besides *-ss-* noticed in the literary Prakrits is not found in inscriptions beyond a few questionable forms.

(iii) *Clusters with the semivowel r* It is enjoined by the grammarians that the clusters with *r* are to be assimilated. They notice the optional preservation of *r* only in the cluster *dr* (V 3 3-4, H 2 79 80). Now we know that the clusters with *r* are often preserved in the Western and N-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. Later on the Kharoṣṭhi inscriptions of N-West preserve many clusters with *r* and in other inscriptional Prakrits, though this tendency is not so strongly evident. Stray preservation of such clusters as *-kr-*, *-gr-*, *tr-*, *-tr-*, *-dr-*, *pr-*, *-pr-*, *br-*, *śr-*, *sr-* and *-sr-* are definitely met with. It appears that by the time the literary Prakrits were formulated even this stray preservation gradually tended to disappear except in the case of *-dr-*.

(iv) *Clusters with the semivowel v* A dialectic variation in the treatment of the cluster *rv* is noticed by Hemacandra. Whereas it is assimilated to *-vv-* in other Prakrits it is also sometimes dissolved into *-rav-* (or *-lav-*) in Śaurasenī and Māgadhi (H 4 270 and on 4 302). Now the Prakrit inscriptions following those of Aśoka assimilate *-rv-* > *-vv-* in all places except N-West. In the Western and N-Western

<sup>16</sup> The preservation of many other clusters with sibilant + stops is noticed in Māgadhi cf. H 4 289.

<sup>17</sup> The change *s* > *h* in the gen sg term is observed in the Ceylonese inscriptions.

ence. The tendency in favour of dental *n* in the non-Western regions is noticed even in the assimilation of the cluster *mn*. The preservation of the cerebral *n* in the assimilation of *ny* is a characteristic peculiar to the two distant corners viz the N-West and the South in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Later on it is found even in the West. But the earlier treatment of palatalisation is the only one preserved in the later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

In certain instances the cluster *jñ* is cerebralised to *n*. As this tendency is evinced in the N-West and the South in the same century viz the 3rd cent. B.C. it would not be wrong to presume that the tendency was brought into play in those regions without mutual influence. It has of course spread over other regions in later centuries, though in the N-West itself it is found very rarely later on.

### MORPHOLOGY

I. DECLENSION. The declensional system of the inscriptional Prakrits, as of the Prakrits of the grammarians, is very much simplified through the processes too well-known to require a detailed description here. Thus, for example, the dual is altogether lost and the bases ending in consonants are mostly transferred to the *-a* stem. In many instances, however, the forms of these bases originally ending in consonants but now brought over to the *-a* class do not follow the declensional system of that class but are directly derived from the corresponding Sk. forms with the necessary phonetic changes.

As the terminations in most cases are the same in all regions, except in the Aśokan inscriptions, there is not much to be summarised in this respect. The regional differences in the terminations which could be discerned in the Prakrits of Aśokan inscriptions are mostly obliterated in the following centuries so that almost in all cases the Western influence over other regions is vividly borne out. Thus the nom. sg. term of the mas. nouns ending in *-a* is *-o* in the Western and *-e* in the non-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. But in later inscriptions only the term *-o* is found in all regions. It may be noted, however, that the term *-e* is the normal one in the Ceylonese Prakrit, and is to be found, though less frequently, in the N-Western Prakrit. Similarly the loc. sg. term is *-e* or *-mā* in the West and *-si* in other regions in the earliest Prakrit inscriptions. But later inscriptions normally show the term *-e*, though the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions show a variety of terminations. The *-s-* of the gen. sg. mas. is sometimes turned into fricative in the N-Western Prakrit.

In the Instrumental and Genitive sg. and the Gen. pl. terminations the nasal *n* is only sometimes cerebralised, generally after *r* and *ṣ* as in Sk. in earlier inscriptions and sometimes even where Sk. does not require it, in later inscriptions. In a majority of cases the cerebralisation is first noticed in the West, N-West and the South mostly round about the beginning of the Christian era. It is noticed in the Centre in very late inscriptions but never in the East. The North-Western Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, however, continue to give both *-n-*, and *-ṇ-*.

Then again the instr. sg. term *-e* of nouns ending in *-a* is a noteworthy feature of the N-Western Prakrit which is not found elsewhere.

Similarly the dat. pl. ending noticed in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. Vihāraśāla Rock inscription of Ceylon is noteworthy. The usual ending that we get for dat. pl. in Brāhmī and Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions is *-i*. But the Ceylonese inscription gives the



term *-hiya* (cf *satehiya*, *EZ* III 165<sup>a</sup>) which seems to have come from < \**-bhuyah* < *-bhuyah*

The forms of nouns ending in *-ṛ* in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions are more, or less derived from the corresponding Sanskrit forms so that they give an appearance of semi-tatsamas

The *-y-* of the term *-ya* and *-ye* which appear for dat. sg mas and instr, dat, gen, and loc sg fem is very often dropped in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions so that we get the ending *-a*, or *-e*

II PRONOUNS The conclusions in Chapter VIII of the present work are generally drawn where the space-time context study enables us to indicate the movements of linguistic peculiarities. As the pronouns do not tend to show anything of the kind no conclusions are deduced from their study. A few words, therefore, may be put here on some peculiar forms noticed in them. Almost all plural forms of the first personal pronoun are derived from the base *amha-*. The rest of the forms are the same as those used in Sk. The use of *mahiya* as gen sg in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions may however be noted. Similarly the nom. pl form *maye* found in the second separate edict of Aśoka at Dhauḷi and Jaugaḍa is quite peculiar. It is derived by HULTZSCH (cf *CII* Vol I (new edn) p cv1) from Sk *vayam* under the influence of inst sg *mayā*

The forms of the second personal pronoun are derived from the base *tuphaka* or from corresponding Sk. forms. The examples are quite few

The bases for the third personal pronoun are the normal ones viz *sa-* and *ta-* and though in most cases the Prakrit forms correspond to the Sk. ones, some of the gen pl forms of masculine are derived from the analogous application of the term *-nam* of the nouns. The other peculiar forms are *se* (or *sa*) and *tissa* in the gen. sg masculine. The use of nom sg mas forms in the Neuter which is noticed in the Aśokan inscriptions may be regarded as archaism for it is never noticed later on

The forms of the demonstrative *etad-* are similarly derived from the base *eta-* or *esa-*. Under the peculiar forms we may notice the gen. sg *etisa* and *etesa*, the loc. sg *etesi*, the use of *ete* in the nom pl neut and the gen pl forms with the term *-nam* (or *-na*)

The pronoun *idam* is not so simple. First of all the form *iyam* is used in the sg of all the three genders. The base *ima-* is evident even in the nom sg mas and neut. and in the forms of inst., gen., and loc. Still more interesting is the form *ima* in the nom sg neut in a Nāsik cave inscription (L 1147<sup>a</sup>). In later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions besides *imanhi* we get *iśa* or *iśe* as loc. sg

The normal base for the relative pronoun is *ya-*. It also gives the base *a-* with the occasional loss of initial occlusion, and *ja-* with the change of *y- > j-*. Even here the nom sg mas forms are used for the neuter in the earliest inscriptions. The loss of occlusion is an Eastern peculiarity almost confined to the inscriptions of Aśoka

Among the pronominal adjectives the important ones are *sarva* and *anya*. The former affords the base *sava-* and the latter *amña* (in the West) or *amna* (in the East). The terminations applied to these bases are those used for the *-a* stem and not those which are peculiar to them in Sk.

III VERB FORMS While narrating the difficulties encountered in the study of Inscriptional Prakrits it has been already pointed out above that the number of verb

forms we come across is very small. As the terminations are more or less the same at all stages no remarks have been added with regard to them in Chapter VIII on Conclusions. It has been, therefore, found necessary to add a few remarks here.

In general the observations which are usually made with regard to the Prakrits of the grammarians apply to the Inscriptional Prakrits. Thus the variety of forms is lost, the dual number disappears as in declension and the middle voice has almost gone. Nothing can be said as regards the forms indicative of the past tense as their number is quite meagre. The forms that we generally get are of the Present Indicative, Imperative, Potential, (Imperfect, Aorist), Future—Active and Passive, Participles, Infinitive and Gerund.

Of the ten classes of verbs found in the old system normally we meet with only two classes. The *-a* class includes a large number of them. The second is the *-e* *-aya* class which includes usually the causatives and sometimes also some simple verbs. It must be noted that *-aya* is preserved in many cases. The system of inflection is the same for both of them.

The terminations for the Present are the same as in Sanskrit (with the loss of visarga) and as they are tabulated in the Synoptic Tables there is nothing to add about them. In causal the *-p-* of the suffix is sometimes changed to *-v-*. The terminations of the third sg. middle is *-le* but in passive we find *-ti* except in the West.

The change *-l- > -d-* in the 3rd sg. term. of the Present and Imperative appears in later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. The change of *-th-* to *-dh-* in the Imperative second person plural termination is met with only in the 4th cent. A.D. inscriptions of Central India. The termination *-ru* of the third person plural in the Imperative which is found in one of the Girnar Edicts of Aśoka is noteworthy. It may be compared with the term *-rnu* for 3rd pl. middle of the Present in the 2nd cent. A.D. Kharoṣṭhī inscription.

The terminations of the potential show a large variety, most of them being of the type *-yā*, *-eyā*. Sometimes we also get *-va* (in the sg.) and *-evā* (in the plural) in Aśokan inscriptions. The use of *-ti* in third pers. sg. in this mood is peculiar to the N.-Western and Northern inscriptions of Aśoka and later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions. It is not met with in later inscriptions elsewhere. These later inscriptions on the other hand change *-yy-* of the termination to *-jj-*.

As the middle voice is dropped in these Prakrits, most of the Present Participles are of the active type ending in *-ata* or *-anta*. When we get the middle participles they are formed by the addition of *-māna* or *-māna*. It may be noted that a few forms of this type are found in the West and the South even in later centuries.

The Past Passive Participles as usual end in *-ta* or *-na*, both of them sometimes being cerebralised in the 2nd cent. A.D. inscriptions of Western and Southern India. In the North-Western Kharoṣṭhī, however, *-l- > -d-* or *-d(r)-*.

The Potential Passive Participles have the familiar endings, viz. *-ja*, *-tāja* (*> -tata* or *-tariya*), and *-anija*. There is nothing peculiar about them except that in the second cent. A.D. in the South we get a term. *-jja*.

The normal terminations for the Absolutes are *-tā* and *-ja*, only the Girnar edicts giving *-tpā* (*> -tā*). The later inscriptions in the South give the terminations *-tā(n)* or *-tā(n)* which could be noticed earlier in the Calcutta-Bairāṅ rock inscription of Aśoka (cf. *abhiśādetān*). The Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions give *-ta*, *-ja*, or *-ca*. The 4th cent. A.D. Copper plates of Central India give only *-tā*.

The forms of Infinitive are rarely met with outside the inscriptions of Aśoka. The terminations in the West are *-tu* and *-tave* and in other regions we get only *-tave*. The Eastern forms of the 2nd cent. B.C., however, show *-tum*, but the North-Western form of the 1st cent. A.D. preserves *-tave*.

## § 8 INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS IN THE LIGHT OF PRAKRIT GRAMMARIANS<sup>10</sup>

The grammars of Prakrit languages were written at a very late stage when the different languages described in them had already assumed a literary form, when they were more or less standardised by usage and were, therefore, no longer in the process of formation. The inscriptional Prakrits, on the other hand, were inscribed centuries before the school of Prakrit grammarians came into vogue and we may assume, *prima facie*, that they reflect the gradual process by which most of the tendencies noted by later grammarians came into play. As could be seen from the chapter on Conclusions or the summary of the results given above this assumption is amply borne out by the chronological study. The austere forces of conservation have always reined the revolutionary forces of innovation in the history of all languages and their influence in the development of inscriptional Prakrits cannot be missed. It is on account of this impact of one process over the other that most of the phonetic changes noticed in the inscriptions are rather of a tendential character, the number of instances exemplifying a particular change however getting multiplied with the march of time. As the present study is limited to the end of the fourth cent. A.D., rarely do we meet with any change of a sweeping nature.

Yet it would be interesting to view the reflection of these inscriptions in the light of Prakrit Grammarians. Though these grammars enumerate a large number of Prakrits in reality they treat of three or four principal Prakrits in detail. Of these we may leave aside Paṭṣācī, the problem of the original home of which is not yet solved beyond doubt. Among the rest Māhārāṣṭrī may roughly correspond, geographically speaking, to the group of Western Inscriptions, Śaurasēnī to the Central and Māgadhī to the Eastern group. We have at present no knowledge of a Prakrit deriving its name from a Southern country and thus correspond to the Southern Inscriptions. The purpose of the present analysis is to see how far the linguistic variations noted by later grammarians in the literary Prakrits have a historical bearing and this can be achieved by comparing the principal characteristics of the different Prakrits with those of the corresponding group of inscriptions noted above.

## PHONOLOGY

I VOWELS - The treatment of the vowel *ɾ* is not so specifically dealt with by grammarians as to point to any regional difference between them. Yet a dialectic division has been made by some of the modern scholars who point out that the *a* (< *ɾ*) treatment is predominant in the West and the South and the *ɪ* (< *ɾ*) treatment in other regions.<sup>11</sup> In the study of Prakrit inscriptions we find that the *a* treatment is the principal one in the Western and *ɪ* in the non-Western inscriptions of

<sup>10</sup> The following discussion takes into account only Vararuci and Hemacandra as the most representative figures in the group of Prakrit grammarians.

<sup>11</sup> J. BLOCH, *La Formation de la Langue marathe*, §31, S. K. CHATTERJEE, *Bengali Language*, §137, FISCHEL, *Gr Pkt Spr* §§49-51, GEIGER, *Pāli Gr* §12. All these are quoted by WOOLNER *Inlr to Pkt* §60.

Aśoka Later inscriptions from all parts, however, tend to show the *a* treatment.

As regards the change in the quantity of the vowels before consonant clusters though Hemacandra expresses himself in a definite manner in the Sūtras 143, 84, and 292, Vararuci is astonishingly silent about it. "Are we therefore to interpret" asks COWELL in his edition of the *Prākṛta-Prakāśa* by Vararuci (p. 186, second issue) "the silence of Vararuci as evidence that the principle in question grew up gradually in Prākṛit, and only became fully recognised in later times?" Colour is definitely lent to this statement by the study of Inscriptional Prakrits. Hemacandra makes only a qualified statement in laying down that short vowels are lengthened before consonant clusters (143 and 292). But according to him the change of long vowels to short ones in similar circumstances is of a sweeping nature (184). Now the presence of many long vowels before assimilated conjuncts in Prakrit Inscriptions clearly points to the fact that this tendency had the widest application noted by Hemacandra only in later days. Even here the dialectic distinction is not made by the grammarians and it is not so clearly evident in the inscriptions either.

II CONSONANTS It is mostly in this sphere that the dialectal variations have been recognised by grammarians. The elision of intervocal single consonants is a singular characteristic of Māhārāṣṭrī (V 22, H 1177). Now in the Inscriptional Prakrits the elision is definitely first met with in some examples of the Western India, and thus the elements of a tendency later on exaggerated in Māhārāṣṭrī literature are found in the earlier inscriptions of the corresponding region. The change of *-l-* to *-d-* (also *d-*) and *-lh-* to *-dh-* is one of the salient features of Śaurasenī (V 123, H 4260-2 and 267) and Māgadhī (H on 4302). In the Prakrit inscriptions though the change of *-l-* > *-d-* is noticed even in the West and North-West together with other regions, the voicing of *-lh-* > *-dh-* is a feature altogether absent in the West. Its presence in other regions, therefore, seems to have developed into the Śaurasenī and Māgadhī characteristic.

In the treatment of the palatal *j* and the semi-vowel *y* it may be gathered that the later usage does not quite correspond to the earlier tendencies. The grammarians prescribe that intervocal *-j-* is dropped and sometimes *-y-* is developed in its stead in Māhārāṣṭrī (H 1177, 180), but it is invariably changed to *y*, both initially and medially, in Māgadhī (V 114; H 4292). Among the inscriptions, the Western, North-Western, and Central inscriptions also change *-j-* > *-y-*. In the East, on the contrary intervocal *-j-* is preserved in all inscriptions. With regard to *y* it is laid down that whereas it is preserved in Māgadhī (H 4292), it is changed to *j-* or *-j* in other languages (V 231, H 1248). In the inscriptions we do notice its preservation in the East and its change to *-j-* or *j-* in other regions.

The cerebral nasal *ṇ* is preserved in all literary Prakrits except Paisāci where it is changed to *n* (V 105, H 4306). As this feature distinguishes all other Prakrits from Paisāci it may be worth while to note that the Asokan inscriptions too divide themselves in two parts in this respect, those in the West, N-West and the South show *-ṇ-*, and the rest *-n-*. Later on, however, many inscriptions in the West and N-West show *-ṇ-* and those in the Centre and East show *-n-*. Thus in this respect the preservation of *-ṇ-* witnessed in literary Prakrits is not borne out by the inscriptional Prakrits. The tendency in favour of *-ṇ-* may, however, be seen in the very late

12. Ceylonese inscriptions of all times preserve *r*.

inscriptions e.g. of the fourth century A.D. Copper-plates of Central India (for the change of  $n > \eta$  see below under cerebralisation)

The change of  $r$  to  $l$  in all positions forms a principal characteristic of Māgadhi according to the grammarians (H 4288). This change is optional in Śaurasenī, more frequent in Ardha-Māgadhi and a few instances have been pointed out where it occurs even in Māhārāṣṭrī (V 230). This account of the semi-vowel  $r$  is definitely borne out by the inscriptions of Aśoka which point out that  $l$  was substituted for  $r$  in the court language of Magadha but not in the West and the N-West. Later inscriptions from the East and especially those of Khāravela, however, point to  $r$  and not to  $l$ . Only the Piprahwa vase inscription, the Sogaura Copper plates and the Jogimārā cave inscriptions from the East change  $r$  to  $l$ .

The three Sk sibilants are merged into the single dental  $s$  in all Prakrits except Māgadhi (V 243, H 1260, for  $Paśāci$  cf. H 4309). The Māgadhi of the grammarians, on the contrary, accepts the palatal  $ś$  instead of the dental  $s$  (V 113, H 4288). It is in this respect that the Eastern language of the inscriptions is at variance with the statements of the grammarians. Not only the inscriptions from non-Eastern India (except N-West) but even the Eastern inscriptions of Aśoka possess the dental  $s$  and not  $ś$ . The notable exception in later centuries is formulated by the Jogimārā cave inscription in the East which not only preserves  $ś$  but changes  $s$  to  $ś$  as is laid down by later grammarians. The Kālsī edicts of Aśoka situated in the Dehra Dun district of the United Provinces no doubt point to  $ś$  ( $< s$ ) but they even preserve  $ṣ$  or change  $s$  to  $ṣ$ . This confusion has been usually attributed by scholars to the ignorance of the scribe.<sup>13</sup> Even if we were to discard the ambiguous evidence of Kālsī edicts, which are again more Northern than Eastern, the Jogimārā inscription definitely points to an Eastern dialect with a palatal  $ś$  in its alphabet which, though not elevated to the status of a court language of Magadha, was current in an area adjacent to it.

Palatalisation of a few single consonants and mostly of dentals in combination with  $y$  is a feature common to all Prakrits, both of the grammarians and that of the inscriptions. The distinction in the treatment of the cluster  $kṣ$ , which was turned to  $ch$  in the Western and the N-Western inscriptions and to  $kh$  in the rest of the inscriptions of Aśoka, was obliterated in the later Prakrit inscriptions themselves (so that Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions show only  $kh$  or preserve  $kṣ$ ) and naturally it is not mentioned by grammarians. A few other peculiarities may be, however, pointed out. We have already seen that Māgadhi changes  $j$  to  $y$  and as a corollary to it the cluster  $dy$  is not changed to  $jj$  but to  $yy$  in Māgadhi (H 4292). The Eastern inscriptions, however, have nothing in common with Māgadhi in this respect as they preserve  $j$  and palatalise  $dy$  to  $j$  (i.e.  $jj$ ). The treatment of the cluster  $ry$  is varied but here we are concerned with the one by which  $ry > j$  or  $jj$ . This treatment for the cluster is prescribed for Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī by Hemacandra (224, 4266). But as Māgadhi has  $y$  and not  $j$ , it becomes  $yy$  in this language (V 117 and H. 4302) and optionally in Śaurasenī (H 4266). Now palatalisation of  $ry$  is no doubt observed in very late inscriptions but without this distinction. The treatment of the cluster  $ry > y$  noticed in Prakrit inscriptions is also not a result of the change of  $j$  to  $y$ .

<sup>13</sup> Similar confusion is witnessed even in Southern inscriptions of Bhaṭṭiprolu. The Ceylon inscriptions also preserve  $ś$  or change it to  $s$  and correspondingly preserve  $s$  or change it to  $ś$ .

The cerebralisation of dentals under the influence of *r*, *ṛ*, or a sibilant is noticed by the grammarians as a common feature to all Prakrits without any special dialectic distinction. Cerebralisation is also noticed in the inscriptional Prakrits of all groups with this difference that in certain regions it appears at an earlier or a later date. The cerebralisation of *n* to *ṇ* in all positions is, however, a later development of the literary Prakrits not noticed so strongly in inscriptions. Though Hemacandra allows option for the change *n* > *ṇ* in the initial position (H 1228-9), Vararuci makes the change essential in all positions (V 242). It is again in this respect that the Paisācī Prakrit remains out of the group on account of its preservation of the dental *n*<sup>14</sup>. Coming to the Inscriptional Prakrits we find that *n* is preserved in all inscriptions of Aśoka except those at Kōpāl in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions, where *n* > *ṇ* and *-n* > *-ṇ*. The later inscriptions from the 2nd cent. B.C. generally show both *n* and *ṇ*. It may be said, perhaps, that the preference for the dental is shown in the Central and Eastern groups, and for the cerebral in the rest. It is only in such late inscriptions as of the 3rd and 4th cent. A.D. that a sweeping change of *n* to *ṇ* is noticed. The change which was thus steadily creeping in saw its culmination in later Prakrits. Even in terminations we find both *-n* and *-ṇ* in inscriptions up to 2nd cent. A.D. The stage reflected in the literary Prakrits which know of only cerebral *n* in terminations is reached perhaps in the 3rd and 4th cent. A.D. inscriptions.

In the treatment of the cluster *-ñ-* the literary Prakrits make a difference. It is cerebralised to *-ṇ-* in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī (V 344, 128, H. 242), but palatalised to *-ññ-* in Māgadhi (H 4293) and Paisācī (H 4303-4). Now the palatal treatment is not noticed anywhere except the Western (and sometimes N-Western) inscriptions of Aśoka. The North-Western and the Southern Aśokan inscriptions show *-n-* which then prevails over all regions. But in the north-west itself it is the *ñ* treatment which appears in later Kharoṣṭhī. The Central, Eastern and Northern inscriptions of Aśoka, however, point to *-mn-*. Thus the later treatment in Māhārāṣṭrī and Śaurasenī is no doubt reflected in Prakrit inscriptions of Western and Central India. Unfortunately, however, later instances beyond the Aśokan inscriptions are not available from the Eastern group so that we cannot say whether the Māgadhi treatment of *-ññ-* has any historical background.

The change of intervocal sonants to surds both aspirate and unaspirate forms the salient characteristic of Paisācī (and Cūlikā Paisācī) Prakrit (V 103, H. 4307, 325). This tendency is sporadically met with in the inscriptional Prakrits mostly in all regions (except perhaps the Central). What again strikes the reader is that in many cases (e.g. *-g* > *-k*, *-gh* > *-kh*, *-ṇ* > *-c*, *-d* > *-t*) the origin of this change was situated in the East. Its appearance in other regions simultaneously with the East in some cases in the inscriptions of Aśoka may be attributed to the Eastern influence. After the days of Aśoka later inscriptions from South India<sup>15</sup> point to slightly frequent instances of this change, though mostly in proper nouns. Then again the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions give a few instances of the change *-g* > *-k(ṛ)* and *-d* > *-t* or *-t(ṛ)*.

### III CONSONANT CLUSTERS. The principle of assimilation which has simplified

<sup>14</sup> We have already seen that in Paisācī *r* > *ṛ* (V 105, H 4306).

<sup>15</sup> A few instances of the change *-g* > *-k* are found in Ceylonese inscriptions of 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D.

Sk clusters is common to both literary Prakrits as well as inscriptional Prakrits. A few peculiarities, however, may be discussed below.

(i) *Clusters with stops* The change of the cluster *-cch-* > *-śc-* noticed in Māgadhī (H 4295) is not witnessed in inscriptions from any region. The clusters with sibilant + stops are sometimes preserved in Māgadhī. Thus *-tṭ-* and *-ṣṭh-* > *-st-*, and *-stḥ-* and *-rṭh-* (this cluster however is formed with *r* and not a sibilant) > *-st-* (H 4290-1)<sup>16</sup>. Now the clusters *-tṭ-* and *-ṣṭh-* always become *-t-* and *-ṣṭh-* (or *-th-*) in Prakrit inscriptions (in very few instances *-ṣṭh-* > *-st-* in later Kharoṣṭhī). The cluster *-stḥ-* either becomes *ṭh* or *th*. It is preserved only in the earliest inscriptions in the form *st-* and *-st-* (< *st* and *stḥ*) but not in the Eastern inscriptions as one may expect from its being a Māgadhī characteristic but in the Girnar inscriptions of Aśoka. Later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions also preserve at times clusters with sibilants + dentals. The cluster *-rṭh-* also becomes *-th-* or *-ṭh-* in Prakrit inscriptions. It is preserved only in the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

(ii) *Clusters with the semivowel y* Some of the peculiarities have been already noticed above in the discussion on palatalisation. The cluster *ry* presents a number of treatments. It is mostly dissolved by anaptyxis into *-riy-* or assimilated to *-y-*. Some of the later inscriptions also show the loss of *-y-* in *-riy-*, so that we get *-ry-* > *-ria-* (< *\*-riy-*) and then by metathesis *-ira-*. In a few cases we also get the treatment *-ry-* > *-r-* and in fewer cases still *-ry-* > *-ri-*. Now almost all these treatments have been noticed by later grammarians (cf *-ry-* > *-ria-* V 320, H 2107 also 67, *-ry-* > *-r-* V 318-9, H 263-4, *-ry-* > *-ara-* and *-ri-* together with *-ria-* in the treatment of *āścarya-* H 267). What is noteworthy in these treatments is that the treatment of *-ry-* > *-riy-* is not noticed by grammarians. They have, on the contrary, added one more highly advanced treatment, that of *-ry-* > *-(e)ra-* which is not exemplified in inscriptions. The clusters with sibilant + *y* are always assimilated to the sibilant or dissolved by svarabhakti in inscriptional Prakrits. Its change to *-h-*<sup>17</sup> besides *-ss-* noticed in the literary Prakrits is not found in inscriptions beyond a few questionable forms.

(iii) *Clusters with the semivowel r* It is enjoined by the grammarians that the clusters with *r* are to be assimilated. They notice the optional preservation of *r* only in the cluster *dr* (V 33-4, H 279-80). Now we know that the clusters with *r* are often preserved in the Western and N-Western inscriptions of Aśoka. Later on the inscriptional Prakrits, though this tendency is not so strongly evident. Stray preservation of such clusters as *-kr-*, *-gr-*, *tr-*, *-tr-*, *-dr-*, *pr-*, *-pr-*, *br-*, *śr-*, *sr-* and *-sr-* are definitely met with. It appears that by the time the literary Prakrits were formulated even this stray preservation gradually tended to disappear except in the case of *-dr-*.

(iv) *Clusters with the semivowel v* A dialectic variation in the treatment of the cluster *rv* is noticed by Hemacandra. Whereas it is assimilated to *-vv-* in other Prakrits it is also sometimes dissolved into *-rav-* (or *-lav-*) in Sauraseni and Māgadhī (H 4270 and on 4302). Now the Prakrit inscriptions following those of Aśoka assimilate *-rv-* > *-vv-* in all places except N-West. In the Western and N-Western

<sup>16</sup> The preservation of many other clusters with sibilant + stops is noticed in Māgadhī cf H 4289.

<sup>17</sup> The change *s* > *h* in the gen sg term is observed in the Ceylonese inscriptions.

Aśokan and later N-Western Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions the cluster is either preserved or assimilated to *-v-*. In the East and North, however, it is either assimilated to *-v-* or dissolved into *-luv-*. The Māgadhi feature, therefore, seems to be an Eastern archaism not recorded in later Prakrit inscriptions.

(v) Clusters with sibilants. The treatment of the cluster *kṣ* to *kh* or *ch* is already noticed above under palatalisation. Further it needs mention here that the occasional treatment of *-kṣ-* > *-sk-* noticed as a feature of Māgadhi (V 118, H 4297) is never met with in any Prakrit inscription. Even the original *sk* or *ṣk* is assimilated to *kh* or *k* at all times (with only a few exceptions from the N-West).

(vi) Clusters with nasals

(a) Clusters with the nasal *ñ*. The treatment of the cluster *ṇñ* > *ṇṇ* or *ññ* is already discussed above. A curious treatment of this cluster by which it is sometimes changed to *ṇ-* or *-ṇ-* in literary Prakrits (V. 35, H. 283) is not found in the inscriptions. The cluster *-ñṇ-* is assimilated to *-ññ-* according to Hemacandra in Māgadhi (cf H 4293). In the inscriptional Prakrits the cluster is always represented as *-ṇṇ-* or *-ṇ-*. It is only in a few instances from the N-Western inscriptions of Aśoka that it is assimilated, as in Māgadhi, to *-ñ-*.

(b) Clusters with the nasal *n* and *ṇ*. The clusters *ny* and *ṇy* are always assimilated to *ññ* in Māgadhi and Paisāci according to Hemacandra (cf 4293 and 4305). It is assimilated to *-ṇṇ-* in other Prakrits. Now this treatment of *-ññ-* is never noticed in the East in the inscriptional Prakrits. It is first noticed in the West and the South and then in the N-West and Centre. On the contrary it is assimilated to *n* or dissolved into *ny* in the Eastern inscriptions.

(c) Clusters with the nasal *m*. The cluster *-tm-* is mostly changed to *-pp-* in Māhārāṣṭrī and to *-pp-* or *-tt-* in other Prakrits (V 348, H 251 seems to allow both forms in Māhārāṣṭrī). In Aśokan inscriptions the cluster is preserved as *-tp-* in the Western and Southern groups but assimilated to *-t-* in other regions. But later Kharoṣṭhī shows *-tm-* > *-tv-*, *-t-*, *-p-*. (The change of *-tm-* > *-tp-* in the West seems to have further developed into *-pp-* in Māhārāṣṭrī and other Prakrits).

#### MORPHOLOGY

The dialectal variations in the declensional and the conjugational systems of the inscriptional and literary Prakrits are not many. Hence there is not much for us to investigate in order to ascertain the correspondences between the literary and inscriptional Prakrits.

The nom sg term *-e* in Māgadhi (V 1110, H 4287) of the stems in *-e* is definitely reflected in the Eastern dialect of the inscriptions of Aśoka. But for a few inscriptions like those at Jogimārā and Pātnā, most of the Eastern inscriptions of later period show the Western term *-o* instead of *-e*. It is really unfortunate that inscriptions following the beginning of the Christian era are not available from Eastern India, for it prevents us from gleanings the approximate date when the dialect of the Jogimārā cave inscription became recognised and fully developed into literary Māgadhi.

The nom sg neut. term *-e* found in the Eastern dialect of Aśokan inscriptions is



not met with later on either in the Prakrit inscriptions<sup>18</sup> or literary Prakrits even including Māgadhi. The term *-am* is regularly used for this purpose.

The nom. acc. pl. neut., the inst. sg., and the gen. pl. of some stems in inscriptions show both a dental and a cerebral nasal in their terminations. In the literary Prakrits all that remains is the cerebral *n*.

The optional term. *-āha* for gen. sg. and *-ham* for gen. pl. in Māgadhi (V 11 12, H 4 299, 300) are never witnessed in any of the Prakrit inscriptions<sup>19</sup>.

The instr., dat., abl., and gen. sg. terminations of the fem. nouns always preserve *-y-* in the terminations *-yā* or *-ye* in the Inscriptional Prakrits. It is only in a few instances of a later date in the Brāhmī inscriptions but very often in later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions that this element of *-y-* is lost. The literary Prakrits, on the other hand, never preserve this *-y-* of the terminations. They are again definitely richer in terminations, and especially so in the ablative case, than the Inscriptional Prakrits.

The nom. sg. of stems in *-i* or *-u* ends in *-ī* or *-ū* in the Inscriptional Prakrits. The literary Prakrits always show the long *-ī* and *-ū*.

Among the stems ending in *-r* a noteworthy feature of the Inscriptional Prakrits and which never figures in the literary Prakrits is the gen. sg. ending *-u* coming directly from Sk. *-ur* in such forms as *pītur* or *mātur*.

In the declension of the consonantal stems the inscriptional Prakrits keep up many Sk. forms with the necessary phonetic changes. In the literary Prakrits, but for a few exceptions, almost all of them are declined like the corresponding stems ending in vowels. Thus for example the instr. and gen. sg. forms of *-at* stems in inscriptions end in *-ā* and *-o* (besides *-sa*) respectively, instead of *-ena* or *-ssa* as in literary Prakrits. In the declension of *-an* (and *-in*) stems, however, even the literary Prakrits partially preserve the forms of the corresponding Sk. declension.

In the pronominal declension, too, there is not much to distinguish the literary dialects among themselves. The peculiar form *hage* used in Māgadhi for the nom. pl. of the first personal pronoun is not noticed in the inscriptions. Such inscriptional bases as *aphāka-* and *tuphāka-* are not met with in literary Prakrits. The nom. sg. of the third personal pronoun appears in Māgadhi as *śe* but as *se* in the Eastern dialect of Aśokan inscriptions. (The Kālsī edict gives all the three forms *se*, *śe*, and *ṣe*). The use of the term *-nañ* for the gen. pl. forms appears both in the inscriptional and literary Prakrits.

**CONJUGATION** As has been already remarked there is little to notice in the sphere of verb forms from the point of view of dialectal variations in the literary Prakrits. The change of intervocal *-t-* > *-d-* in third pers. sg. termination is noticed in Śaurasenī and Māgadhi (H 4 273-4, H on 4 302). This intervocal *-t-* is however lost in Māhārāṣṭrī which then gives term like *-i*, *-u* etc. It is preserved only in the Paśācī Prakrit (H 4 318 9). These are all later phonetic developments which are altogether absent in the terminations of inscriptional Prakrits. It is only in the N.-Western Prakrit that we get both *-ti* and *-di* and *-tu* and *-du* and in the 4th cent. A.D. copper-plates of Central India the change *-th-* > *-dh-* in the imperative second pers. pl. term as is done in Śaurasenī and Māgadhi.

18 It is seen in the Ceylonese inscriptions which give *-e* also for nom. sg. mas. The use of *-e* for neuter in north west is rather doubtful.

19 The gen. sg. *-ha* is quite common in Ceylonese Prakrit.



importance and wide prevalence of the Bhāgawata religion. Gonarda was the traditional birth-place of the celebrated Patañjali, the greatest literary genius of the period. Bhārhut saw the construction of the famous railing which has made the sovereignty of the Śungas (*Suganam raja*) immortal" <sup>20</sup>

The rule of the Kāṇvas which followed this period, when Devabhūti, the last Śunga king, received his tragic end at the hands of Vāsudeva, lasted only from 75 to 40 B.C. Sātavāhanas who are represented to have dislodged them apparently in Eastern Malwā do not seem to have occupied Magadha proper.

In the two centuries which followed the end of the Maurya rule there rose two great kingdoms in India, that of Khāravela in the Kalinga and of Śimuka in the Deccan. The former belonged to the Ceta dynasty and flourished in the second or first century B.C. He humbled the kings of Uttarāpatha and his power was felt even in Tamil country. Śimuka was the first king of the Sātavāhana dynasty and flourished in the first century B.C. His son Śātakaṇi, styled as the lord of Dakṣiṇāpatha, raised the status of Sātavāhanas to paramount sovereigns of Trans-Vindhyan India. "Thus arose the first great empire in the Godāvarī valley which rivalled in extent and power the Śunga empire in the Ganges valley and the Greek empire in the land of the Five Rivers" <sup>21</sup>. The capital of Sātavāhana empire was Pratiṣṭhāna, the modern Paṭhan, on the north bank of the Godāvarī in the Aurangābād district of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions.

The Scythian rule in Northern India was at this time carried on by three main groups of Satraps viz the Satraps of Kāpiśa and Abhisāraprastha, the Satraps of the Western Punjab and the Satraps of Mathura. King Kaniska completed the Kuṣāna conquest in Upper India and ruled over a wide realm which extended from Kāpiśa, Gandhāra and Kaśmīra to Benares. The Kuṣāna kings flourished in the first and second centuries A.D. Though the dynasty began with the Buddhist king Kaniska it ended with the Śaivite Vāsudeva I. The works of Aśvaghoṣa, Nāgārjuna and others and the development of Śaivism and the allied cult of Kārttikeya, of the Mahāyāna form of Buddhism and the cults of Mithra and Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa prove that the period was of great literary and religious activity. Most of the inscriptions of this period which are found at Mathurā are in Mixed dialect and not in pure Prakrit.

The successors of great Kuṣanas in Mathurā and certain adjoining tracts were the Nāgas. Their rule over a considerable portion of Northern and Central India in the third and fourth centuries A.D. is attested by epigraphic evidence.

When the principal Scythic dynasties continued to rule in the North, the Satrapal family of the Kṣaharātas extended their power to Western India and the Deccan. Eight cave inscriptions discovered at Nāsik, Junnar and Kāle prove the existence of a considerable portion of Mahārāṣṭra in the dominions of Naha. The Satrapal family of the Kṣaharāta Satraps. His influence probably extended from the Deccan to the North Konkan to Kāthiāwār, Mālwā and the District of Ajmere. This Satrapal family prevailed in the first and second century A.D.

Gautamīputra Śātakaṇi, who is described in a Nāsik inscription as "the ruler of the Kṣaharāta race", restored the rule of Sātavāhanas in the Deccan in the second century A.D. His rule extended over Mahārāṣṭra, Kāthiāwār and

20 H. C. RAYCHAUDHARI, *Political History of Ancient India*, p. 33

21 RAYCHAUDHARI *op cit* p. 346

India, Berar, and East and West Mālwā The possession Vejayantī in the Kanarese district is specially referred to in a Nāsik inscription of year 18 The earliest Sātavāhana king whose inscriptions have been found in the Āndhra region is Puṣumāyi, Gautamīputra's son The Prakrit inscriptions of Sātavāhana kings are found at Nāsik, Nānāghaṭ, Sāñci, Kārle, Kaṇheri, Amarāvati and Cīna

The greatest rivals of the restored Sātavāhana rule in the second cent. A.D. were the Śaka Kṣatrapas of Ujjain The dominion under their command included East and West Mālwā, Kāthiāwār, some part of Western and Central India etc They were finally destroyed by the Guptas in the fourth cent. A.D.

In the latter half of the 2nd cent. A.D. Sātavāhanas lost their power over Mahārāṣṭra to the Ābhīras and over the Kistna, Guntur and Bellary districts to the Ikṣvākus and Pallavas

The Ikṣvākus are known from the inscriptions found at Jagayyapeṭa in the Kistna district and Nāgārjunikonda in the Guntur district. The most well-known rulers of the family of the Eastern Deccan are Cāntamūla, Śrī-Vīra-Puṇisadata and Eḥuvula Cāntamūla II

Following the Sātavāhanas, the most important dynasty to rule in the South was that of Pallavas The first great Pallava king Śivaskandavarman is known from the inscriptions at Mayyādvolu and Hīrahaḍagallī About the middle of the fourth cent. A.D. Samudragupta invaded South India and administered a severe blow to their power

The early years of the fourth cent. A.D. witnessed the establishment of Gupta dynasty at the hands of Candragupta I in 320 A.D. His son Samudragupta who ruled upto 380 A.D. brought a large territory in the North under his control In the South he only made his power felt by vanquishing his contemporaries but did not annex their territories to his empire. As the period under present survey terminates with the end of the fourth cent. A.D. it is not necessary to narrate here the operations of the later Guptas

The contemporaries of the early Guptas in the fourth cent. A.D. were Vākāṭakas who were then a predominant power in the regions between Bundelkhanda and Kistna The earliest reference to Vākāṭakas occurs in a certain inscription of Amarāvati The copper-plates of Vākāṭaka king Vindhyaśakti II containing some portions in Prakrit have been lately discovered at Basim in Central India

The above summary is narrated from the point of view of the territory held by each dynasty in a particular period The chronology is mainly based upon the conclusions arrived at by RAYCHAUDHARI in his *Political History of Ancient India* It is not intended here to undertake a comprehensive attempt to show how changes in dynasties were or were not responsible for linguistic changes Yet a general indication showing the possibility of the political and cultural supremacy of the invaders affecting the language of the people may be thrown out in this direction It will be seen from the brief narration above that after the fall of the Maurya Empire, Magadha did not loom large over the political horizon till the rise of the Guptas This is perhaps the reason why most of the inscriptions in Eastern (and Central India) in later centuries are not impressed by the dialectal peculiarities of the East noticed in the inscriptions of Aśoka On the contrary they show to a large extent the influence of Western tendencies Thus the change of *r > l* and the nom. sg. term. *-e* of masc. nouns ending in *-a* which may be regarded as the *su e quo* of the language

current in the Magadha in the 3rd cent. B.C. are conspicuous by their absence in the inscriptions round about Magadha in later centuries. With the not very accurate readings of inscriptions at hand and the chronology of some of the events not altogether settled, the time does not seem yet to be ripe for the discussion of this point in all further details. Moreover in some cases it is possible that the phonetic habits of the people themselves were responsible for some very divergent changes in the fixed norm.

HISTORICAL GRAMMAR  
OF  
INSCRIPTIONAL PRAKRITS



## CHAPTER I

### COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ASOKAN INSCRIPTIONS

§1 INTRODUCTORY The inscriptions of Aśoka offer to the student of Indian linguistics a remarkable specimen of a linguistic survey of Indo-Aryan languages as they were current in the great Maurya Empire during the 3rd century B.C. This unique feature has been responsible for attracting the attention of many distinguished scholars working in the field of Middle Indo-Aryan linguistics. Though it is difficult to name all these scholars in these few introductory remarks, mention may be made of the following who have very greatly contributed towards deciphering and interpreting these inscriptions: PRINSEP, SENART, BUHLER, JOHANSSON, FRANKE, SMITH, GRIERSON, MICHELSON, THOMAS, HULTZSCH, BLOCH, LUDERS, JAYASWAL, CHARPENTIER, WOOLNER, D. R. BHANDARKAR, D. C. SIRCAR, TURNER, and B. M. BARUA. The publication of these inscriptions by HULTZSCH in the revised edition of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, in 1925 has brought the study of Aśokan inscriptions to a very high level, incorporating within itself the linguistic and palaeographic researches of more than three generations of scholars. I have based my phonological and morphological study of these inscriptions entirely on the readings adopted by HULTZSCH.

But even this work of HULTZSCH fails to attempt a comparative approach to the linguistic material afforded by these inscriptions. His excellent summaries of grammars are valuable in themselves, no doubt, but their drawback is that they deal with individual dialects and do not give a comparative idea to the reader. In the following discussion, therefore, the whole material is rearranged on a comparative basis in order to show at every stage what linguistic features marked the different dialects of the period. Thus a comprehensive attempt is made here, perhaps for the first time, to reduce, wherever possible, the entire material to certain regional correspondences in so far as the treatment of the different vowels, consonants—simple and clustered—, and the declensional and conjugational forms are concerned. While doing this, in the section on Phonology only the linguistic changes have been exemplified, the instances of preservation being omitted. It may be noted that these changes again are not of universal character but show only certain tendencies of pronunciation. In the section on Morphology, however, all the different endings have been exemplified.

Besides the inscriptions included by HULTZSCH in his edition, I have incorporated in this study the additional material afforded by the recently discovered versions of the minor rock edict at Kopāl<sup>1</sup> in H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions and at Yerrandur in the Kurnool district of the Madras Presidency. I have, however, not been able to include the fourteen rock edicts discovered in the Kurnool district, as none of them is published so far though many years have elapsed since the announcement of their

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1. Ed. by R. L. TURNER. *The Gopāla and Pūrāṇa inscriptions of Aśoka*. Hyderabad Arch. Ser. No. 10. 1932.

2. D. C. SIRCAR *IHQ* 7. (737) 817 ff. B. M. BARUA *IHQ* 4. 113 ff. D. 132 ff. K. P. JAYASWAL *IHQ* 9. 583 ff.



discovery by the Department of Archaeology in India. This material, when published, would be of immense importance inasmuch as the south Indian Aśokan material is rather scanty in comparison with the north Indian material.

I have not added here any remarks as regards the find spots<sup>3</sup> of the Aśokan inscriptions. They are now too well-known in the world of scholars to need repetition here.

## PHONOLOGY

### I VOWELS

§ 2 In common with the other MIA languages the Sk. vowels are well preserved in these inscriptions, the notable exceptions being those of the vowel *ṛ* and the diphthongs *aī* and *au*.

§ 3 Treatment of the vowel *ṛ* in a metrically short syllable

(1) In its initial position this vowel generally tends to become *a-* in G even when combined with a labial. In K and to a certain extent in M, *ṛ-* either becomes *a-* or *i-* so that in a few cases we actually get two parallels for a Sk. word, one indicating the *a-* and the other the *i-* treatment. In S, *ṛ-* generally becomes *i-* and in a few cases *a-*. It becomes *u-* when combined with a labial. D J Pillar and Minor Rock inscriptions agree with the treatment found in K, except that in the latter *ṛ-* > *u-* in combination with a labial.

Sk <i>kṛtā-</i>	G <i>kata-</i>	K <i>kaṭa-</i>	S <i>kṛṭa-</i> <i>kṛṭa-</i>
<i>mṛga-</i>	<i>maga-</i>	<i>miga-</i>	<i>mṛga-</i>
M <i>kaṭa-</i> <i>kṛṭa-</i> <i>mṛga-</i>	D,J <i>kaṭa-</i>	PE <i>kaṭa-</i>	MRE <i>kaṭa-</i>
	<i>miga-</i> Sk <i>prthivī-</i> > <i>puṭhavi-</i>	Sk <i>śṛmarā-</i> > <i>śimala-</i>	Sk <i>mṛṣāvāda-</i> > <i>muśāvāda-</i>

It must be noted that S and sometimes M do not in all cases change the vowel *ṛ* to *a-*, *i-*, *u-* but also preserve the consonantal character of the vowel *ṛ* in semi-tat-samas.<sup>4</sup> Then again in G we get *śṛnāru* from Sk. *√śṛ-ru*, but this is due to the influence of the other forms of the root *√śṛ-* (cf. HULTZSCH, p. LVI). Other parallels are *śuneyu* K, *śṛuneyu* S, *suneyu* MRE.

(ii) In the penultimate position it appears that the change *ṛ-* > *i-* is fast disappearing in the edicts which showed it in the initial syllable and the change *ṛ-* > *a-* is tending to be normal. Under stress accent it becomes *i-* in all groups.

<sup>3</sup> These will be clear from the Map No. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. for this type of change WACKERNAGEL, *Alt Gr. I* §29 p. 33.

Sk. <i>vyāpṛta-</i>	G <i>vyāpata-</i>	K <i>viyāpaṭa-</i>	S <i>vapaṭa-</i> <i>viyapuṭa-</i>
<i>etādṛśa-</i> <i>īdṛśa-</i>	<i>etāṛisa-</i>	<i>hedisa-</i>	<i>ediśa-</i>
M <i>vapuṭa-</i> <i>viyapraṭa-</i>	D, J <i>viyāpaṭa-</i>	PE <i>viyāpaṭa-</i>	MRE Sk <i>prakṛti-</i> > <i>pakṛti-</i>
<i>ediśa-</i>	<i>ediśa-</i>	<i>hedisa-</i>	

(iii) Most of the words where we get the vowel ɾ in its final position are those expressive of human relationship and in such cases it becomes -i or -u

Sk <i>bhrāṭṛ-</i>	S, M <i>bhratu-</i> <i>bhata-</i> M	K, D, J <i>bhāṭi-</i>	PE	MRE
<i>pṛṭṛ-</i>	<i>pṛtu-</i> <i>pṛti-</i>	<i>pṛti-</i> <i>-pṛtu-</i> D	<i>pṛti</i>	<i>pṛti-, pṛtu-<sup>5</sup></i>

#### § 4 The vowel ɾ in a metrically long syllable

(i) In the initial position the vowel generally becomes a- in all edicts, with this difference that when combined with a labial it becomes u- oftener in other edicts than in G

Sk <i>vrkṣā-</i>	G <i>vracha-</i>	S, M <i>rucha-</i>	K <i>ṛkha-</i>
<i>vrddhi-</i>	<i>vaḍhi-</i> ( <i>vudha-</i> Sopārā)	<i>vaḍhi-</i> S <i>vaḍhi-</i> M	<i>vaḍhi-</i> ( <i>vaḍha-</i> )
D, J <i>lukha-</i>	PE	MRE Sk <i>adhi-kṛtya</i> > <i>adhi-gicya</i> <i>vaḍhi-</i>	
<i>vaḍhi-</i> <i>vudhi-</i>	<i>vaḍhi-</i>		

The Sk. root √*ḍṛkṣ-* gives two bases \*√*daḥkṣa-* and \*√*ḍikṣa-* from which we get √*dakṣa-* (S, M, K, D, J, MRE) and √*ḍekṣa-* (D, J, PE) The form *disṣā* in bh is derived from Sk. *ḍṛśyate* by KERN and HULTZSCH

(ii) In the penultimate position we get the same treatment as in the case of the initial syllable.

Sk <i>ānṛya-</i>	G <i>ānṛṇa-</i>	K <i>anṛṇya-</i>	S M <i>anṛṇya-</i>	D, J <i>ānṛṇa-</i>	PE Sk <i>apāḥṛta-</i> > <i>apāḥṛta-</i>
<i>mṛṇti-</i>		<i>uṇṇti-</i>	<i>uṇṇti-</i>	( <i>anṛṇti</i> )	Sk <i>riṣṭa-</i> > <i>riṣṭa-</i> (due to assimilation)

5 At vr - > -ṛ- before term under the influence of gen. p' of -ṛṇa

§ 5 Treatment of Sk *ai* In all positions and in all versions Sk *ai* > *e*

Sk. *kavarta-* > *kevaṭa-* PE

The dat. inf term *-tava-* > *-tave* everywhere

The diphthong *-ai-* which is the result of the sandhi becomes *-i-* at sn cf Sk. *ekaika-* > *ikika-* At sn Sk *éka-* > *ika-* Therefore the second *-i-* in *ikika* may be due to assimilation or due to sandhi peculiarity

§ 6 Treatment of Sk. *au* In all positions and at all places Sk *au* > *o*

Sk. *paūtra-* > *-poṭra-* G, M *-pota-* S, G, K, D, J *poṭika-* T, sc

Sk *paurāna-* > *porāna-* Mysore group *porāna-* yr

In bh we get the form *galava-* (HLZ *gālava-*) comparable with Sk *gaurava-* The Aśokan form is to be derived directly from the base \**gata-* which appears in Sk *gāriyas-* and *garīṣṭha-*

§ 7 Treatment of Sk *-aya-* (and *ayi-*)

Sk *-aya-* (and *-ayi-*) is usually contracted to *-e-*, but it is sometimes preserved without any regional distinction

Sk. *pūjayati* > *pujeṭi* S,M,K, *pujetayā-* G (< Sk. *pūjayitavyā-*), *pujayati* G

Sk *ā\jñā-paya-* > *a\naṭaya-* S,M,br, *a\naṭe-* S,M, *ā\naṭaya-* D,J,Kb, *ā\ñāpaya-* G, *a\naṭaya-* K.

Sk. \**trayadaśa-* > *traidasa-*<sup>6</sup> G, *tedasa-* K, D, J, *todaśa-* S (? Acc to HLZ)

Sk. *Ujjayimī-* > *Ujeṇi* d

§ 8 Treatment of Sk *ava*

Sk *ava* generally becomes *o* in Aś inscriptions When *ā* > *o* > *ava* in Sk conjugation, in Aś inscriptions we get either *ava* or *o*

Sk. *avarodhana-* > *orodhana-* K, D, J, T

Sk. *bhavati* > *bhavati* G, *hoṭi* G,S,O,S,M,K,D,J,d,,PE,sd

§ 9 Treatment of Sk. *a* in a metrically short syllable

The Sk vowel *a* is preserved in an overwhelming majority of cases There are, however, a few changes which it undergoes

(i) Change *a* > *ā* is observed in the following cases

Sk *ca* is sometimes represented as *cā* in K,D,J,J,PE and MRE Similarly we get *nā* twice in K for Sk. *nāṭ* .

Sk *rāṭi* The form in S,M,G and So is *raṭi*, but in K *lāṭi* TURNER points out that this latter form might be an example of the preservation of initial *ā-* cf *rāḍi* 'play' \**rāṇṭi* Similarly the form *uyāma-* in K is shown to be a case of medial preservation of long *-ā-* (< Sk *udṛyāma-*)<sup>8</sup>

(ii) The change of *-a* > *-i-* is found in Sk. *madhyamā-* > *majhima-* in K,d,j and PE (but *majhama-* in G) This change is due to the presence of the palatal semi-vowel *y* In the future form the same change occurs in *vaḍhisiti* in MRE

6 TURNER explains this form to have come from Prim Ind \**trayedadaśa* < IE \**treyez dekṃ* cf BSOS 4,363

7 It is worthwhile to note that in RV X. 34.8 also we get *nā*

8 Cf BSOS 4,364 For a few apparent changes *a* > *ā* cf MEHENDALE, BDCRI 3,233 In Sk. *ātaviṭa* < *ācaviṭa-* S,M,G, *atīyāyika-* K,D,J, the change seems to be due to assimilation. We may also note Sk *kṛtājñatā* > *kṛtānātā* K.

(iii) The change of *a* > *ū* is noticed in *tūlanā*- (< Sk *tvaranā*-) and *tulā*- (< Sk *tvarā*-) in d and j respectively,<sup>9</sup> in *mum̐sa*- (< Sk. *mānuṣa*- or *manuṣya*-) in D, J, PE and MRE,<sup>10</sup> and in *mula*-<sup>11</sup> (< Sk *matā*-) in K,S,M,Ksb,Rdh,Rp

Sk *uccāvaca*- > *ucāvuca*- Major RE due to assimilation (G gives *ucavaca*- also)

Sk *udapāna*- > *udupāna*- in M,K,D,J,T On the basis of this correspondence the change *-a* > *-u* may be explained away as due to assimilation But it is also possible to derive *udu*- < Sk *-udu*- 'water' The Sk word *uḍu*- probably goes back to *ṛdu*- 'sweet or pleasant' Cf *ṛdupā*- *Rgveda* VIII 77 11 'drinking what is sweet or pleasant'

Sk *auṣadhā*- (< *oṣadhu*-) The forms that are obtained are *oṣudha*- in S and *osudha*- in G K,D and J, however, give the form *osadha* HULTZSCH observes that the change *-a* > *-u* noticed in S and G is due to the preceding vowel *o* Commenting on this derivation TURNER<sup>12</sup> observes that an earlier hypothetical form *\*oṣṛdha*- or *\*oṣṛdha*- would explain the presence of *-u*- or *-a*- in the different forms But we have already seen that intervocalic *-ṛ*- > *-a*- (and not *-u*-) in G and *-i*- or *-a*- in S The suggestion, therefore, made by TURNER does not seem to be acceptable.

The change of Sk *ca* > *cu* in Kpb is explained by TURNER to be due to contamination with *tu* Cf *Gavimṭhi and Pāṭik Inscriptions*, p 10

(iv) The change of *a* > *e* in *meñati* S (Sk. *manyate*) is probably due to the influence of the palatal *y* in the following syllable. (Cf HLZ p lxxxiv) Similarly Sk *śālyaka*- > *-seyaka*- Rdh, Mth, Rp and *-sayaka*- T, Ksb (cf HLZ p cxi) The form *sayane*- (Sk *samyama*-) only at M is either due to preceding *y* or is a mistake.

(v) Initially *a*- is dropped in *pī* < Sk *apī* in all versions For a few other instances of initial elision cf Sk *\*ahakam* > *hakam* K,D,J,PE,MRE, in the west and north-west, however, we get *aham* Similarly Sk *arghantī* > *\*araghantī* > *\*raghantī* > *laghantī* PE In compounds, Sk *-ādhyakṣa*- > *dhīyakha*- K, *-jhaḥkha*- G, M, *-dhīyacha*- S We may also cite the instance of Sk *asmi* > *sumi* MRE

(vi) In the final position the vowel *-a* is preserved in many cases In a few cases, however, it is dropped or is changed to *-ā*, *-e* or *-o*

1 The Vowel *-a* > *-ā* in compounds as,

Sk *sāra-ṛyaddhī*- > *śālā-ṛadhī*- K, but *sāra*- G, *śāla*- K, *sala*- S, M

Sk *ardha-trika*- > *adhātīya*- br, sd, but *adhatīya*- in other MRE The change here may be due to the simplification of the following cluster

2 It becomes *-ā* also when the final consonant is dropped The change occurs mostly in the north and the east.

Sk *jāvat* > *ārā* Rdh, Mth, in other edicts we get *-a* at the end

Sk. *samyak*- > *samyā*- D J, K, *saṃn a*- S, *samyā*- G M

3 In some cases the final *-a* is lengthened even when there is no loss of final consonant.

Sk *dla* > *ālā* K D J, PE yr *āha* G, K, J, PE and br and sd

<sup>9</sup> It may be noted that in Vedic times the word *trāṣ*- was pronounced as *\*trāṣ*- Hence *\*trāṣā* > *tālā* or *tulā* Similarly in PE we get *trāṣ* < Vedic *trāṣ*

<sup>10</sup> The change here appears to be due to analogy with *trāṣ* < Sk. *trāṣ*

<sup>11</sup> Due to the presence of *m* The vowel *a* is preserved in *māca*- at K, G, J T M

<sup>12</sup> BSOS 4.353

Sk *yātra*<sup>13</sup> > *yatā* K, other edicts, including K, give forms with -a at the end

Sk *ātha* > *athā* yr

The change is sometimes observed in the terminations of declension

Sk *bhayéna* > *bhayenā* PE

Sk *jānapadasya* > *jānapadasā* K,T *jānapadasa* G,D,PE

4 The loss of visarga The visarga at the end is lost in these inscriptions and the preceding vowel -a sometimes undergoes the following changes

(i) Change -ah > -ā

Sk *Magah* > *Magā* G, *Makā* K, *Maka* S,M

(ii) Change -ah > o This is generally found in G,S

Sk *yāśah* > *yaso* G,D,J *yaśo* or *yaśo* K, *yaso* M

Sk. *vāyah* > *vayo* PE

(iii) Change -ah > -e is generally met with in edicts other than G and S

Sk *jānah* > *jane* S,M,K,D,J,PE, but *jano* S,G

Sk *-priyah* > *-piye* everywhere, but *priyo* or *piyo* S,M,G

§ 10 Treatment of the vowel *a* in a metrically long syllable The vowel, though mostly preserved, becomes *ā* in a few cases<sup>14</sup>

Sk. *\*rājñ-ka-* > *rājñka-* G, yr, *rajuka-* S,M, *lajñka-* K,D,PE

Sk *vaktavya-* > *vātavā* bh, but *vātava-* S, *vātavya* G, *vātaviya-* M,K, D,d,j, and Mysore group

Sk. *pūnarvasu-* > *punāvasu-* PE

Sk *anyātra* > *ānata* K, but *anata* K,D, *añatra* S,M,G, *amnata* D,J,PE

The change of -a > -ī in a metrically long syllable is found in Sk *ghastha-* > *gihtha-* K,T, but *gahatha-* K,M, *gharasta-* G, and *grahatha-* S The fact that both the forms with -ī- and -a- are found in K shows that this treatment is dependent upon the corresponding change of *ṛ* > *a-* or *ī-*

§ 11 Treatment of the vowel *i* in a metrically short syllable The vowel is overwhelmingly preserved Yet it undergoes the following few changes

1 Change *i* > *a-* due to dissimilation is observed in

Sk. *pīṇikā-* > *kapīlika-* T, Rdh, Mth, Rp, but *kīṇikā-* Ksb

Sk. *prithvī-* > *-puṭhavi-* d It must be noted that the Sk vowel -ī- which becomes -a- is a svarabhakti vowel

2 Change (*v*)*i* > *u-* is observed in such cases as

Sk *dvitīya-* > *duṭīya-* ng, kq

Sk. *svid* > *su* d, j

3 Change *i* > *e-* may be witnessed in Sk *tri-daśa-* > *tredaśa-* M, *tedasa-* K, D, but *tīdaśa-* s<sup>15</sup>

13 In Vedic Sk we get the form *yātrā* also

14 Besides the instances noted above also cf *sāva* (< Sk. *sārva-*) at K, other versions including K show short *a*; Sk *dākṣma-* > *-dākhina-* T M, Ksb, Rp, but *-dakhinā-* Rdh, Mth, Sk *āgatīa-* > *āgāca* rm, ng, Sk *pranapti-* > *panāti-* K, but *panati-* D, *panati-* M, *panati-* S

15 For G *traidasa* cf *supra* §6,

4 The vowel *i* is often lengthened in prepositions, suffixes and before the loss of final consonant or visarga

Sk. *pratibhāga-* > *paṭibhāga-* G, *paṭibhāga-* KS T almost invariably gives *paṭi-* for Sk *prati-*

Sk. *-abhiṣkāra-* > *-abhiṣkāra-* G, *-abhiṣkāla-* D, *-abhiṣkāra-* SM, *-abhiṣkāla-* K.

Sk. *sthitika-* > *-sthitika-* D,J,PE,sc,bh,br,sd,Kpb, but *-sthitika-* M,T,ru,s,b, *-sthitika* S,T,Mi, *-sthitikya-* K.

Sk. *lipi* > *lipī* d,j, but *lipi* D,sn

Sk. *prakṛti* > *prakṛtī* sd, *prakṛtī* br,sd, but *prakṛti* jtr

Sk. *etāsmi* > *etāsmī* G, but *etāsi* d, j

This change in the quantity of the vowel is also sometimes observed before the case terminations

Sk. *jñātsi* > *jñātsī* G, also cf. *amte vāsisi* yr

Sk. *rājābhih* > *\*lājīhi* > *lājīhi* T

5 Initially *i-* is lost only in a few cases

Sk. *idānim* > *dāni* MRE (*dāni* Kpb) but *idāni* SM,K.

Sk. *iti* > *ti* in all versions, *iti* is sometimes obtained in G,D

§ 12 Treatment of the vowel *i* in a metrically long syllable The vowel is mostly preserved, but sometimes it is changed to *i* or *e*

Sk. *nir/lakṣ-* > *nīlakha-* PE Rp once gives *nīlakha-*

Sk. *viṃśatī-* > *vīśatī-* rm, ng, bb and other PE Once in *śatavīśatī-vasa*, however, T gives short *i-* The presence of the long vowel may even be regarded as the preservation of IE long *i-* which is noticed in AV *vīśatī*, Lat. *uiginti*<sup>16</sup>

Sk. *cikitsā-* > *cikīcha-* G, but *cikīchā-* S,M,DJ

Sk. *avihimsā-* > *avihīsā-* G, but *avihīsā-* in other versions, *avihimsā-* G,T

The change of *i-* > *e-* may be noticed in the following plausible example Sk. *\*i-tra* > *eta* G,D, *etra* S, *hetā* So,K,D,J,Kq,S

§ 13 Treatment of the vowel *u* in a metrically short syllable Though the vowel is preserved in a large majority of cases, sometimes it becomes *a*, *i*, *ū* or *o*

1 Change *u* > *a* may be instanced in Sk. *pīnar* > *pana* S,M,D,J, (but *p.mā* S,M,G,K,) and Sk. *gurū-* > *garu-* S,G,yr, *garuta-* br, *gal-* K (but *guru-* S,M,G, *gulu-* K,D,J) But as has been already noticed the latter forms are to be compared with Sk. *gārīyas-* and *garīṣṭha-*

2 Change *u* > *i* occurs in such cases as,

Sk. *pūruṣa-* > *pūṛiṣa-*<sup>17</sup> PE, d, j

Sk. *mānuṣa-* > *mūnuṣa-*<sup>18</sup> K,D,J,PE,MRE, but *mānuṣa-* S,M,K, *mānuṣa* G, *mānuṣa-* Kpb

Sk. *Purunda-* > *Pūṛiṇda-* K, but *Pūṛiṇda-* S, *Pāṛiṇda-* G, and *Pāṛiṇda-* M

3 Change *u* > *ū* occurs sometimes before case terminations

Sk. *balābhih* > *balūḥi* G,D,J, but *baluḥi* S,K.

16 See Bloch, *L'Indo-Aryen*, p. 37

17 The vowel which undergoes the change is a svarabhakti vowel of the change *i* > *e* in similar circumstances. Cf. a § 11

18 This is only an analogical form after *ṣ* i.e.

Sk. *bahūsu* > *bahūsu* D,J,PE

Sk. *gurūsu* > *gurūsu* yr

It is also lengthened due to loss of visarga

Sk. *sādhūḥ* > *sādhū* D,T, other versions give short -u

Sk. *vaseyuh* > *vasevū* D, others give short -u

For some sporadic lengthening of the vowel *u* cf,

Sk.  $\sqrt{yuj-}$  >  $\sqrt{yñja-}$  d,j

Sk. *pratyupagamana-* > *pacūpagamana-* T, Rdh, Mth, Rp, but  
*pacupagamana-* Ksb

Sk. *\*mādhuratā-* > *mādhūratā-* G, but other versions show short *u*

The vowel *u* is lengthened in its final position when followed by *ti* (< Sk *iti*), or sometimes even without it.

Sk. *jānantu iti* > *jānantū ti* MRE

Sk. *bhavatu iti* > *hotū ti* PE, also cf *ālādhamitū ti*

Sk. *yuñjantu* > *yujantū* D, but *yujantu* M,G,K, also cf *panthesū* G, but *matesu* in other versions

Sometimes, however, the vowel -ā- is shortened in Sandhi and in compounds

§ 14 Treatment of the vowel *u* in a metrically long syllable The vowel is only exceptionally lengthened in such cases as

Sk. *anāyuktika-* > *anāvūtiya-* d, but *anāvutiya-* j

Sk. *\*niṣṭhurya-* > *niṣhūliya-* d, j, PE

Sk. *anupratipanna-* > *anūpaṭipanna-* T The change may even be attributed to analogy with similar lengthening of *i* in prepositions

§ 15 In the case of long vowels *ā*, *ī* and *ū* it is to be remembered that as the Kharoṣṭhi alphabet does not mark the length of the vowels such long vowels are absent in S and M Hence in these versions at S and M the short vowels sometimes stand for long ones

§ 16 Treatment of the vowel *ā* followed by a single consonant The vowel is almost invariably preserved Such cases as *dana-* (for *dāna-*), *papa-* (for *pāpa-*) are clearly due to scribal mistakes. *-aparadha-* in G is to be derived from the root  $\sqrt{radh-}$  used in the same sense as  $\sqrt{rādhi-}$ <sup>19</sup>

Sk. *mahānasa-* > *mahanasa-* D, (S,M), but *mahānasa* G,K

Sk. *mahāmātra-* > *mahamata-* Kq, but other versions give forms with *maḥā-*

Sk. *mahādhanā-* > *mahadhana-* yr

The vowel -ā in its final position<sup>20</sup> is sometimes shortened in the declined forms of the nom. sg. or inst. sg.

Sk. *rājā* > *rāja* G, *lāja* K,D,T,bb, *laja* S,M, but *rājā* G, *lājā* K,D,J,T,b

Sk. *icchā* > *icha* S,M,K,d,j, but *ichā* G,K,PE

Sk. *ātmānā* > *atana* Rdh, Mth, Rp, but *atanā* T, Ksb

Similarly the vowel *ā* is sometimes shortened in the eastern dialect when it is followed by *m* (which is changed into anusvāra) or when the visarga at the end is lost

<sup>19</sup> Cf HULTZSCH p lvi

<sup>20</sup> It is perhaps shortened due to the loss of final consonant in Sk. *sydt* > *siya* PE, j, (S, M), but *siyā* K, d, j PE, MRE, Sk. *manāk* (?) > *mina* or *mana* PE (*minā* M<sub>1</sub>)

Sk *bhūtānām* > *bhūtānam* (G), D, J, K, T, but *bhūtānām* G

Sk *putrāh* > *puta* K, D, J, but *putrā* G (*putra* S, M)

§ 17 Treatment of the vowel *ā* followed by a consonant cluster It is in this treatment that the regional distinction is clearly noticed Whereas in the Western division the long vowel is preserved, it is usually shortened at other places

Sk. *ātyayika-* > *ācāyika-* G, (*acayika-* S,M) but *atīyāyika-* K,D,J

Sk *mārdava-* > *mādava-* G, *madava-* K,T

Sk *prakrānta-* > *pakamta-* MRE

When a cluster with a nasal follows the long vowel *ā*, it is shortened to *a* even in G If the long *ā* is preserved in the inscriptions then the anusvāra is dropped or the cluster is assimilated

Sk. *Tāmraparvī-* > *Tambapamni-* G,K,J,S, *tambapam-* M

Sk. *klānta-* > *kīlamta-* d, j

Sk. *kṣānti-* > *chāti-* G, *chamti-* S, *khamti-* K

Sk. *ā√jñap-* > *ā√ñapa-* G, *ā√napa-* K,D,J,T,Kb *ā√napa-* br, (*a√napa-* S,M)

Sk *ātmanā* > *atanā* PE, *atane* d, j

§ 18 Treatment of the vowel *ī* followed by a single consonant In this position the vowel is fairly well preserved It is only in the Kālsī version that the vowel is often represented as short one In *tinmi* (< Sk *trīmi*) we find that the vowel is shortened and a nasal is added to it. Therefore such forms as *devmam* and *anusathmi* may be regarded according to HULTZSCH, as defective spelling for *devimnam* and *anusathummi*

Sk *jīvā-* > *jiva-* K (S,M) but *jīva-* G,D,J,PE

Sk *dīpana* > *dīpana-* K (S,M), but *dīpana-* G

Sk *śīla* > *sīla-* G,D,K (*śīla-* S,M)

The nom sg of fem nouns ending in -ī generally ends in long -ī in G and the Mysore group, but it ends in short -i elsewhere. In the case of the nom sg of mas nouns ending in -m, the short vowel is noticed at G,S,M,PE, and the long vowel at D,J,Ksb and I in K and MRE

For some sporadic shortenings of *ī* cf the following instances ·

Sk *pīpīlikā-* > *kapīlika-* Rdh, Mth, Rp, *k.pīlīkā-* ksb, but *kapīlika-* T

Sk *mīśrībhūta-* > *mīśrībhūta-* mk

Sk. *dvīliya-* > *dutīya-* ng,kq

Sk *āśvāsānīya-* > *asvāsānīya-* d, j, (also cf *datīya-* d)

The long vowel *ī* is changed to its guna substitute in Sk *īdrśa-* > *īdrśa-* K,D,J, sn, *cdīśa-* S,M

§ 19 Treatment of the vowel *ī* before a consonant cluster As is noticed in the case of the vowel *ā* before a consonant cluster, this vowel also is usually shortened in all edicts except at G

Sk *kīrti-* > *kīrti-* G, *īrti-* M,D,J, *kīrti-* S, *kīrti-* G,K

Sk *īrṣyā-* > *īrṣyā-* d, j *īrṣyā-* PE ~

Sk *āṅghāyus-* > *āṅghāyus-* br, sa, but *āṅghāyus-* sd, jr (*āṅghā-* HLT)

21 The long vowel *ī* is, however, preserved in PE in the form *pīpīlikā-* (< S *pīpīlikā-*)



§ 20 Treatment of the vowel *ū* before a simple consonant It is usually kept long in all versions except those at S,M, (and K) The form *thuba-* occurring at ng is not to be derived from Sk. *stūpa-* but from  $\sqrt{\text{stubbh-}}$  The short vowel in *bhuya-* (Sk. *bhūyas*), which is found in Major RE suggests that it is probably to be read as *bhuyya-* For some irregular shortenings of *ū* at K we may compare such instances as—

Sk. *sūpa-* > *supa-* K, (S, M), but *sūpa-* G,D,J

Sk. *mayūra-* > *maṇḍa-* K (S,M), but *majūla-* J

Sk. *pūjā-* > *puja-* (S, M), but *pūjā-* G, PE

The treatment of the long *ū* in Sk. *śusrūṣā* is rather irregular Cf *sususā-* K,J,T, *susrusā-* and *susumsā-* (note the compensatory addition of anusvāra) G,  $\sqrt{\text{sususa-}}$  D, jtr But *śusrūṣā-* G, *susūsā-* D,PE,  $\sqrt{\text{susūsā-}}$  J, br, sd, (*śusrūṣa-* S,M)

§ 21 Treatment of the vowel *ū* before a consonant cluster In this case the vowel is shortened in all versions including the one at G

Sk. *-pūrva-* > *-purva-* or *-puva-* G, *-pruva-* S,M, *puluva-* K,D,J

Sk *dūṣya-* > *dusa-* sn, sc, kb

The long vowel is, however, met with in such forms as *-sūta-* (< Sk *sūtra-*) at bh, *-sūriya-* and *-śūhiya-* (< Sk. *sūrya-*) at sc and nj respectively

§ 22 Treatment of the vowel *e* It is preserved in these inscriptions almost rigorously even when followed by a consonant cluster It is only in such rare forms as *ika-* (Sk *eka-*) at sn that the vowel undergoes any change. In S, however, a tendency is noticed to change the final *-e* to *-i* <sup>22</sup>

Sk. *dvē* > *duvi* S, but *duve* elsewhere.

Sk. *ṛājānah* > (*\*rājāne*) > *rajan* S, but *rajane* M and *lājāne* D,J,T

§ 23 Treatment of the vowel *o* This vowel is also extremely well preserved even when followed by a consonant cluster It is shortened to *u* only as a sandhi peculiarity

Sk. *ekona-* > *ekuna-* bb

Sk *prajotpādana-* > *paṇḍapadana-* S

## II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

§ 24 Generally, simple consonants are well preserved both initially and medially The processes of sonantisation, loss of occlusion and others by which intervocal consonants suffer numerous changes in later Prakrits, though not altogether absent in Aś inscriptions, have only just begun to appear in them The law of cerebralisation too has only partial application <sup>23</sup>

### § 25 Gutturals

(a) On the whole the gutturals are initially preserved In G, the form *gharasta-* is not an instance of initial aspiration, for the MIA base *ghara-* is to be derived from IE *\*g\*horos-*, and not from Sk. *ghā-* (for the latter derivation cf V 432 and H 2144)

(b) Medially the gutturals undergo a few changes <sup>24</sup> which are detailed below

22 For a similar tendency in the Kharoṣṭhī documents of Chinese Turkestan cf BURROW, §1

23 A few changes which are due to assimilation and dissimilation as well as some other exceptions are generally indicated in fns.

24 Change *-k* > *-kh-* due to assimilation Sk. *akarkaśa* > *akhakhaśa-* d

1. Change of surd to sonant is instanced by *-k- > -g-* in the East.

Sk *-loká- > -loga-* j, but *-loka-* everywhere else

Sk. *adhikṛtya- > adhiḡcyā bh*

The foreign name Antiochos appears as *Amṭiyoga-* K (M), but *Amṭiyoka-* S,G,D,J

2. Change of a guttural to *y* found with *-k<sup>25</sup>* and *-g-* has occurred only in the suffix. The change is perhaps an eastern characteristic (?)

Sk *anāyuktika- > anāvṛṭṭiya-* d, j

Sk (*paśu-* etc.) *+ upa-ga- > upaya-* S,M,G,K,D, but *-upaga-* G, K,D,J,d,T

Sk *ardhatṛika- > adhātṛiya-* MRE

3. Change of a sonant to surd is instanced by *-g- > -k-* in the North, North-West and the South

Sk *Maga- > Maka-* S,M,K, but *Maga-* G. Also cf. the name Antigonos which appears as *Amṭekina-* S,M,K,G

Sk *-upa-ga- > -upaka-* S,M, cf. above for other forms

Sk *ārōgya- > \*ārōga- > āroka-* yr, but *ārōḡiya-* br, sd

4. Change *-gh- > -h-* by loss of occlusion

Sk. *laghū- > lahu-* G,K,T

## § 26 Palatals

(a) In their initial position they are well preserved

(b) In the medial position the following few changes may<sup>d</sup> be noted

1. Change of a surd to sonant is found with *-c- > -j-* in the non-Western regions

Sk *acala- > ajala-* d, but *acala-* j

Sk *sāmkuci- > samkuja-* PE

2. Change of a palatal to *-y-* is instanced only by *-j-* in the North-West.

Sk *Kamboja- > Kambojā-* S, but *-j-* is given by M,K,G

Sk *rājan- > raya-* S, but other edicts give the forms with *-j-*

Sk *samāja- > samaya-* S, *samāja-* S,M,G,K,D,J

3. Change of a sonant to surd is found with *-j- > -c-*. Its appearance in the Western and North-Western regions may be attributed to the Eastern influence

Sk *Kamboja- > Kamboca-* D, for other forms cf. above.

Sk *vraja- > vaca-* D,J,G,K, *vraça-* S,M, *√vraça-* S

## § 27 Cerebrals

(a) The forms with initial cerebral are only conspicuous by their absence in Aś inscriptions. The loss of initial cerebralisation is found in a single instance

Sk *ḍuḥ- > duḍḥ-* or *daḍḥ-* PE

(b) In the medial position the cerebrals, with the exception of *-n-* are well preserved<sup>26</sup>

1. Change of *-ṭ- > -ḍ-* occurs in the Centre and the North

Sk *-rāṣṭrikā- > -rādṭikā-* Kq *-rādṭikā-* T.

2. Change *-ḍ- > -ṭ-* occurs in the non-Western groups

Sk *edaka- > claka-* PE but *edaka-* T, Rdh, Mth

<sup>25</sup> The forms *divaḍḍa-* MK and *divaḍḍha-* MRE are derived from Sk. *divāḍḍha-* and instanced as the change *-ḥ- > -ṣ-* by HULTSCH. But these forms are to be derived from *divāḍḍha-*, also cf. TURNER *Ga. inscriptions and Pāli inscriptions* p. 11 n. 2

<sup>26</sup> Only *-ṇ- > -ṇ-* by loss of aspiration. Cf. Sk. *raṇḍha-* > *raṇḍha-* PE

Sk. *dvādaśā* > *duvāḍasa* and *duvāḷasa* PE, also cf *ṣamnaḍasa* and *ṣam-naḷasa* (< Sk. *pañcadaśā*) in PE

3 The cerebral *-n-* is usually preserved in the Western and North-Western groups and at Mysore and Koptāl in the South [Elsewhere it is changed to *-n-* <sup>27</sup>

Sk. *kārana-* > *kārana-* S,G, *kālana-* K,PE, *kārana-* yr

Sk. *ṣaurāna-* > *ṣorāna-* br, sd, jtr, *ṣorāna-* yr

Sk. *srāvana-* > *sāvana-* br, sd, jtr, kpb, *sāvana-* ru,s,yr,T

## § 28 Dentals

(a) In the initial position the dentals are well preserved The change of *t-* > *d-* is found in a solitary case in the North.

Sk *toṣa-* > *dosa-* K, but *toṣa-* S,M, *tosa-* G,J,d

(b) In the medial position though they are usually preserved, the following few changes may be noted.

1 Change of *-t-* > *-d-* is met with in the North and the North-West

Sk *hitā-* > *hida-* S,M,K, but *hitā-* S,M,G,K,D,J,PE

Sk *-yātrā* > *-yadrā-* M, *-yātā-* G,K,D

Sk *hāṣayīṣyatī* > *haṣeśadī* S, but *-ti* in other edicts

2 Change *-d-* > *-t-* is perhaps instanced in the East.

Sk *prati*√*pad-* cf the forms of *paṭi*√*pāta-* in j The derivation of these forms is however highly doubtful The versions at d and T give forms with *paṭi*√*pāda-*

3 Change *-dh-* > *-h-* by loss of occlusion

Sk. *nyagródha-* > *ngoha-* T, bb

Sk. *vi*√*dhā-* > *vi*√*daha-* PE

4 Change *-dh-* > *-d-* by loss of aspiration

Sk. *\*idha* > *\*hidha* > *hida* in all versions except G, *idha* G, JOHANSSON connects *hida* with Vedic *idā* 'now'

Sk *skandha-* > *-khamda-* G perhaps by metathesis of aspiration, but *-kamdha-* S,M,K,D

5 Loss of *-t-* and insertion of *-v-* is found in the numeral

Sk. *cāturdaśa-* > *cāvudasa-* PE

6 Loss of *-d-* is met with only in the West<sup>28</sup> (and the South)

Sk. *tāḍṛśa-* > *\*tāḍṛsa-* > *tāṛsa-* G, but *tāḍṛsa-* K,D,J, *tadīśa-* S,M

Sk *yāḍṛśa-* > *\*yāḍṛsa-* > *yāṛsa-* G,yr, but *ādīśa-* K,D,J,M, *yadīśa-* S

## § 29 Labials

(a) In the initial position they are well preserved <sup>29</sup>

1 Change of *b-* > *p-* is met with only in a single instance in the North-West.

Sk. *bāḍham* > *padham* S (but S also gives *baḍhatarām*), elsewhere we get *bāḍham* or *bāḍha*

<sup>27</sup> As exceptions *garāna-* (< Sk. *garhanā-*) at S, *bramāna-* (< Sk. *brāhmanā-*) at M, and *khāna-* (< Sk. *kṣana-*) at d may be noted.

<sup>28</sup> This loss of occlusion in the West compares well with the later Māhārāṣṭrī characteristic.

<sup>29</sup> *p-* > *ph-* due to assimilation in Sk. *paraśa-* > *phalusa-* d, j *p-* > *k-* due to dissimilation in Sk. *pīpīlikā-* > *kapīlikā* PE (*ki-* Ksb).

2 Change *bh-* > *h-* occurs only in the forms of the root  $\sqrt{bhū-}$  in all versions perhaps as an Eastern characteristic (cf. *hoti*, *hotu* etc.), for the forms with *bh-* occur only in the West and the North-West (cf. such forms as *bhoti*, *bhavati*, *bhave*)

(b) In the medial position the following few changes which occur only in limited instances may be noted

- 1 Change *-p-* > *-b-* is met with only in the North at Delhi-Topra

Sk. *līpi-* > *-lībi-* T, but *līpi-* occurs in Major Rock Edicts, MRE and other PE (including T)

- 2 Change *-p-* > *-v-* is noted in a single case.

Sk. *pra*  $\sqrt{āp-}$  >  $\sqrt{pāva-}$  s,  $\sqrt{pāpa-}$  elsewhere

- 3 Change *-bh-* > *-p-* is apparently due to mistake or it may be due to assimilation

Sk. *prati-bhoga-* > *paṭi-poga-* Rdh, but *-bhoga-* in other PE, S,M,K.

- 4 Change *-bh-* > *-h-* by loss of occlusion

Sk.  $\sqrt{labh-}$  >  $\sqrt{laha-}$  d,j,kb

Sk. instr pl term *-bhūh* > *-hū* in all versions

- 5 Change *-bh-* > *-b-* by loss of aspiration<sup>30</sup>

Sk. *\*stubha-* > *thuba-* ng If the form is derived from Sk. *stūpa-* then the change *-p-* > *-b-* is instanced

- 6 Change *-m-* > *-ph-* by metathesis of aspiration.

Sk. *kamaṭha-* > *\*kapaṭha-* > *kaphaṭa-* PE

§ 30 Semivowels With the exception of *r* which is dialectically changed to *l* in certain groups, semivowels are normally preserved in these inscriptions

### § 31 The semi-vowel *y*.

- 1 The semi-vowel *-y-* > *-j-* in one instance.

Sk. *mayūra-*<sup>31</sup> > *majura-* S, M. *majūla-* K, J

- 2 It is elided both initially and intervocally In the initial position, elision occurs mostly in the indeclinables and relative pronouns

Sk. *yātra* > *yatra* or *yatā* S,M,G,K,s, *ata* K,D,J,T

Sk. *yāthā* > *yathā* S,M,G,K,PE,sd, *athā* K,D,J PE

Sk. *yāvat* > *yava-* S,M,G,PE, ru, *āvā* or *avam* S,M,G,K,D,PE

Sk. *yādīśa-* > *yāriśa-* G, *yadīśa-* S, *ādīśa-* M,K,D,J

Sk. *yat* (adverb) > *yam* Major RE and Mysore group, *am* M,K,d,j

Sk. *yat* (Pron) > *ye*, *yam* or *ya* S,M,G,K,MRE, *e* or *am* M,K,D,J,jtr

It can thus be noticed that the Eastern dialect drops the initial *y-* but the Western dialect favours its preservation Its occasional elision in the non-Eastern areas is very likely due to the Eastern influence.

Intervocally the elision is observed exclusively in the North-Western region

Sk. *prajā-* > *prā-* S (about 4 or 5 times), all other versions including S give *prīya-* or *pīya-*.

Sk. *\*ekajya-* > *\*ekajīya-* > *ekajīya-* S but *ekajīya-* K,D,J,M

Sk. *dīyadīya-* > *\*dīyadīya-* > S, but *dīyadīya-* M,K.

*dīyadīya-* MRE

<sup>30</sup> Similar loss of aspiration is perhaps instanced in *-ph-* > *-p-* in the form *ṣṣṣṣ* (gen. 2nd pers. pron.) at ru but cf. *ṣṣṣṣ* and *ṣṣṣṣ* in the same inscription.

<sup>31</sup> The G form *mura* is regarded by TURNER to be a later word cf. PSOS 4270

It is interesting to note that in all these cases where S drops intervocal -y-, the Mānsehrā version which is so near to it always preserves -y-. But it is well-known that the latter has more 'Magadhisms'

3 In some cases -y- is elided and -v- is developed mostly in the presence of u. The tendency is seen in the non-Western regions

Sk *dirghāyus-* > *dīghāvusa-* br, sd, jtr

Sk. *āyukti-* > *āvuti-* d, PE, but *āyuti-*<sup>32</sup> j

Sk *viṣaya-* > *viṣava-* S, sn, *viṣava-* K, but *viṣaya-* M and *viṣaya-* G

The interchange between -y- and -v- is also noticed in the optative term -eyu -evu

Sometimes y- is developed initially<sup>33</sup> perhaps as a non-Western characteristic.

Sk. *evā* > *yevā* M,K,D,J,PE, but *eva* S,K,G

§ 32 Initially r- is preserved in the Western and North-Western divisions<sup>34</sup> but is consistently changed to l- in other places

Sk. \**rājñī-ka-* > *rājuka-* S,M,G, *lājñka-* K,D,PE

Sk *rājan-* > *rājā* S,M,G,So, *lājā*, K,D,J,PE and MRE

Intervocally -r- submits to the same treatment as in the initial position, with only a few exceptions<sup>35</sup>. Among MRE the South Indian inscriptions at Mysore, Koppāl and Yerrāguḍi preserve -r- but at Maskī -r- > -l- (or -r-) Other MRE in the East and the Centre change -r- > -l-, with only a few exceptions at the latter place.

Sk	G(SO)	S,M	K,D,J	PE
<i>cāraṇa-</i>	<i>-cāraṇa-</i>	<i>-cāraṇa-</i>	<i>-calana-</i>	<i>-calana-</i>
<i>cirā-</i>	<i>cira-</i>	<i>cira-</i>	<i>cila-</i>	<i>cila-</i>
Sk.	PE		MRE	
			Mysore, Yr, Kpb	Other MRE
<i>paurāṇa-</i>			<i>porāṇa-</i> , or <i>-na-</i>	
<i>sātreka-</i>			<i>sātreka-</i>	<i>sātuleka-</i> ru
<i>valsara-</i>			<i>-vachara-</i>	( <i>sātreka-</i> mk) <i>-vachala-</i> s ( <i>vachara-</i> ru)
<i>cirā-</i>		<i>cira-</i>		<i>cila-</i> s, b ( <i>cira-</i> ru)
<i>sūrya-</i>	<i>-ṣūṛiya-</i> nj <i>-sūṛiya-</i> T <i>-surīya-</i> sc			Also cf <i>galava-</i> bh, Sk <i>udāra-</i> > <i>uḍala-</i> ru, mk, s, b etc Sk <i>√kar-</i> > <i>√kala-</i> mk

§ 33 Initially l- is well preserved. Intervocally it is changed to -ḍ- in just a few cases

32. This reading is accepted by HLZ. Others read *āvuti-*.

33. For similar development in the Niyā Prakṛit, cf BURROW, §32

34. The forms of the root *√laca-* at G, S M (S has *√raca-* also) are regarded by HULTZSCH as 'Magadhisms'. But in Sk. itself we have *√loc-* connected with *√roc-*.

35. Sk. *sāra-* > *sāla-* S, M, K, but *sāra-* G. Sk. *aparibodha-* (?) > *apalibodha-* S,M,K,D

Sk. *maḥlā-* > *maḥḍā-* G

Sk. *Cola-* > *Coḍa-* Major RE

Sk. *Kcrala-* > *Kerada-* S, but *-la-* in other versions

Sk. *ḍuḥ-* > *dadi-* or *dudī-* PE

### § 34 The semi-vowel *v* :

1 Initially *v-* is generally preserved, its stray change to *p*<sup>36</sup> being due to assimilation. Thus Sk. *vipula-* > *pipula-* ru, elsewhere we get *vipula-*

2 In the cluster *dv*, *v* is changed to *b* in the West and North-West.

Sk. *dvādaśā* > *dbādasa-* G *badaya-* S, but other versions give *duvādaśa-* or *duvādasa-*

3 Intervocally *-v-* is normally preserved. When clustered with *t*, it is changed to *-p-* in the West (cf. *dv-* > *db-* above).

Sk. *catvārah-* > *catpāro* G, *cature* S, *catāh* K.

Absolutive term *-tvā* > *-tpā* G, *-tu* in other versions

4 Intervocally *-v-* is lost only in the West [cf. above §27(b) 3 and footnote].

Sk. *sthāvira-* > *thāira-* G

5 *v-* is initially developed<sup>37</sup> before *u-* in the following

Sk. *ūdha-* > *vuḍha-* S,M,G,K

Sk. *√uc-* > *√vuca-* S,M,G, *vuta-* G,D

Sk. *uṭa-* > *vuta-* S

### § 35 Sibilants

In MIA languages the three Sk. sibilants are often merged together into the single dental sibilant. In Aś. inscriptions which are the best representatives of the early MIA we find a threefold treatment of the sibilants in all their positions (i) S,M preserve the distinction between the three sibilants, (ii) the rest, except K, show only the dental sibilant *s*. It is important to note that even the Eastern dialect shows *s* and not *ś*; (iii) as regards the treatment of the sibilants in K it would be best to quote the remarks made by HULTZSCH "In edicts I-IX the Kālsī dialect agrees with the Gīmar one in replacing the two sibilants *ś* and *śh* by *s* (though *-ś-* occurs in K IV twice. cf. *vaśa*, *Piyadaśinā*)". In a few cases *ś* is used where Sk. would require it. But in the majority of instances *śh* and *ś* are phonetically and etymologically impossible. To explain this state of matters, we have to suppose that the writer spoke a dialect which knew no sibilants besides *s*, and that he used the letters *ś* and *śh* indiscriminately for expressing the same sibilant (*s*). In other words, the letters *ś* and *śh* at Kālsī are purely graphical.

Sk. *śrāvaka* > *śraṭaka-* S, M, *srāṭāpaka-* G, *sātaka-* K, D, J

Sk. *śuśrūṣā-* > *sīśruṣa-* S,M, *susumsā-* G, *susūsā-* K,D,J,PE *sīsīsa-*, MRE

Sk. *-daśā-* > *-daśa-* S,M, *-dasa-* G,K,D,J,PE (*-ḍasa-*), MRE

Sk. *māruṣa-* > *naruṣa* S,M,K, *maruṣa-* K, *maruṣa-* G,K,D,J, *māruṣa-* PE, MRE, *māruṣa-* Kpb

The following few exceptions may, however, be noted.

36. The form *\*ācā* at ru. I 4 is connected by BURLER with Sk. *śācā*, but by HULTZSCH with Sk. *\*ācātar*.

37. This is a characteristic of local pronunciation in the Niyā Prākrit, cf. BURLER §32.

38. Cf. A. Ins. p. lxxi, also cf. Jules BLOCH "Asoka et le Magadhi" *BSOS* 6:291-95.

## (a) In the treatment of palatal ś

Sk. *śuśrūṣā* > *suśruṣa*- S,M Note the initial s- and not ś- due to dissimilation

Sk. *anuśocana*- > *anusocana*- S

Sk. *Śākya* > *Śaka*- mk Note initial ś instead of s-

## (b) In the treatment of the cerebral ṣ

Sk. *abhiṣikta*- > *abhiṣita*- S,M, *abhiṣita*- nj Thus -s- and -ṣ- occur where they are not expected to be.

Sk. *mānuṣa* > *manuṣa*- S,M Note -s- for -ṣ-

Sk. *viṣaya*- > *viṣava*- sn

Sk. *eṣah* > *eṣe* kq

Sk. *varṣa*- > *vaṣa*- mk.

The other exceptions in S and M occur in terminations cf loc pl *yesu*, gen. pl. *ubhayesaṃ* (M), *ubhayesu* (S), futures in -*iṣati* and -*eṣati* etc.

## (c) In the treatment of the dental s

Sk. *saṃśayika*- > *śaśayika*- M (due to assimilation)

Sk. *satyá*- > *śaca*- sd

Sk. *svargá*- > *śvaga*- b

Sk. *śāsana*- > *śaśana*- S, M (due to assimilation)

Sk. *upāsaka*- > *upāśaka*- mk.

Other exceptions occur in terminations cf *śaṣu*, *paṃcaṣu* etc. at S, M, *Devānāṃ-pīyaṣā* at kq, and *ācarīyaśa* at jtr

The change of -s- > -h- is sometimes observed in the future endings like -*hatha* and -*hamti*

§ 36 The aspirate *h* is well preserved both initially and medially It is, however, lost in a few cases in the North-West.

Sk. *hastin*- > *astin*-<sup>39</sup> S,M, but *hasti*- G, *hathi*- D,K

Sk. *ihā* > *ia* S,M, but *iha* S,M,K

Sk. *māma* Pkt. *maha* > *maa* S, other versions have *mama*

Sk. *āha* > *aa* M (once VI 26), otherwise we get *āhā*

Sk. *ahām* > *aam* M, but *aham* or *hakam* elsewhere.

There are certain instances of cockneyism where *h*- is developed initially before a vowel cf

Sk. *idṛśa*- > *heḍśa*- K, *heḍśa*- D,J,sn, but *ediśa*- S,M, *ediśa*- K,D,J, *etārśa*- (< Sk *etādṛśa*-) G<sup>1</sup>

Sk. *evam* > *hevam* K,d,j,T,Rp,MRE, but *evam* S,M,K,D,G

Sk. *\*i-tra* > *hetā* So,K,D,J,kq,s, but *etra*, S,M, *eta*, G,D

## § 37 Palatalisation

By the law of palatalisation sometimes the dentals and occasionally even the gutturals are palatalised mostly in the presence of the vowel *i* or the semi-vowel *y* Except the palatalisation of -*k*- and -*g*- in the North, and that of -*t*- in the East, this feature is mainly a characteristic of the West and the North-West (and also of the South)

1 Gutturals Following gutturals are palatalised in the circumstances noted below

39 This is HULTZSCH's reading, others read *hasti*-

- (i) The gutturals *-k-* and *-g-* are palatalised<sup>40</sup> at K and T in the North

Sk. *nikāyā-* > *nkyāya* K, but *nikāya-* elsewhere.

Sk. *sthitika-* > *-ṭhitikya-* K, but *-ṭhitika-* or *-ṭhitika-* elsewhere.

Sk. *Kaṭṭiṅga-* > *Kaṭṭiṅga-* K, *Kaṭṭiṅga-* elsewhere.

Sk. *\*aṣṭa-krośika-* > *adha-kosikya-* T

Sk. *āmra-vāṭikā-* > *ambā-vadikya-* T

- (ii) Intervocal *-kh-* when combined with *y* is once palatalised in G

Sk. *san* √*khyā-* > *sachāya* G, but *samkhaya* S,M, and *samkhaye* K.

(iii) Cluster *kṣ* The treatment of this cluster is interesting inasmuch as in all positions it is palatalised in the West and the North-West,<sup>41</sup> but assimilated to the guttural *kh* elsewhere.

Sk. *kṣudrā-* > *chuda-*<sup>42</sup> G, but *khuda-* K,D,J,MRE

Sk. *kṣana-* > *chana-* S,M,G, but *khana-* d, j

Sk. *mokṣa-* > *mocha-* S,M, but *mokha-* K,D,J

Sk. *pakṣi-* > *pakhi-* PE

2 Dentals The following dentals, mostly in combination with *y*, are palatalised. We get a few instances of initial palatalisation also

(i) Dental *t-* is initially palatalised in the East in the presence of the palatal vowel *i-*

Sk. *tiṣṭha-* > √*ciṣṭha-* M,K,D, but √*tiṣṭha-* S, √*tiṣṭha-* G

(ii) Cluster *-ty-* It is mostly palatalised in the regions other than the Eastern, where it is dissolved into *-ṭiy-*

Sk. *ātyāyika-* > *acayika*, S,M, *atīyāyika-* K,D,J

Sk. *satya-* > *saca-* PE, br, jtr, yr

Sk. *adhikṛtya* > *adhigicya* bh, *kaca-* G

(iii) Cluster *-ts-* (or *-tsy-*) The cluster *-ts-* is palatalised in the West and the South but assimilated to *s* elsewhere.

Sk. *samvatsarā-* > *samvachala-* s, *-chara-* ru, br, sd, jtr, fpb, yr

Sk. *cikitsā-* > *ciṭṭiṣā-* G, *ciṭṭiṣā-* S,M,K,D,J.

But when the cluster *-ts-* does not occur in the body of the word but is due to the combination of consonants, it is assimilated to *s* everywhere.

Sk. *ut-sāha-* > *usāha-* PE

Sk. *ut-sṛta-* > *usaṭa-* S,M,G,D,J, *uṣaṭa-* K

The cluster *-tsy-* > *-ch-* in PE

Sk. *matsya-* > *macha-* PE

- (iv) Cluster *-dṣ-* is however, generally palatalised everywhere.

Sk. *adyā* > *aṭa* S,M,G,K,D,J

Sk. *prati-* √*pad-ya* > (*paṭi-*) *paṭamtu* PE

But when the cluster *-dṣ-* does not occur in the body of the word it is assimilated to *y*

40 See HULTSCH p LXXI and J. BLOCH *Liège-1-er* p 78. Similar palatalisation of *-k-* in the suffix is observed a little later in the word *asāṭhya* in the Jōgimōri inscription at Rāmgarh (D. St. Sarguz Chhotia Nagpur Division).

41 It is found in the form *ch* in the Niva Prāmā of Burrow, § 48

42 The exceptional cases are *ri sa-* or *ruṣa-* S, M, *chra-* K and *-(a)ṣṭa-* (< Sk. *aṣṭaṭṭa-*), and *saṭṭiṣa-* (< Sk. *saṭṭiṣa-*) G, S.



Sk. *ud-yāna* > *uyāna*- S,M,G,K,D,J

Sk. *ud-yāma* > *uyāma*- K.

(v) Cluster *-dhy-* is palatalised to *-jhi-* in all regions But the cluster *-dhi-y-* is palatalised only in the West (and North-West)

Sk. *madhyamā* > *majhama*- G, *majhuma*- K,d,J,PE

Sk. *\*mdhyapti* > *nijhati*- Major RE, *nijhapa*- PE

But Sk *a-vadh-yā* > *avadhīya*- T,M<sub>1</sub>,Ksb, *avadhya*- T,Rdh,Mth,Rp

Rk *adh-y-akṣa* > *-(a)jhakha*- G, *-(a)jhacha*- M, but *-(a)dhiyakha*- K, *-(a)dhiyacha*- S

(vi) For the palatalisation of nasals *n* and *ṇ* see below under the treatment of clusters *ny* and *ṇy*, §49 and §50

(vii) Sibilant *ś*-<sup>43</sup> > *c*- in a few cases in the East and thence in the Centre and the South.

Sk.  $\sqrt{\text{śak}}$  >  $\sqrt{\text{caka}}$ - d,j,s,b,Kpb, but  $\sqrt{\text{saka}}$ - elsewhere

### § 38 Cerebralisation

By the law of cerebralisation dentals are turned into cerebrals mostly in the presence of *r*, vocalised or unvocalised, sometimes with a sibilant, and in very few cases even without any influence. It will be observed that the Western dialect is the least affected by cerebralisation.

1 Cerebralisation of the dental *t* It is generally cerebralised in regions other than the West.

(i) Change *-(r)t-* > *-ṭ-*

Sk. *kṛtā* > *kaṭa*- S,M,K,D,PE,MRE, but *kata*- G

Sk. *bhṛta* > *bhaṭa*- S,M,K,D, but *bhata*- G

Sk. *nurvṛtta* > *nuvṛṭa*- S,M

(ii) Change *-rt-* > *-ṛ-*

Sk. *kārtavya* > *kaṭava*- or *kaṭaviya*- S,M,K,D,J,PE,MRE, but *katavya*- G

Sk. *kṛti* > *kuṭi*- M,D,J, *kuṛi*- S, but *kṛti*- G,K

By way of exception *-rt-* > *-ṭ-* in G in the word *saṃvaṭa* < Sk *saṃvarta*-

(iii) Change *-(r)t-* > *-ṭ-*

Sk. *prati* > *paṭi*- in all versions including G, though G gives *prati*- about four times

(iv) Change *st* > *ṭh* occurs very rarely, for usually it is assimilated to *th*

Sk. *stambha* > *ṭhabha*- ru, but *-thabha*- or *-thambha*- T,ru,s

Sk. *āśvasta* > *asvaṭha*- M<sub>1</sub>(once), but *asvatha*- PE

Sk *anuśasti* > *anusañhi*- K, So, but *-anusathi*- K,D,J,T, *anusasṭi*- and *-sasti*- G, *-anuśasti*- C,M Thus here in G, *t* in combination with *s* is cerebralised to *-ṣṭ-* (cf the change *-sthi* > *-ṣṭ-* in G below)

2 Cerebralisation of the dental *th* It is normally not cerebralised in the West except when the dental is combined with a sibilant.

<sup>43</sup> Initial palatalisation of *s* > *ch*- is perhaps instanced in Sk. *saṃvatsarā* > *chava-chara*- at ru This change is due to assimilation But HULTZCH and THOMAS consider this form to be a mistake for *saṃvachara*-, which occurs in the other MIRE Earlier this form was derived by scholars from Sk *ṣaṭ-vatsara*

- (i) Change *-rth-* > *-ṭh-*  
 Sk *ārtha-* > *aṭha-* S,K,D,J,PE and MRE, but *attha-* G,S,M,K,J
- (ii) Change *-(r-)th-* > *-ṭh-*  
 Sk *mṛgrantha-* > *mṛgaṇṭha-* T
- (iii) Change *sth* > *ṭh* or *sṭ* (in G) in a few cases, otherwise the cluster is assimilated to *th*

Sk *sthitika-* > *ṭhitika-* M,K,D,J,Ksb,MRE, but *-thitika-* S,T,Mi,Rdh,  
 Mth, sc

Sk *sthitā-* > *sṭita-* G

Sk *anasthika-* (or *an-āsthika-*) > *anathika-* PE, but *anathika-* Ksb

### 3 Cerebralisation of the dental *d*

- (i) Cluster *-rd-* is never assimilated to a cerebral

Sk *mārdava-* > *māḍava-* G,K,T

Sk *cāturdaśa-* > *cāvudasa-* PE

- (ii) Change *-(r-)d-* > *-ḍ-*

Sk *tri-daśa-* > *treḍaśa-* M, but *tiḍaśa-* S, *tedasa-* K,D

- (iii) Change *-d(r)-* > *-ḍ-*

Sk *īḍṣa-* > *hedisa-* K, but *hedisa-* S,K,D,sn, *edisa-* SM

- (iv) Change *-d(r)-* > *-ḍ-*

Sk *udāra-* > *udāla* or *udāra-* MRE

- (v) Change *-d-* > *-ḍ-* in numerals (other than *tri-daśa*)

Sk *dvādaśa-* > *duvāḍasa-* K,PE,MRE, *duvadaśa-* (also *-dasa-*) M, but  
*duvāḍasa-* D,J

Sk *pañcadaśa-* > *pañṇadaśa-* and *-lasa-* PE, *pañcadaśa-* Ksb

4 Cerebralisation of the dental *dh* In combination with *r* it is generally not cerebralised in the West. But it is cerebralised under the influence of *ṣ*

- (i) Change *-(r)dh-* > *-ḍh-*

Sk *vṛddhi-* > *vadhi-* Major RE, PE, ru, but *vadhi-* G

Sk *vṛddhā-* > *vudha-* So, S,D,J, *vudha-* K, *vudhra-* M

- (ii) Change *-rdhi-* > *-ḍhi-*

Sk *dvyardha-* > *diyadha-* M,K, *diadha-* S, *diyadhaya-* MRE

Sk *vardhi-* > *radha-* Major RE, PE, MRE, but *√radra-* G,M,  
*vadhita-* K, *vadhita-* M (< Sk *īardhita-*)

- (iii) Change *-(ṣ-)dh-* > *-ḍh-*

Sk *auṣadhā-* > *oṣudha-* S, *asuḍha-* G, but *osadha-* K,D,J

5 Cerebralisation of the dental *n* This nasal is usually well preserved in all positions and in all versions. It is, however, initially changed to *ṇ-* only in the Kopbal version and perhaps once in the Jaugada separate edict. In the intervocal position its cerebralisation is met with usually in the West and the North-West.

Sk *nō* > *ṇo* Kpb, but *no* elsewhere.

44 Prof. TRAVERS would like to derive these forms from *\*andha-*. The presence of the cerebral in the Gimm version and that of dental in the D and Jaugada version precludes such derivation, for as has been noted above the dental after *r* is cerebralised in G but they regularly undergo the change in the Eastern dialect.

Sk. *m-√dhyā-* > *m-√jhapa*<sup>45</sup> j, but *m-√jhapa-* PE, and *mjhati-* MRE,  
 Sk. *dāśana* > *dasana-* G, *dasana-* G,K,D,J,So, *draśana-* M  
 Sk. *pīa-√āp-nu-* > *prā-√puna-* G,S, *pā-√puna-* K,d,j  
 Sk. *mānuśa-* > *mānusa-* Kpb, other versions give forms with dental -n-  
 Sk. *idānim* > *dāni* Kpb, but *dāni* ru, mk, yr

In Sk the dental -n- of the terminations becomes -n- after *ṛ* or *ṣ*. This -n- is replaced by the dental -n- in all versions except those in the Mysore group and the one at Kopbal in the South<sup>46</sup> and rarely in j in the East.

Sk. *putréna* > *putena* or *putrena* Major RE

Sk. *lipikarena* > *lipikarena* Mysore group

Sk. *vārśānṛ* > *vasāni* Kpb

Sk. *sārvena* > *savenā* j, but *savena* d, j

In a few cases the dental is cerebralised even when Sk does not require it.

Sk. *laukikena* > *lokikena* j

Sk. *Devānām-* > *Devānam-* br, jtr, Kpb and S (once), but *Devānam-* yr, sd and in other versions

Also cf *adhatiyāni* and *sātrekāni* at Kpb

6 Cerebralisation of clusters with nasals Such cerebralisation is met with in very few cases

(1) Cerebralisation of -ny- > -n- is an exceptional characteristic of the Mānsehrā version

Sk. *anyā-* > *ana-* M, other versions (including M) give forms with -n- or -ñ-

Sk. *√man-ya-* > *√mana-* M, other versions have -n- or -ñ-

(11) Cerebralisation of the cluster *jñ* is observed in two distant regions viz the North-West and the South

Sk. *ā√jñā-pa* > *ā√na-pa* S,M,br, other versions have -n- or -ñ-

§ 39 Treatment of final consonants Consonants in their final position are generally dropped in Aś inscriptions as in other Prakrits Thus the abl sg term. of mas and neut. nouns in -a is -ā < -āt

Also note the following

Sk. *yāvat* > *yāva* S, PE, *āvā* Major and Pillar edicts

Sk. *bhavet* > *bhave* G

Sk. *punar* > *punā* S,M,G,K, *pana* S,M,D,J

Sk. *syāt* > *siyā* K,d,j,PE, MRE, *siya* S,M,j,PE

Sk. *manāk* > *minā* PE

It will be noticed that the final vowel if short is sometimes lengthened and vice versa (Also cf the treatment of the final vowels)

The word *palisā* < Sk *pariśad* occurs in K,D,J HULTZSCH quotes this as an

45 This is HULTZSCH's reading Others read *m-*, also cf TURNER, *Gavimath Inscr* p 1, f note 3

46 As an exception the dental -n- is preserved in such cases as Khudakena (-ḍa- kpb), *pakamamīnena* (-nenā kpb)

47 A few consonants at the end are, however, preserved in Samdhī cf Sk. *evam* + *api* > *ci ampai* G Sk. *evam* + *eva* > *evameva* S, M, K, *hemeva* d, j, PE, br, sd, jtr Sk. *etad* + *artha* > *etdatha-* T.

example of the lengthening of the final vowel due to the loss of the final consonant. TURNER objects to this explanation and points out that *paṛiṣad* first changes to *paṛisa*, and then *paṛisā* in conformity with the existing fem endings<sup>48</sup>

Since the final consonants are dropped, the final *-m* and *-n* are also dropped in these inscriptions and then the preceding vowels are nasalised

Sk *dānam* > *danam* Major Rock and Pillar Edicts

Sk *dharmam* > G,K,D,*dhramam* S,M

But this anusvāra at the end is not always represented in writing Thus we get such forms as *dana* S,M, *dhamma* J, *katavya* G, etc

#### § 40 Nasalisation .

Sometimes a nasal is introduced in some words in these inscriptions in order to mark the doubling of the following consonant when the preceding vowel is shortened

Sk *trīm* > *līm* K,D,J,PE, but *lm* M,K

Sk  $\sqrt{bhū}$  > *ahumsu* G

Sk *śūśrūṣā* > *susumsā* G

Sometimes a nasal is introduced in order to break hiatus

Sk *anya-anya* > *añam-amña* G, *añam-aña* S, *annam-ana* K

In certain cases, however, it is introduced without any apparent reason

Sk *prakṛti* > *pamkṛti* sd, but *pakṛti* br, sd, jtr

Sk  $\sqrt{śvas}$  >  $\sqrt{samvasa}$  sn

Sk *\*mśiṣṭakā*<sup>49</sup> > *mmsiḍhayā* PE

Sk *yāvat* > *avam* K

Sk *ca* > *cam* bh

Sk. *pāratṛika* > *pālamṭikya* K (HULTZSCH's reading)

Sk *mśradeva* > *msamdeva* s (HULTZSCH's reading)

### III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 41 The clustered consonants are assimilated or dissolved through many a process in MIA in general Aśokan inscriptions prove no exception to this general treatment adopted by other MIA languages, except that a few clusters and especially those formed with *-r-* are preserved mostly in the North-West and the West This North-Western characteristic is apparent even today in the group of Dardic languages<sup>50</sup> Space forbids here an elaborate treatment of all clusters in the Aśokan inscriptions<sup>51</sup> Hence only the treatment of important clusters is discussed below, omitting such clusters as exemplify normal assimilation The process of palatalisation and cerebralisation in clusters is already discussed above §§ 37, 38

§ 42 Clusters with Stops Under this head we will specially consider clusters formed with semi-vowels and sibilants + stops

1  $r + \text{stops}$  The following remark by HULTZSCH must be noted before we actually come to deal with the clusters "As at Gīmar there is (in S M) some inconsistency in marking the letter *r* if it is combined with other consonants. "The order of the

48 BSOS 4364

49 For this form see LUDERS SP4W, 1914 852, for the change  $sl > rs$  cf. PISCHEL Gr §74

50 Cf. GRIERSON, JRAS 1934 725-31.

51 For this cf. BDCRI 3 270f

symbols does not conform to the actual pronunciation, but to the convenience of the combinations (BÜHLER, *ZDMG* 43 133)." Thus *r* is sometimes combined with the preceding akṣara or is attached to the following consonant. But "it must be remembered that, wherever the above-mentioned words occur in the text, the transcript shows the imperfect spelling of the inscription, but not the actual pronunciation."<sup>52</sup>

Therefore in the following examples whether the letter *r* occurs with the preceding syllable or the following consonant, its presence in the word is to be regarded as an illustration of the preservation of the original Sk. conjunct.

As noted above the clusters with *r* + stops are as a rule assimilated in all versions except those in the North-West. Below are mentioned a few examples to show the preservation in the North-West.

Sk. *vārga* > *vaga*- K,D,J, *vagra*- S,M

Sk. *svargá* > *svaga*- G,K,D,J,MRE, *spagra*- S,M

Sk. *garbhāgāra* > *gabhāgāra*- or *-la*- G,K,D,J, *grabhagara*- S,M

(For the special treatment of *r* + dentals cf. above cerebralisation § 38)

2 *ṣ* + stops In the cluster *-ṣṭ-* the unaspirated surd is aspirated in assimilation. The cluster *-ṣṭh-* is preserved only in the West in the form *-st-*. The cerebral articulation is sometimes lost in the treatment of this cluster.

Sk. *aṣṭamī* > *aṭhamī*- PE, *aṭha*- S,M,K.

Sk. *vyuṣṭa* > *vyūṭha*- ru and yr, *vyūṭha*, br *vivuṭha*- s

Sk. *śreṣṭha* > *sreṭha*- S,M, *seṭha*- K, but *seṣṭa*- G

Sk.  $\sqrt{tiṣṭh}$  >  $\sqrt{tiṭha}$ - S,  $\sqrt{ciṭha}$ - M,K,D, but  $\sqrt{tiṣṭa}$ - G

In the case of *ṣ* + *k*, the resulting form appears without aspiration.

Sk. *duṣkṛta* > *dukaṭa*- S,M,K,D, *dukata*- G

Sk. *duṣkara* > *dukara*- S,M,G, *dukala*- K,D,J

3 *s* + stops The cluster *-st-* is preserved in S,M,G, but assimilated to *-th-* elsewhere. The cluster *-sth-* is, however, preserved only in the West. (For cerebralisation see above § 38)

Sk. *hastin* > *hastī*- S,M,G, *hathī*- K,D,yr

Sk. *gr̥hastha* > *gahatha*- M,K, *grahatha*- S, *ghṛtha*- T, but *gharasta*- G

In the treatment of the cluster *-sk-*, aspiration appears only in the West.

Sk. *skandhā* > *-khamda*- G (perhaps due to metathesis of aspiration), but *-kamdha*- S,M,K,D

§ 43 Clusters with *y* Such clusters are either assimilated, preserved or dissolved. The regional distinction, wherever possible, is noted below.

1 Clusters with stop + *y* In spite of numerous exceptions, it may be said that the cluster is normally assimilated in the West and the North-West, dissolved in the East and sometimes preserved in the South and the Centre.

(i) *-ky-* > *-k-*, *-ky-* or *-kīy-*

Sk. *śakya* > *śaka*- S, *saka*- G, sd, mk, *sakya*- br, sd, *cakya*- b, *sakīya*- J, ru, sn, yr, *cakīya*- d, j, Kpb

(ii) *-khy-* > *-kh-*, *-khy-* or *-khīy-*

<sup>52</sup> HULTZSCH p. lxxxvii. Doubts on this opinion have been already expressed by GRIERSON, cf. *JP* 15 1913 682-83 and recently by S. N. SEN, *Kane Comm. Vol.* pp. 417-19.

Sk *múkhya* > *mukha*- S,M,K,T, *mokhya*- d,PE, *mokhya*- j

(iii) -gy- > -giy-, -gy- or -k- (< -g-).

Sk. *ārogya*- > *ārogiya*- br, sd, but *ārola*- yr

Sk. *yugya*- > *yūgiya*- yr

(iv) For dentals + *y* see above palatalisation § 37

The treatment of the cluster *dy-* > *diy-* (or *dīa-* due to loss of -y-), may, however, be noted here.

Sk *dyardha*- > *diyadha*- M, K, *diyaahya*- MRE, *diadha*- S

(v) -bhy- > -bh-, -bhy-, -bhīy-

Sk *ibhya*- > -*ibha*- S,K, -*ibhya*- M, -*ibhiya*- D,J

Sk *ā√rābh-ya* > *ārabharc* G, *ārabhisu* M, *ālabhiya*- K,D,J and *arabhiya*- S,M

2 Cluster *ry* The cluster is assimilated to -y- or dissolved by svarabhakti. It may be noted that this cluster as well as the following *ly* are more or less regularly preserved in the Nīya Prakrit cf BURROW, § 42

Sk *mārya*- or -*ārya*- > *maya*- S,M,G,K,D, *aya*- everywhere, but *aliya*- bh

Sk. *mādhurya*- > *madhuriya*- S,M, *mādhaliya*- K,D,J

Sk *ācārya*- > *ācarīya*- br, sd, jtr, yr

Sk *sūrya*- > -*sūriyika*- sc, -*suliyika*- T

3 Cluster *ly* It is assimilated to -l- in the West and the North-West and to -y- in the East, Centre and the North

Sk *kalyānā*- > *kalāna*- S,M,G, *layana*- M, *layāna*- K,D,PE

4 Cluster *vy* It is assimilated to *v* in the North-West, preserved in the West<sup>53</sup> (and sometimes in the South and the Centre) and dissolved by svarabhakti in other regions

Sk *vyāñjana*- > *vañana*- S, *viyajana*- M, *viyamjana*- K,D,J,Sn  
*vayajana*- ru, *vyamjana*- G

Sk. *vyūṣṭa*- > *vivūṣṭa*- s, but *vjūṣṭa*- br, *vyūṣṭa*- ru, yr

Sk *kārtavya*- > *katava*- S, *ka'arīya*- M,K,D,J,PE,sd, jtr, yr  
*katavya*- G

5 Sibilant + *y* It is generally assimilated or dissolved, or rarely preserved

Sk *pratiśya*- > -*iśya*- S,M -*iśiya*- K,G

Sk *dūśya*- > *dusa*- sn, sc, lb

Sk. *āśya*- > *āśiya*- d, but *ā'asya*- j

Sk. *īṣyā*- > *isā*- d, j, but *iśyā*- PE

Sometimes the change -s- > -ś- is observed in the North-West<sup>54</sup> cf for instance the future term

Sk *ābrahṣyati* > *arabrahṣati* S,M

Sk *naṭiśya*- > *naṭiśa*- S,M *naṭiśa*- K, *naṭiśa*- elsewhere

§ 44 Clusters with *r* Such clusters are normally assimilated to the stop with which the semivowel *r* is combined. But sometimes the cluster is preserved in the North-West and the West (and rarely in the Mysore group) both initially and medially

53 Cf however Sk *prāśya*- > *prāśa*- G

54 For similar change in the Nīya Prakrit cf BURROW § 41

1 Gutturals + *r*

- Sk. *atī√kram-* > *atī√kama-* K,D,J,T, but *atī√krāma-* S,M,G G has  
*atīkāta-* and *parīkama-* also  
 Sk. *cakravāka-* > *cakavāka-* PE  
 Sk. *prakrānta-* > *pakamita-* MRE  
 Sk. *agra-* > *aga-* K,D,J,G,PE, *agra-* S,M

2 Dentals + *r* The cluster is sometimes preserved even in the South

- Sk. *trī, trīni* > *tinī* or *timni* M,K,D,J,PE, *tī* G, but *trayo* S and *trī* G,  
 Sk. *putrā-* > *puta-* G,K,J,T,sc, *putra-* S,M,G  
 Sk. *tātra* > *tata* G,K,d,j,T,s, *tatrā* G,S,M  
 Sk. *√dṛh-* > *drahutavya-* > *drahyitavya-* br, sd, jr  
 Sk. *ardhatṛika-* > *aḍhātīya-* MRE

3 Labials + *r* Here the cluster is sometimes preserved even in the Central and Southern division

- Sk. *prajā-* > *paḥā* K,D,J,PE, *prajā,* S,M,G  
 Sk. *prakāśa-* > *prakāsa-* ru  
 Sk. *prasāda-* > *prasāda-* S,M,G,bh, *paśāda-* K  
 Sk. *prakrānta-* > *prakamita-*<sup>55</sup> br, *pakamita-* ru, sd, Kpb, yr (*pakata-*)  
 Sk. *prānā-* > *prāna-* G,S, yr, *prāna-* M, *pāna-* elsewhere.  
 But cf *pr-* > *p-* in G and M.  
 Sk. *prakarana-* > *pakarana-* G,M, *pakalana-* K,D, also *prakarana-* S,G

The clusters *br-* and *bhr-* almost follow the usual tendencies

- Sk. *brāhmaṇa-* > *brāhmana-* S,M, *bambhana-* So,K,  
*bābhana-* D,J,T, *bamana-* M, *bāmhana-* G  
 Sk. *bhrātṛ-* > *bhrātra-* G, *bhrata-* S,M, *bhata-* K,D,J,M

4 Cluster *vr* It is preserved only in the North-West.

- Sk. *vraja-* > *vraca-* S,M, *vaca-* G,K,D,J  
 Sk. *pravrajita-* > *pravrajita-* S,M, *pavajita-* G,K,T

5 Clusters with sibilant + *r* They are regularly preserved in S,M, and sometimes in G, other versions assimilate it to the sibilant.

- Sk. *√śru-nu-* > *√śruna-* S,M, *√srūna-* G, *√ṣuna-* K, *√su-* K,T,bh,d,j,  
*√śāvāpa-* T,br,sd.  
 Sk. *sahāsra-* > *sahasra-* S,M,G, *sahasa-* S,<sup>56</sup>D,J,PE  
 Sk. *parīśrava-* > *parisrava-* S,G, *-parisava-* M, *-palsava-* D,J, (*-lā-* K)  
 Sk. *mīśrā-* > *misa-* MRE

§ 45 Clusters with *v*

1 Clusters with stops + *v* in the initial position are dissolved and in the medial position assimilated in the non-Western regions. They are preserved in all positions only in the West with these phonetic changes, that *tv* > *tp* and *dv* > *db*

- Sk. *kvāpi* > *kuvāpi* K.  
 Sk. *dvī-* > *duvi* S, *duve* M,K,J, *duvehi* T, *dve* or *dvo* G  
 Sk. *dvādaśā* > *duvaḍaśa-* M, *duvādasa-* D,J, *-ḍasa-* K,PE,bb, *badaya-* S, *dbādasa-* G

55 HULTZSCH's reading

56 Thus *sahasa-* in S and *parisava-* in M are exceptions

Sk. *catvārah* > *cature* S, *catāli* K (> Sk. *catvāri*), *catpāro* G

Sk. absolutive term *-tvā* > *-tu* S,M,K,D,J,PE, *-tpā* G.

Sk. *śaḍ-vimśati* > *saduvīśati* PE

2 Semivowel *r + v* The cluster is generally preserved in the West and the North-West, but dissolved or assimilated elsewhere.

Sk. *sārva* > *sava*- in all versions, *sarva*- G, *savra*- S,M.

Sk. *pūrva* > *-puva*- G, *-puluva*- K,D,J, *-pruva*- S,M,G

3 Sibilant *+ v* : The cluster in the initial position is preserved in the West and the North-West<sup>57</sup> (in the form *sp*), and it is either assimilated or dissolved by svarabhakti elsewhere

Sk. *svānu-ka* > *svāmika*- G, *spamika*- S,M, *suvmika*- K,D,J.

Sk. *śvetā* > *sveta*- G, *seta*- PE.

In *svaga*- (< Sk. *svargā*-), however, it is initially preserved in all versions<sup>58</sup> (*spagra*- S,M)

In the intervocal position it is preserved everywhere.

Sk. *śāśvatā* > *sasvata*- d,j

Sk. *āsva* > *asva*- PE

#### § 46 Clusters with sibilants

1. For the treatment of *kṣ* and *ts* see above palatalisation §37.

2. *r + sibilant* Whereas S,M,G, preserve the cluster, others assimilate it to the sibilant

Sk. *dārśana* > *dasana*- G,So,K,D,J, *draśana*- S,M, *darsana*- G

Sk. *-darśin* > *-dasi*- G,K,D,J,PE, bh, bb, *-draśi*, S,M, *-drasi*- G

#### 3. Clusters with *h* .

Almost everywhere the cluster *-rh-* is dissolved by the addition of the vowel *a*

Sk. *garhā*, *garhanā* > *garahā*- G,M, *galahā*- K, √*garaha*- S,M,G, but *garana*- S

Sk. *yathārha* > *yathāraha*- br,sd,jtr

§ 47 Clusters with nasals . Such clusters are usually assimilated to the nasal or to the stop and then the nasal is turned into anusvāra . This anusvāra, however, is not always represented in writing . The clusters with *ñ*, *n*, *ṇ* and *m* show some peculiarities and only these are detailed below

#### § 48 Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

1 *jñ* The cluster is usually assimilated to *ñ* in the West, North-West,<sup>59</sup> and South, and to *n* in the East and the Centre. (For cerebralsation see above §38)

Sk. *jñāli* > *ñāli*- G,br,sd,jtr, *ñāli*- K,D,J,PE

Sk. *viññapti* > *viñati*- kq, √*vinñapa*- sn

In the declined forms of *rājani*- the cluster is sometimes dissolved by svarabhakti

Sk. *rājñā* > *rāñā* S,G, *rāj,na* M,So, *lāj,ñā*, K,D,J,rm,ng,bh.

2 *ñc* It is represented as *-mc-* or *-ñi-* in the numeral.

Sk. *pāñca* > *pañ,ca*- S,M,G,K,D,J,ksb, *pañi a*- PE

57. The cluster *st* > *sp* and *st* > *st* or *sp* in the Niya Prakrit of BURROW, §49

58. In § 14, however, HULTSCH reads *svaga*-

59. *jñ* > *ñ* (or *n*) in the Niya Prakrit, cf. BURROW § 44



3 *ñj* It is generally represented as *-mj-* or *-j-*, but in the North-West it is assimilated to *ñ*<sup>60</sup>

Sk. *vyañjana-* > *vyamjana-* G, *viyamjana-* K,D,J,sn *vayajana-* ru, *viyajana-* M, *vañjana-* S

§ 49 Clusters with the nasal *n*

1 *ṁ* In its assimilation the cerebral articulation is preserved in the Mysore group but it is lost in PE

Sk. *suvárna-* > *suvarṇa-* br,sd

Sk. *pūrná-* > *pumna-* PE

2 *-kṣṇ-* > *-khin-* Sk. *ślakṣṇá-* > *sakhina-* d, Sk. *abhikṣna-* > *abhikhina-* bh

3 *ny* In the North-West and the West the cluster is assimilated to *ñ* (but in G also to *n*), but elsewhere to *n*

Sk. *apunya-* > *apuñā-* S,M *apumñā-* G, *apuna-* K

Sk. *hīraṇya-* > *hiramṇa-* G,So, *hīlamṇa-* K,D,J

§ 50 Clusters with *n* The only important cluster to note is *ny* Other clusters with *n* are assimilated to the stop (as in Sk. *agni-* > *agī* M,K,D,G) or dissolved (as in Sk. *pra√āp-na-* > *pāpuna-* or *-na-* G,S,K,D,J, or *praśná-* > *-pasina-* bh)

1 *ny* It is assimilated to *ñ* in the West and North-West,<sup>61</sup> but to *n* elsewhere (for cerebralisation see above § 38)

Sk. *anyá-* > *añā-* S,M,G,So, *amṇa-* K,D,J,PE, *ana-tra* M, *ana-* M

Sk. *√manya-* > *√mañā-* S,M,G, *√mana-* K,d,j, (*√mana-* M)

§ 51 Clusters with *m*

1 *-tm-* Except in the West and the South where it is preserved as *-tp-*, it is normally assimilated to *t*

Sk. *ātmán-* > *ata-* S,M,K,d,j,PE, *ātpā* G, *mahātpā* br,sd,yr Kōpāl though in South gives *mahata-*

2 *-sm-*<sup>62</sup> (or *-ṣm-*) Note the following interesting treatments. It is either preserved (as *sm* or *sp*) or assimilated to *mh* or *s* In the pronominal forms it usually becomes *-ph-*

Sk. *akasmāt* > *akasmā* d,j

Sk. loc. sg. *-smīn* > *-mhi* G, *-spī* S,M, *-sī* elsewhere.

Sk. *tasmāt* > *taphā* K.

Vedic *asme* > *aphe* d,j, similarly *\*tuṣmat-* > *tupha-* d,j,ru,sn,yr

In the grammatical form *asmī* initial *a-* is lost and then the cluster is dissolved cf *sumī* ru, s, mk, Kpb

3 *-lm-* The following forms may be noted

Sk. *brāhmaná-* > *bramāna-* S,M, *brahmana-* G, *bāmhana-* G, *bambhana-* So,K,yr, *bābhana-* K,D,J,T

4 *-my-* It is sometimes preserved

Sk. *samyak* > *sanīma-* S, but *sammyā-* D,J, *samyā-* K, *samya-* G,M

60 Precisely the same tendency is observed in the Nīya Prakrit documents and the process is most regular in the *Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada*, cf BURROW, §45

61 The same treatment is also found in the Nīya Prakrit, cf BURROW, §41

62 The cluster *-sm-* > *-s-* in the loc term or is preserved in the Nīya Prakrit, cf BURROW §49

5 -mr- : As is well known, it becomes -mb-.

Sk. *āmra* > *ambā*- PE

Sk. *Tāmraparnī* > *Tambaparnī*- S,M,G,K,J, -*pani*- M

## MORPHOLOGY

### I DECLENSION

#### (A) NOUNS ·

§ 52 The complex declensional system of the OIA is much simplified in these inscriptions by the well-known processes which were active in the MIA period. Thus, for example, the dual is altogether lost and the consonantal bases are mostly transferred to the vowel bases. On the other hand in endings we do not yet meet with the same variety of forms which are so widely used in the later literary Prakrits. The geographical distinction in the declensional system of these inscriptions, especially between the East and the West, is noted below in all such cases which admit of such distinction. Exceptions to these generalisations, whenever they occur, are also recorded in each case.

§ 53 Mas and Neut. Nouns ending in -a

(i) Nom sg Mas principally ends in -a and -e. Of these, the former is more frequently used than the latter in G,S,M and the latter in K,D,J,PE and MRE

*jano* G,S, *jane* K,M,D,J,T, *aṭhe* MRE

(a) The ending -o is, however, sometimes found in the East and -e in the West and North-West cf. *rājuka*, *sakale*, etc in G, *jane*, *vivade*, etc. in S,M, and *Keralaputo* in K, *seto* in D

(b) The ending -a (the original -s in -as being dropped) is of rare occurrence. cf. *jana* S, *vadha* K, [*sampa*]ṭipāda d, and *yāvataka* ru

(c) The foreign name *Amtekma*- in G ends in -a, but it ends in -i at S. The other name *Maga*- ends in -ā in G and K.

(ii) Acc. sg Mas ends in -am or -a (with the loss of final anusvāra) everywhere.

*janam* G,PE, *dhramam* or *jana* S, *dhammam* K,D,J, *sam,glam* MRE

(a) In S, M we sometimes get the ending -o or -e cf. *dīraṇo*, and *sayan e*

(b) In K exceptionally the ending -ā is found cf. *ala-pācā*

(iii) Nom. Acc. sg Neut. These nouns end in -am in G,S,M. In other edicts we get -am only for the acc. sg whereas -e is found for nom. sg.

Nom. sg *dānam* G,S,M, but *dā e* K,D,J,PE, *pl'e* MRE

Acc. sg *nam,galam* D,J, *dānam* K,PE, *ṭipādam* MRE

(a) In G,S,M, we get in a few cases the ending -e for nom. sg as in the East and in K,D,J,tr, and yr, we get -am as in the West. cf. *dāre* G,S,M, *jītam* K,D,J, *liṭṭi tam* jr, *saca* and *ka'ca*, a (with the loss of final anusvāra) yr

(b) In a few gerundives we have -o in S cf. *ka'ca*.

(c) Sometimes we get -ā for nom. sg in K,D,J, cf. *dāse* K, *ka'ca* j-s-*ācā* D,J.

(d) In d and K sometimes the acc. sg also ends in *-e*, cf *ānamne* d, *dāne* K.

(iv) Inst. sg ends in *-ena* everywhere.

*janena* G, *putrena* S,M, *putena* D,J, *dharmena* PE, etc, *khudakena* K,D,J, MRE

(a) The final *-na* is sometimes lengthened, cf *bhayanā* PE, *-abhisitenā* MRE

(b) Cerebralised term occurs sometimes in the South cf *lipigarena* br,jtr, *mahatena* Kpb

(v) Dat. sg ends in *-ya* in West, Centre, and South but *-ye* elsewhere.

*athāya* G, *kālāya* ru, *aṭhāya* ru,br,Kpb,yr, *aṭhāye* S,M,D,J,K,t,s

(a) Once in G and T the dat. sg ends in *-ā* cf *athā*<sup>63</sup>

(vi) Abl sg ends in *-ā* (*-a* in S,M) everywhere.

*kapā* G, *anubadhā* K, *mahatatā* MRE, *karana* S,M

(a) The final vowel is sometimes shortened in D, cf *anubadhā*

(vii) Gen sg ends in *-sa* everywhere.

*janasa* G,S,M,K,D,J,PE, *Asokasa* mk, *pakamasa* MRE

(a) Sometimes the final vowel is lengthened

*janasā* K, *asvasā* T,Mi (but *asvasa* Rdh, Mth, Rp)

(viii) Loc sg G gives the ending *-mhi* (< Sk *-smun* of pronouns) and *-e* In S,M, we get *-e*, and *spt* or *-sī* (< Sk. *-smun*) The ending *-sī* is the normal one in other edicts

*athamhi* G, *orodhanaspt* S,M, *uṭhanasī* S,M, *aṭhasī* D,J, *janasī* PE, *Janibudhāsī* MRE, *kōle* G, *dhrame* S,M

(a) Perhaps *-e* is found in *supriye* at bb

(ix) Nom pl Masc ends in *-ā* everywhere (but represented as *-a*, in S,M)

*morā* G, *putā* K,D,J, *puṣsā* PE, *devā* MRE, *putra* S,M

(a) The final *-ā* is sometimes shortened cf *nātīkya* K, *lajūka* PE, *Anuvigina* d,j

(b) T twice gives the ending *-āse* (< Vedic *-āsah*) cf *viyāpāṭāse*

(x) Acc. pl. Masc The ending in G is *-e* but *-āni* in other edicts This *-āni* ending is regarded as the peculiarity of the Ardha-Māgadhī dialect by LÜDERS (SPAW 1913 992 ff)

*yute* G, *kaṇdhāmī* D,J, *puṣsāmī* PE, *bambhanāmī* yr

(a) *-āni* is noticed in G four times cf for instance *gharastāni*

(xi) Nom. Acc. pl neut. ends in *-āni* everywhere.

*rāṭpāmī* G,S,M, *phalāmī* K, *vasāmī* D,J, Mysore Gr

(a) Sometimes we get the ending *-ā*, cf *-darsanā* G, *lopāpitā* D,K, *hālāpitā* K, *lāti-satā* s,ru

(b) The final vowel is once lengthened in Mī cf *hamtavriyānī*

(c) Characteristically *-n-* > at Kpb cf *vasāmī*, *aḍhatiyāmī*

(xii) Inst. pl ends in *-ehī* (< Vedic *-ebhih*)

*satehī* G,K, *jātehī* d,j, *devehī* MRE

(xiii) Dat. pl ends in *-ehī*.

*mahamatrehī* M, *samanehī* D,J, *Ājivikehī* bb

63. See Michelson, JAOS 31.240

(xiv) Gen pl · ends in -*nam* or -*nā*

*thairānam* G, *prananam* S,M, *pānānam* K,D,J

*śramanana* S,M, -*paśadāna* K

(a) Rarely we get -*nām* or -*nā*

*bhūtānām* G and *bambhanānā* K.

(xv) Loc pl · ends in -*su* everywhere (-*ṣu* in S,M)

*thāresu* G, *vaṣṣu* S,M, *vasesu* K,D,J, *aṭhesu* PE, *pavatesu* MRE, *prāncsu* yr

(a) Rarely the final vowel is lengthened in G cf *panthcsū*

§ 54 Fem nouns ending in -*ā*

(i) Nom sg · ends in -*ā* (represented as -*a* in S,M,) everywhere

*ichā* G,S,M,K,PE, *pajā* D,J, *porānā* Mysore Group, yr

(a) The final -*ā* is sometimes shortened in the East and Centre *icha* D,J, -*lokika* K, -*apekha* PE

(ii) Acc. sg · ends in -*ām* with the final anusvāra sometimes dropped

*pāṇām* G,M, *pajam* PE, *puṇā* S,K,G, *paṭipadā* M<sub>1</sub>(?)

(iii) Inst. sg ends in the East, Centre and the West in -*ā* and in the North and the North-West in -*ye*

*pūjāyā* G,PE, *tsāya* D,J, *pujāye* S,M,K.

(iv) Dat, Abl, Gen sg ends in -*ye*

*vilisāye* (Dat.), *dakṣināye* (Abl), *duṭṭiyāye* (Gen.) PE

(v) Loc. sg ending in the East, Centre, South, and the West is -*yam* but -*ye* in the North, North-West and the East

*gananāyam* G, *Samāpāyam* J, *Tisāyam* T,M<sub>1</sub>, *velāyam* Kpb, *samtiranāye* S,M, *samtīlanāye* K, *Tisāye* PE, *pājāye* D,J

(a) The final anusvāra in -*yam* is sometimes dropped

*samtiranāya* G, *samtīlanāya* D J

(vi) Nom pl ends in -*ā* everywhere (-*a* S,M)

*katā* G, *vadikyā* PE, *upāsikā* bh, *cikisa* S,M

(a) Final -*ā* is once shortened in G cf *cikcha*

(b) G alone gives the additional ending -*āyo* (>-*āo* in Pkt cf PISCHEL G §376) cf *mahidāyo*

(vii) Loc. pl · ends in -*su* in PE cf *disāsu*

§ 55 Mas and Neut Nouns ending in -*i*

(i) Nom sg Mas ends in -*i* in PE cf *īdli*, *Sakyanī*

(ii) Nom sg Neut. ends in -*i* in K cf *asanāli*

(iii) Nom pl Mas : ends in -*i* in G and -*o* in S,M

*trī* G, *trayo* S,M (For long -*i* cf PISCHEL, G- §380)

(iv) Nom Acc pl Neut ends in -*i* everywhere.

*tinna* K,D,J,PE, *osadli* K

(v) Gen pl · ends in -*nam* everywhere, but the final anusvāra is sometimes dropped

*nāṭṭanam* G,S,M, *nāṭṭana* K, *nāṭṭa* S,M

(a) The loss of final anusvāra results in the lengthening of preceding vowel in K. cf *nāṭṭā*

(vi) Loc pl ends in *-su* in the East and the West and *-ṣu* in the North and the North-West.

*ñāṭisu* G, *nāṭisu* D,J, *nābhāpamṭisu* M,K.

§ 56 Fem nouns ending in *-ī*

(i) Nom sg Normally ending *-ī* appears in the West (and the South) and *-i* elsewhere

*līpī* G, *pakīṭī* Mysore Gr (but *pakīṭi* yr), *līpī* K, *dīpī* S,M, *vadhī* PE

(a) Exchange of these endings is met with exceptionally, *apacitī* G, *anusahīṭī* D,J, *gabhinī* PE

(ii) Acc sg ending *-im* appears in G and PE and *-i* in K,D,J,S,M,PE and MRE

*sambodhim* G, *līpim* sn, *sabodhi* S,M, *sambodhi* K,D,J, *vadhī* T,ru

(a) As a result of the loss of final anusvāra the preceding vowel is lengthened in D,J, and PE

*kūṭī* D,J, *-anupaṭipalī* T (HLZ's reading)

(b) Loss of anusvāra with short *-i* is an exception at G cf *kṛtī*, *chātī*, *vadhī*

(iii) Inst. sg ending *-yā* is obtained in all versions and the final vowel is sometimes shortened in D,J and PE

*bhātīyā* G,S,M,K, *anusathīyā* D,J,PE, *anāvutīyā* D,J, *vaḍhīyā* PE

(a) Ending *-ye* is sometimes found in K cf *anusathīye*

(b) Ending *-nā* is obtained only at yr cf *bherinā*

(iv) Dat. Sg The Western, North-Western and Northern ending is *-yā* Ending *-ye* seems to be the Eastern one (its presence in S,M being perhaps due to the Eastern influence)

*anusastīya* G, *vaḍhīyā* S,M,K, *vaḍhīye* D,J, *dhātīye* T, *anusastīye* S,M

(v) Abl sg ends in *-yā* (represented as *-ye* in S,M)

*nivutīyā* K, *nīphātīyā* D,J, *nivutīya* S,M

(vi) Gen sg ends in *-ye* in PE cf *devīye* Kq

(vii) Loc. sg ending *-yam* occurs in D,J,PE, *-ya* in S,M, and *-ye* in K,D,J,PE

*puṭhaviyam* D,J, *Kosambiyam* PE, *ayatiya* S,M, *āyatiye* K,D,J,

*cātummāsīye* PE

(viii) Nom pl ending *-yo* occurs in G,K, and *-ye* in bh, the forms in S,M,D,J end in *-ī*

*aṭaviyo* G, *janīyo* K, *bhikkhūṃ* bh, *aṭavi*<sup>64</sup> S,M, *itthī* D,J

(ix) Gen pl ending *-nam* or *-nā*

*bhagmīnam* D,J, *devīnam* T, *bhagmīnā* K.

(x) Loc. pl ends in *-su*

*ṭīsu* PE, *pavatisu*<sup>65</sup> ru

§ 57 Mas and Neut. nouns ending in *-u*

(i) Nom. sg Mas ends in *-u* in all versions

*sādhū* Major RE, *bhikkhu* Kb

(a) It is, however, sometimes lengthened

*sādhū* D,J, *bhikkhū* sn

64 With this form HULTZSCH compares Pāli nom pl. *rattī* of *rattī-* (< Sk. *rātri-*)

65 For the fem. base *pavati* cf BÖHTLINGK, *Wörterbuch*, s v

(ii) Nom. Acc. Neut. sg. ends in -u everywhere.

*bahu* K,S,M,K,PE, *sādhu* D,J

(iii) Loc. sg. The form *bahune* in T is perhaps from the base *bahuna-*

(iv) Nom. Acc. pl. Neut. ends in -u in all versions

*bahūu* Major RE, PE

(v) Inst. pl. ends in -hi, cf *bahāhi* Major RE

(vi) Gen. pl. ending -nam occurs in G,D,J,PE, -na in S,M, and -nā in K.

*gurūnam* G, *gulūnam* D,J, *bhikkhūnam* sc, *geruna* S,M, *gulunā* K

(vii) Loc. pl. ends in -su

*bahūsc* d,j, *gclusc* PE, *garcsu* Mysore group, *garūsū* yr

§ 58 Fem nouns ending in -u

(i) The nom. sg. of *sādhu* used as fem. is the same as that of Mas. and Neut. in all versions

§ 59 Mas. nouns ending in -ṛ. The base for the oblique cases ends either in -i or -u. In such cases the Western version preserves the Sk. forms

(i) Nom. sg. ends in -ā in d and PE

*pitā* d, *apahatā* T

(a) It is sometimes shortened to -a, cf *ṛita* j and *apahata* Rdh.

(ii) Inst. sg. ends in -ā in the West, but -nā (cf -i and -u declension) in other regions

*pitā*, *bhātā* or *bhātrā* G, *pituna* S,M, *pitnā* K,D,J

(iii) Loc. sg. ends in -i at G. cf *pitari*

(iv) Nom. pl. ends in -o in S, -e in M,K, and -ī in D,J (cf -i declension)

*nataro* S, *natare* M, *matāle* K, *natī* D,J

(v) Gen. pl. ends in -nam in K,D,J and -na in S,M.

*bhātānam* K,D,J, *bhratuna* S,M

(vi) Loc. pl. ends in -su in all groups, but -ṣu in S,M (and K)

*pitisu* D,J,K,PE,br, *pitāsu* yr, jtr, *pitūsu* S,M, *pitīsu* K

§ 60 Fem nouns ending in -ṛ

(i) Gen. (dat.) sg. ends in -u at Kq. cf -mātu

(ii) Loc. sg. ends in -i at G. cf *mātari*

(iii) Gen. pl. ends in -na in S,M. cf *spasunā*

§ 61 Bases ending in consonants. As in other Prakrits, such bases in these inscriptions are brought over to the -a declension. Yet in some forms the Sk. consonantal declension survives with the necessary phonetic changes

§ 62 Present Participles ending in -at

(i) Nom. sg. Mas. ends in -um or -u and -o in G, in the East the ending is -am<sup>ca</sup> or -c of which the former is seen in other non-Western regions

*karum*, *karu* and *karoto* G; *sanātam* S,M,K,D,J,PE, *kaḥan'ca* rñk,

*malāntc* D,J (following the -a declension).

(ii) Gen. sg. : ends in -sa in M. cf *aśatasa*

(iii) Nom. pl. Masc. ends in -o in G, and -c (for -ā or -e) in S.

*īstānto* G, *san'ta* s

§ 63 Other bases ending in -at

(i) Nom. sg ends in *-a* at K,S,M and Mth, in *-am* in other PE, and in *-e* at sn.

*pajāva* K, *prajava* S,M, *kīya* Mth, *kīyañ* other PE, *bhagavañ* rm, *āvale* sn.

(ii) Inst. sg ends in *-ā* cf *bhagavatā* bh, *hetuvatā* K

§ 64 Mas nouns ending in *-an*

(i) Nom sg ends in *-ā* as in Sk

*rājā* G,S,M, *lājā* K,D,J,PE, MRE

(a) It is optionally shortened in all versions and exceptionally at G  
*Yona-rāja* G, *lāja* K,D,J,PE, MRE

(ii) Acc. sg ends in *-am* cf *atānam* d,j

(iii) Inst. sg ends in *-ā* in all versions.

*rāñā* G,S, *rajña* M, *lājñā* K,D,J,MRE, *atanā* PE(T,Ksb)  
*mahatpanā* sd, yr

(a) Final *-ā* is shortened in Rdh, Mth, Rp cf *atana* It is shortened in Mysore group Also cf *mahātpena* (But this seems to be due to transference to the *-a* declension, the base then being *mahātṭa* < Sk. *mahātman*)

(iv) Gen sg Western ending is *-o* and Eastern *-e*

*rāño* G,S, *lājñe* K,D,J, *rajñe* M.

(v) Nom. pl. Western ending is *-o* and Eastern *-e*

*rājāno* G,S, *lājāñe* K,D,J,PE

(a) *-o* is found occasionally at K, cf *lājāno*

(b) The final vowel is changed to *-i* in S, cf *rajanī*

(c) It follows *-a* declension only in Mysore group and ends in *-ā* cf *mahātṭā* br, sd (cf the above note on *mahātpena*)

(vi) Inst. pl. ends in *-hi* cf *lājñhi* PE

§ 65 Neut. nouns ending in *-an*

(i) Nom sg ending in the North and N-West is *-am* but *-e* in the East.  
*kramam* S,M, *kammam* K, *kamme* D,J,K.

(ii) Acc. sg Eastern ending is *-an* which is presented with the loss of anus-vāra in some of the versions

*kammam* D,J, *nāma* Major RE and PE

(a) The final *-a* is sometimes lengthened in K cf *nāmā*

(iii) Inst. sg ends in *-na* cf *kamana* d,j

(iv) Dat. sg North and N-West give *-ye*, and East gives *-ne* (cerebralised to *-ne* in M according to HULTZSCH's reading)

*krammaye* S, *kammāye* K, *kammane* D,J, *kramane* M.

(v) Gen sg ends in *-sa* cf *kammasa* d,j

(vi) Acc. pl ends in *-āni* cf *kammāni* PE

§ 66 Mas nouns ending in *-as*

(i) Nom. pl. ends in *-ā* (cf *-a* declen.) *avimanā* PE

§ 67 Neut nouns ending in *-as*

(i) Acc. sg ending *-o* occurs in the West and East alike, but *-e* occurs only in the non-Western area.

*jaśo* G,K,D,J, *jaśo* S,M, *bluye* S,M,K,PE, *davīye* d.

(a) Ending *-a* is noted in G, cf *bhuya*

§ 68 Mas nouns ending in *-m*

(i) Nom sg ends in *ī* (short in the West and long in the East)

*Piyadasī* G,K,J,T,MiRdh,Mth,Rp, bh, *Priyadrasī* S,M, *Piyadasī* K,D,J, Ksb, bh

(ii) Inst. sg ends in *-ā* in all versions except those in the N-East where the term is *-a*

*Priyadasinā* G, *-drasina* S,M, *Piyadasinā* K,D,J,bb, *amtevāsina* Mysore Gr, but *Piyadasina* rm, ng

(iii) Dat. sg (?) *-e* cf *Piyadasine* K, *-dasine* D,J, *-dasine* M

(a) Once *-a* appears at the end cf *-drasina* M.

(iv) Gen sg *-no* is found in the West and *-ne* in other regions. The ending *-sā* (cf *-a* declen) is found only in the North and North-West.

*Priyadasino* G, *Piyadasine* K,D,J, *Priyadrasine* M But *Priyadrasisa* S; *Piyadasisā* K

(a) Ending *-na* is obtained at yr cf *yathācārma*

(v) Acc pl ending *-m* (cf neut. decl) is found in the East, South, and the North In the N-West we get *-na* or *-ne*

*hathīm* K,D,J, *alevāsma* yr, *astma* S, *astme* M.

(vi) Loc pl ending *-su*, cf *amtevāsīsu* yr

§ 69 Neut. nouns ending in *-m*

(i) Nom pl ends in *-m*, cf *-gāmmi* PE

§ 70 Fem noun *dīs*

(i) Acc sg ends in *-ā* cf *dīṣā* (for *dīṣām*) K.

§ 71 Fem base ending in *-ad* (*parīśad-*).

(i) Nom sg ends in *-ā* *palisā* K,D,J, *parisā* G, *parīsa* M, *pari[ṣ\*]* S

(ii) Loc. sg *-yam* in the East and West and *-ye* in the North and N-West. *palisāyam* J, *parisāyam* G, *parīsaye* S,M, *palisāye* K

(a) The loss of final anusvāra results in the lengthening of the preceding vowel cf *parīsāyā* D

#### (B) PRONOUNS

§ 72 The declined forms of Pronouns mostly correspond to the Sk forms with the necessary phonetic changes The base *apha-* for the 1st pers pron. and *tupha-* for the 2nd pers pron are peculiar to these inscriptions. The grammatical distinction in the different genders is sometimes obscured so that the same forms are used for two or three genders As will be seen the initial *y-* of the relative pronoun is dropped in the Eastern dialect, but it is never turned to *j-* as in later Prakrits.

§ 73 First Personal Pronoun Important forms are *lakaṃ* in nom sg, *ma,c* in nom pl, base *n.a.n.a-* in instr and abl sg, and *apla-* in pl forms The initial *l-* in some of the forms is equally noteworthy

(i) Nom sg. G,S,M give the Sk form *alakaṃ* (M gives also *acari*). Other versions in all regions give *lakaṃ* (< \**alalakaṃ*)\*

(ii) Acc. sg. *n.a.n.* occurs in PE



## (iii) Ins sg

- 1 *maā* G,S,M,br, and yr
- 2 *mahayā*<sup>68</sup> K,D,J,T,b
- 3 *me* K,D,Rdh, Mth, kpb, yr

- (a) 4 *mamīyā* occurs once in T
- (b) 5 *mamāye* occurs in d
- (c) 6 *mamīyāye* occurs in j, and
- 7 *hamīyāye* occurs in bh

(iv) Abl sg *mamate* d, j

## (v) Gen sg

- 1 *mama* G,K,D,J,PE
- 2 *maa*<sup>69</sup> S,M
- 3 *me* Major RE, PE, MRE (*ma* to be read as *me* in br)

(a) anusvāra is added at the end and once we get *mamam* j

(b) Final -a is lengthened cf *mamā* K,D,T,M<sub>1</sub>

(c) *hamā*<sup>70</sup> is given by bh.

(vi) Nom. pl *maye* d, j, (< Sk. *vayam* under the influence of *mayā* cf HULTZSCH p cvi)

(vii) Acc pl *aphe* d, *aphem* j (cf the Sk. base *asma-* in *asmān*)

(viii) Gen. pl 1 *ne* K,d,j 2 *aphākā* d

(ix) Loc. pl. *aphesā* d,j

§ 74 Second Personal Pronoun The base is *tupha-*<sup>71</sup> (< \**tuṣma-*).

(i) Nom pl. *tuphe* d, j, sn, pr, *pre* j

(ii) Acc. pl *tuphem* j

(iii) Inst pl *phehī* d, j

(iv) Dat. pl *ve* (< Sk. *vah*) mk (used for nom pl)

(v) Gen pl 1 *tuphāka* d, j, *tuphākam* sn, *tupaka* ru

(vi) Loc. pl *tuphesu* d, j

§ 75 Third Person Pron Mas. Base *ta-* (or *-sa* in nom.)

(i) Nom sg ., *so* G,S, *se* K,M,D,J,PE and MRE

(a) G once gives the form *sā*

(b) Similarly S gives the form *sa*

(c) The forms *še* and *śe* at K are only graphical

(d) d and j give *te*

(ii) Acc. sg *so* G, but *tam* K, S, M.

(iii) Inst. sg ends in *-na* cf *tena* Major RE and PE

(a) Final -a is optionally lengthened at K, cf *tenā*

(iv) Dat sg ends in *-ya* in the West and *-ye* elsewhere

*tāya* G, *tāye* S,M,K.

68. The form *mamae* is given by Hemacandra, III 109

69 *maa* = Pkt. *maha*, Sk. *mama* under the influence of dat. sg *mahyam*, see MICHELSON JAOS 30 85 x. 2.

70 This seems to be a compromise between *mamā* and \**ham* < *aham* See HULTZSCH, p cxxvi

71 This again is a compromise between the Sk. base *yuṣma-* and nom sg. *tvam* See HULTZSCH, p cvi.

- (v) Abl sg *taphā*<sup>2</sup> and *tā* K
- (vi) Gen sg ends in *-sa* cf *tasa* Major RE  
 (a) With *-ā* at the end in K cf *tasā*  
 (b) Forms *taśa* and *taā* at K are graphical
- (vii) Loc sg Western ending is *-mhi* and elsewhere *-si*  
*tamhi* G, *tasī* S,M,D,J  
 (a) Form *taśī* at K is graphical
- (viii) Nom pl *te* Major and Minor RE, PE  
*se* D and Mysore Gr
- (ix) Inst. pl ends in *-hi*, cf *tehi* K
- (x) Dat. pl ends in *-hi*, cf *tehi* G,K,M
- (xi) Gen pl *-sam* G,J,Rdh,Mth, Rp cf *tesam*  
*-śam* S, K cf *teśam*  
*-śam* S, K, cf *tānam* (cf nominal declension)  
 (a) Final anusvāra omitted cf. *tesa* G,d, *teśa* S,M
- (xii) Loc pl *-su* *tesu* PE

§ 76 Third Pers Pron—Feminine Base *tā-* (or *sā-* in nom)

- (i) Nom sg *-ā* *sā* G,K, *sa* S,M  
 (a) K graphically gives *śā*

(ii) Acc. sg *-am* *tam* PE

(iii) Dat. sg *-ye* *tāye* PE

(iv) Acc. pl *-a* (ie *-ā*) *ta* (for *tā*) S,M

§ 77 Third Pers Pron—Neut. Base *ta-* (or *sa-*)

- (i) Nom Acc sg *ta* G,K, *tam* S,D,J,PE (only Acc), MIRE (only Acc), *se* K,M,D,J,PE, MRE (also Mysore Gr)

(a) *se* is exceptionally found in G

(b) *se* is graphical at K, it is also found at Kq

(c) *so* and *sa* also occur at S

(ii) Nom Acc pl *-ni* cf *tāni* d. PE

(a) Forms *śa* in S and *se* in M are perhaps mas

§ 78 Pronominal base *na-* (cf Hemacandra III 70-77)

(i) Acc pl Masc *-ne* G

(ii) Acc. pl Neut *nām* G, PE

§ 79 Demonstrative *clad* Mās The base is either *cla-* (and *csa-* in nom) or *claka-*

(i) Nom sg

*csā* G,D,PE (with *csā* cf *sā* and *Maḡā*)

*cse* K

*cse* K S,M, *cśa* K M

(ii) Inst. sg *-a* *clakā* S M D J, *c'clā* PE

(a) Final *-a* is lengthened at K cf *clakā*

(iii) Dat. sg *-ya* in the Western and Southern and *-je* in other regions  
*clāya*, *clakāya* G (K) yr, *clāya* S M K D J, PE *clakāya* S M K D

(iv) Gen sg The base becomes *eti*-<sup>73</sup> *etiṣā* K (note the final *-ā*), *etisa* S,M; but *etasa* M,D,J

(v) Loc sg *-mhi* in the West and *-si* in the East. *etamhi* G, *etasi* d,j

(vi) Nom pl. *ete* G,d,PE, *etā* S,M.

(vii) Loc pl. *-su* cf *etesu* PE

§ 80 Demonstrative *etad* Fem (base *esā-* or *etakā-*)

(1) Nom sg *-ā esā* G,RE, Mysore Gr *eṣa* K,S,M, *etā(ta)kā* j, *hesā* yr

§ 81 Demonstrative *etad* Neuter (The base is *eta-* or *esa-*)

(1) Nom sg

1 *-a* or *-am* cf *eta* or *-am* G,S,M, *esa* (or *esā*) G,D,J,PE,MRE

(cf Hem. 385)

2 *-e* cf *ese* or *eṣe* K,S,M,b, *etake* S

(ii) Acc. sg *-a* or *-am*, cf *eta* G, *etam* D,J,PE

(iii) Inst s *-na*, *-nā* and *-ni*, cf *etena* S, *etinā* ru, and *eteni* (for *-nā*) bh

(iv) Dat. sg *-ya etiya* ru (note the base *eti-*), *etāya* br sd

(v) Nom Acc. pl *-ni etām* K,S,M,J,PE

§ 82 Demonstrative *īdam*,—Mas

(1) Nom sg *ayam* G,K,S,M,D,J, *īyam* K,D,J,MRE

(a) In the North-West we get also *ayī* S,M

(b) Loss of anusvāra is found in ru and mk, cf *īya*

(ii) Acc. sg *īma* or *īmaṇi* MRE

(iii) Inst. sg *īmīnā* G,br,sd,yr, *īmena* J

(iv) Dat. sg *īmāye* D,ru

(v) Gen sg *īmasa* G,M,D, *īmasā* K, *īmisa* S (note the base *īmi-*)

(vi) Loc sg *īmamhi* G

(vii) Nom pl *īme* G,K,D,M,T,br,sd,jtr

(viii) Inst pl *īmehi* D,J

§ 83 Demonstrative *īdam*,—Feminine.

(1) Nom sg *ayam* G, *īyam* G,K,M,Rdh, bh

(a) *aya* and *ayī* also occur at S(M)

(ii) Acc sg *īmaṇi* PE

(iii) Dat. sg *īmāya* G,K, *īmāye* D,M, *īmisa* S (an imperfect spelling of Pāli *īmissā* cf HULTZSCH, p xciii)

(iv) Loc. sg *īmāyam* Kpb

§ 84 Demonstrative *īdam*,—Neut

(1) Nom. sg *īdam* G,S,M, *ayam* G, *īyam* K,S,M,D,J,PE, MRE

(a) Final anusvāra is dropped, cf *īya* Mysore Gr, M, *īda* G,S

(b) The N-Western dialect also furnishes the forms *īmam*, *īma* and *īyo*

(ii) Acc. sg *īdam* G, *īmaṇi* K,S,M,D,J,MRE

(iii) Nom pl *īmāni* PE

§ 85 Relative *yad-*, Masculine. In the forms of all genders of this pronoun the loss of initial *y-* appears as an Eastern characteristic with its influence over other regions. It never occurs in the West.

<sup>73</sup> This base is perhaps due to analogy with Pāli *kissa kassa* cf HULTZSCH, p xciii,

- (i) Nom sg. -o in the West and N-West, -e elsewhere  
yo G,S,(M), ye K,M,D,J,PE  
(a) initial y- is dropped and we get e K,D,J,PE,MRE
- (ii) Inst. sg. -na cf yena K,S,M,PE  
(a) ena is given by T,d,j
- (iii) Gen sg. -sa yasa G,S,M.  
(a) With the loss of initial y-, asa D,J and with the lengthening of final -a, asā K.
- (iv) Nom pl ye G,K,S,M,D,J,PE  
(a) The form yā is given by ru  
(b) The loss of initial y- results in the form e K,M,D,J,jtr
- (v) Gen pl -sam or -šam, yesam G, yešam K, M, yesa S
- (vi) Loc. pl -šu, -su, or -šu cf yešu K, yesu S, yešu M

## § 86 Relative yad,—Feminine

- (i) Nom sg. -ā yā D,T, ya S,M  
(a) Loss of y- cf ā d,j
- (ii) Nom pl -ā yā G, ya S,M

## § 87 Relative yad,—Neuter

- (i) Nom sg. ya G,yr, yam S M yr, yc K,M,PE  
(a) Loss of y- e K,D,J,PE,MRE  
(b) kālsī dialect also gives the forms -a and -am
- (ii) Acc sg. yam or ya G,K,S,M,MRE  
(a) am K,D,J,s  
(b) e M,K.  
(c) The Mas form yo is given by the N-Western dialect.
- (iii) Nom pl yām G, PE  
(a) ām D,J

## § 88 Interrogative Pronoun,—Masculine.

- (i) Nom sg. -o in the West and -e in other regions  
ko-ci G, ke-cā D,J, ke-cha K, ke-chi M.  
(a) Ending -a is found in ka-ci at S
- (ii) Inst. sg. kena-pi in sn, \*kinā in kinasī T (cf F<sup>1</sup>ā, Hemacandra, III, 69, PISCHEL, *Grammatik* § 428 and HULTZSCH, p. cxix)
- (iii) Abl sg. a-kasn, ā d,j
- (iv) Acc. pl. -ām cf kāmī PE

§ 89 Interrogative Pronoun,—neuter As in Mas most of the forms occur with the particle -ci

- (i) Nom, Acc. sg. ki- or kin- G,K,S,M,D,J,PE,MRE  
(a) In G kin occurs as an indefinite: the form occurs in D,J, also  
(b) ke-ci for kin-ci is given by bh  
(c) PE give forms as kin and kin-ci in the Acc.
- (ii) Nom., Acc. pl. kin- K,D,J,PE

## § 90 Pronominal base anya-, Masculine.

- (i) Nom sg. ending -e appears even in G under the Eastern influence  
any-e G; an-e S,M; an-e K,D,J,PE  
(a) The final -e > -i in the N-Western dialect cf an-i S

- (ii) Dat. sg -*ya* in the West and -*ye* elsewhere.  
*añāya* G , *añāye* S,M , *amñāye* K,D,J  
 (iii) Gen. sg „ -*sa* -*amñasa* G , -*añasa* S,M  
 (a) Final -*a* > *ā* in K, cf -*anaṣā* (-ṣ- being graphical)  
 (iv) Loc sg -*mhi*, cf *añāmhi* G  
 (v) Nom pl -*e* in all versions  
*amñe* or *añe* G,S,M , *amne* K,D,PE  
 (vi) Gen pl -*nam*, cf *amñānam* T  
 (vii) Loc. pl -*su*, cf *amnesu* D,T

§ 91 Pronominal base *anya*- Neuter

- (i) Nom sg -*a* or -*am* occurs in the West and N-West and -*e* in other regions  
*añā* G, *añām* S , *amne* K,D,J,Kq , *añe* M  
 (a) -*e* occurs in G cf *añe*  
 (b) -*a* occurs in T, cf *ana*  
 (ii) Nom , Acc pl -*m* in all versions  
*añām* G,S,M , *añnām* K,D,J,PE

§ 92. Pronominal base *sarva*-, Masculine

- (i) Nom sg -*e*, *save* PE  
 (ii) Acc sg -*am*, *savam* K,D J,S,M (*savram*)  
 (iii) Inst. sg -*na*, *savena* d,j  
 (a) The dental is cerebralised, cf *savenā* j  
 (iv) Gen sg -*sa*, *savasa* d,j  
 (v) Loc sg -*e* in the West and -*si* in the North. *save* G , *savasi* T  
 (vi) Nom pl -*e* in all versions cf *save* Major RE  
 (vii) Loc. pl -*su* in all versions, but -*ṣu* in the North and North-West.  
*savesu* G,D,J,K,T,sn , *saveṣu* S,M

§ 93 Pron. base *sarva*-, Feminine.

- (i) Nom. sg -*ā*, *ṣavā* K

§ 94 Pron. base *sarva*-, Neuter

- (i) Nom sg -*am* in the West and N-West and -*e* elsewhere.  
*sarvam* G , *savram* S,M , *save* K,D,J, *sarve* b  
 (a) -*a* occurs at K and yr in *sava*  
 (b) -*e* occurs at S,M cf *savre*  
 (ii) Acc sg -*am* everywhere, cf *savam* G,K,S,D

§ 95 Pron base *ekātara*-

- (i) Loc. sg ending -*mhi* in the West, -*e<sup>74</sup>* in the N-West and -*si* in the North  
*ekātaramhi* G , *ekātare* S<sup>1</sup>, *ekātalaṣi* (i.e. -*si*) K

§ 96 Pron base \**ekatyā*-<sup>75</sup>

- (i) Nom pl Mas -*ā*, *ekacā* G , *ekatyā* K,D,J,M , *ekatia* S

§ 97 Pron base *itara*-

- (i) Nom sg Neut. -*e*, *itale* K , *itare* M

§ 98 Pron. base *ubhaya*-

- (i) Gen pl -*sa*m, *ubhayesa*m K,M  
 (a) Final anusvāra is dropped in S cf *ubhayesa*

<sup>74</sup> This is the reading of HULTZSCH , others read *ekataraspi*

<sup>75</sup> For Pāli *ekaca*- cf GEIGER, *Pāli* § 113,

## II NUMERALS

## (A) CARDINALS

§ 99 ONE Mas<sub>1</sub> and Neut. base *eka-*

(1) Nom sg. Mas -o in the West and -e elsewhere.

*eko* G, *eke* M,K,D,J,sn (*ikike*).

(11) Acc. sg. Neut. -am, *ekam* S,M,yr

(111) Inst. sg. -na, *ekena* d,j

§ 100 One Fem base *ikā-* (for *ekā-*)

(1) Nom sg. -ā, *ikā* sn

(11) Acc. sg. -am, *ikam* sn

§ 101. Two Mas and Neut. *dva-* or *duva*

(1) Nom Masc. -o in the West and -e elsewhere

*dvo* G, *duve* S,M,K,D,J

(a) The final -e > -i at S, cf *duvi*

(11) Nom Neut. -e, *duve* s

(111) Inst. -hi, *duvehi* PE

§ 102. Two · Fem base *dva-* or *duva-*

(1) Nom -e in G and -i in S *dve* G, *duvi* S

§ 103 THREE Mas and Neut base *tī-* or *trī-* (*traya-*)

(1) Nom Mas · ī at G and O at S *tī* or *trī* G, *trayo* S

(11) Nom Acc. Neut. -m, *tīm* K,M, and *tīmni* K,D,J,P7 (= Pkt. *tīnni*).

§ 104 THREE Fem base *tī-*

(1) Loc -su, *tīsu* PE

§ 105 FOUR Mas and Neut<sub>1</sub> forms are taken from Sk

(1) Nom Mas -o, *catpāro* G

(11) Acc Masc -e *catūre* S,M

(111) Nom Neut. -i, *catālī* K (this form is used for Mas)

§ 106 FIVE *pañca-*

(1) Loc -su, *pañcasu* G,K,D,J, -su S,M

§ 107. SIX *ṣa-*

(1) Loc. -ṣu, *ṣaṣu* S,M,K.

§ 108 EIGHT. *aṣṭa* S,M,K.

§ 109 TEN *daśa* G,K,D,J, *daśa* S,M

§ 110 TWELVE *dvādaśa* G, *badaya(śa)s<sup>o</sup>*, *duiādaśa* K,T,Rdh,Rp,bb, *duvādaśa* D,J, *duvadaśa* and *d u adaśa* M, *duādaśa* Mth

§ 111 THIRTEEN *traiśa* G, *tedaśa* K,D,J, *tridaśa* M, *todaśa* S<sup>o</sup>

§ 112 FOURTEEN *codasa* ng

§ 113 NINETEEN. *ekun. arūsaṭi* bb

§ 114 TWENTY: *tūsaṭi* rm, ng

§ 115 TWENTY-FIVE. *pañca arūsaṭi* PE

§ 116 TWENTY-SIX *sadurūsaṭi* PE.

§ 117 TWENTY-SEVEN *saṭaṭi. saṭi* T

§ 118 FIFTY-SIX. *saṭaṭi. ā s.*

76 The Niva form is *badāsa*, see BUTTOW § 82

77 The Niva form is *tridaśa*, see BUTTOW § 82

§ 119 HUNDRED base *sata-*

- (i) Nom pl Masc *-ā, satā* MRE
- (ii) Acc pl Neut *-ni, satāni* or *śatani* Major RE
- (iii) Inst. pl *-hi, satehi* or *śatehi* Major RE
- (iv) Loc. pl *-su, śateṣu* K, *śateṣu* S, *sateṣu* M.

§ 120 THOUSAND base *sahas-*

- (i) Loc pl *-su, sahasesu* J, *sahasenum*<sup>78</sup> d (as read by HULTZSCH, others read *-su*).

§ 121 HUNDRED-THOUSAND base *sata-sahas-*

- (i) Nom. sg *-e, śata-sahasre* S,M, *śata-śahaṣe* K.
- (ii) Nom pl *-ni, sata-sahasrāni* G, *-sahasani* S, *-sahasrani* M, *-sahasāni* K,D,J
- (iii) Loc pl *-su, sata-sahasesu* PE

## (B) ORDINALS

§ 122 FOURTEENTH *cāvudāsā* PE§ 123 FIFTEENTH *pañnaḍasā* PE, *pañcadāsā* Ksb *pañnaḥasā* Rdh, Mth.§ 124 HUNDREDTH *śata-* S,M, *śata-* K§ 125 THOUSANDTH *sahasra-* S, M, *śahaṣa-* K.

## III CONJUGATION

§ 126 As in declension, the conjugational system of the inscriptions is much simplified. Thus the dual number is altogether lost and the middle voice lingers on only in the West. Yet as the forms given below will bear out, in comparison with later Prakrits, the conjugational system of the Aśokan inscriptions still bears an archaic nature. The ten classes of verbs found in the old system are mostly reduced to the *-a* class, and in some measure to the *-aya* class. The full forms in Sanskrit with the necessary phonetic changes are also inherited in some cases.

## § 127 PRESENT INDICATIVE,—Active.

- (i) 1st pers sg *-mi* in all versions.

*karomi* G, *karemi* S,M, *palakamāmi* D,J, *vidahāmi* PE

*ichāmi* MRE, *sumi* MRE

- (a) *-ni* in *palakamāmi* at K is a mistake.

- (ii) 3rd pers sg *-ti* in all versions.

*ichati* S,M,K,D,J, *dekhati* PE, *pasati* G, *hoti* Mysore Gr, *athi* ru, s, *ānapayati* yr

- (iii) 1st pers pl *-ma, susuma* yr

- (iv) 3rd pers pl *-anti* in all versions except G

*-ati* (with loss of anusvāra) G and all other versions.

*ichati*, *prāpunati* G, *ichanti* S,M,K,D,J, *laghamti* PE

*vaṣati* K, *vasati* S,M, *kaleti* D,J

## § 128 PRESENT INDICATIVE,—Middle.

- (i) 3rd sg *-te* occurs only in the West, other regions give active *-ti*

*karote* G, but *kaleti* K,D,J, *karoti* S,M

- (a) *-ti* occurs in G cf *karoti*

- (b) *-te* occurs in D cf *mammate*

78 For the use of *-(e)sum* in literary Prakrits HULTZSCH compares PISCHEL, Gr § 371.

## (ii) 3rd pl

1 -*te* in G alone. cf *karonte*2 -*re*<sup>79</sup> in G, *anuvatare*, but *anuvatanti* K, *anuvānti* S

## § 129. PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE,—Active

(i) 1st sg -*mi* in all versions The term is of indicative.*sukhāpayāmi* G, *sukhāyāmi* K,S,M,D,J, *sāvāpayāmi* PE(a) Final -*i* > *ī*, cf *āvahāmī* Rdh

## (ii) 3rd sg

1 -*ā* (< -*āt* ?) G, *mamñā*<sup>80</sup>2 -*tu* K. The term is of imperative, *susuṣātu*3 -*ti* sn The term. is of indicative, *huvāti*(iii) 1st pl -*ma* at M *dīpayama*(iv) 2nd pl -*thā*, *nikhūpāthā* and *vivāsāpayāthā* sn, *likhāpayāthā* s

## (v) 3rd pl :

1 -*tu* at K, *palakamātu*2 -*vū* at D, J The term is of optative cf *nikhāmāvū*

## § 130 SUBJUNCTIVE Middle

(i) 3rd pl -*te* only at M *parakramate* (HULTZSCH's reading)

## § 131 OPTATIVE Active.

(i) 1st sg -*eyam* in the West and the N-West and -*cham* elsewhere.*gacheyam* G, *vraceyam* S, *yecham* K,K,D,J*abhyunnāmāyecham* T

## (ii) 3rd sg

1 *va*, *asa* G (= Pāli *assa* for \**asyāt*)<sup>81</sup>2 -*e*, *bhave* G, *ugacha(che)* d3 -*eyā*<sup>82</sup>, in all versions *tiṣṭeya* G, *nvaṭeyā* K, *dakheyā* d,j, *anupaṭipajeyā* T, *adhigacheyā* mk4 -*yā*, *siyā* S,M,D,J,PE, MRE5 -*ti*, (indicative term) in North and N-West. *siyāti* K,S,M6 -*vā*, *pāpovā* PE(iii) 1st pl -*ema*, *dīpayema* G,K, *gachema* d,j

## (iv) 3rd pl .

1 -*u* G,K,S,M, cf *asu* (= Pāli *assu* for \**asyuh*)<sup>83</sup>2 -*cyā* in all versions, *vaseyu* S,M,G, *huvēyu* K, *calēyū* j, *pakameyu* br, sd, *sumeyu* bb3 -*evū*, in non-Western regions, *vaseyu* K, *calēyū* d, *pavatajevū* and *upadahevū* PE, *jānevū* yt4 -*tu*, *yātu* sn

## § 132 OPTATIVE,—Middle.

(i) 3rd sg -*tha*<sup>84</sup> only in G, *paṭipajeti* a; other versions give active forms like *paṭipajeyā* S,M,K,D,J<sup>79</sup> For the use of -*re* in Vedic Sk., Pkt., and Pāli cf. PISCHEL § 458<sup>80</sup> With this form HULTZSCH compares such Vedic forms as *paśvā*, see p. lxxv<sup>81</sup> HULTZSCH p. lxxvi<sup>82</sup> For parallels to this contracted term cf. HULTZSCH p. lxxxi<sup>83</sup> HULTZSCH p. lxxv<sup>84</sup> For this term cf. GERTER Pāli, § 129



(11) 3rd pl (desiderative) *-era* only in G, *susuñseta*, other versions have *śusuṣeyu* K, *suśruṣeyu* S,M

§ 133 IMPERATIVE,—Active.

(i) 3rd sg *-tu*, *hotu* K,D,J,FE,MRE, *bhotu* S,M

(ii) 2nd pl *-tha* in all versions (indicative ending)

*paṭivedetha* G, *dekhatha* d,j, *likhāpayatha* s, *mvesayātha* yr

(a) *-ta* is obtained in *lekhāpeta* ru

(iii) 3rd pl *-aṃtu*, *yujāntu* Major RE, *anupaṭipajāntu* PE *jānamtu* Kpb

(a) The anusvāra is dropped in *niyātu* G, *manatu* K, *mañatu* S

(b) *ru* (due to the influence of middle ending) occurs only at G,  
cf *śruṇāru*

§ 134 IMPERATIVE,—Middle.

(i) 3rd sg passive *-tām* only in G *anuvidhīyatām*, S,M,K gave active, *anuvidhīyatu*

desider *-tā* only in G, *susrusatā*, but active forms such as *susuṣātu* (K), *susāsatu* (DJ) are found in other versions

(ii) 3rd pl *-ram* in G, *anuvataṛam*, but active *anuvataṛntu* K, *-vatatu* S,D

§ 135 IMPERFECT,—Active.

(i) 3rd sg form of *bhū* is *aho* (< \**abhot*<sup>85</sup> ?) everywhere.

§ 136 AORIST,—Active.

(i) 1st sg *-sam*, *husam* Mysore gr *-sa*, *husa* yr

(ii) 3rd sg *-mi*, *nikrami* S,M, *nikhami* D

(iii) 3rd pl *-su*, *ñayāsu*<sup>86</sup> G, *nikhamisu* K,D,J, *abhuvasu*<sup>87</sup> S,M,  
*husu* PE,MRE

(a) *-msu*, *ahumsu*<sup>88</sup> G

(b) *-ṣu*, *nikramiṣu* S,M, *maniṣu* K.

§ 137 AORIST,—Subjunctive.

(i) 3rd pl *-ṣu*, *mañiṣu* S,M *-sā*, *alocayisā* D,J,M,K

§ 138 AORIST,—Middle.

(i) 3rd sg *-thā*,<sup>89</sup> *nikhamithā* K, *huthā* and *vadhithā* T [The middle forms occur in K and T only exceptionally Active forms are employed elsewhere. Cf *nikromi* S,M, *nikhami* D

(a) The ending is cerebralised in *nikhamithā* So

§ 139 PERFECT,—Active.

(i) 3rd sg of 'to speak' The forms are *āhā* in all versions

(a) Forms *ahati* and *hahati* occur in S

§ 140 FUTURE,—Active The occasional change of *-s-* to *-h-* in the plural term is noteworthy

85 HULTZSCH, p lxviii

86 This equals Sk. \**nyayāsuḥ*, HULTZSCH, p lxviii

87 The term *-su* affixed to Sk. Aorist form *abhihūvan*, cf JOHANSSON, *Dialect der Shāh Redaction*, § 30

88 This is based on 3rd sg *chut-* = Sk. *abhūt*, HULTZSCH, p lxviii

89 For Pāli and Ardha-Māgadhī term. *-ithā*, see MÜLLER, *Pāli Gr* p 115 and FISCHER, *Gr* § 517

## (i) 1st sg .

1 -*sam* or -*šam*, in the West, N-West and PE *likhāpayisam* G ;  
*ṣalibhasayisam* PE, *kašam* S

2 -*šām*, -*sām* in the East and N-West. *lekhāpēśām* K,S,M,  
*hosām* D,J

(a) M. once gives -*šam* cf *kašam*

(b) K. once gives *kachām*

(ii) 3rd sg : -*sat*, -*śat* or -*ṣat* almost in all versions

*āṇpayisat* G, *khamisat* D,J, *vaḍhiśat* S, *vaḍhisat* PE,s,b,  
*ānapayisat* yr, *kaṣat* S,M.

(a) The vowel -*a* in -*sat* becomes -*i*- due to -*y*- (in -*syat*) especially in the South *vaḍhisat* br,sd,jtr,mk,Kpb,ru, *vaḍhasitā* for -*sit* (?) yr.

(b) The following inherited forms may be noted *kachat* K,D,J,PE,  
*bhākhāt* (and *caghat*) PE

(iii) 2nd pl -*sathā* and -*hatha*, *esatha* j = *ehatha* d *ālādhayisathā* d,j(iv) 3rd pl . -*samt*, -*śamt* or -*ṣamt*

*anusāstisamt*, G,K, *nikhāmusamt* D,J ; *anapēśamt* and *kašamt* S,  
*vaḍhisamt* PE

(a) Note the forms *kachamt* K,D,J,PE, *chaghamt* PE

(b) -*s*- > -*h*- in the ending -*hant*, *dāhamt* PE, *hohamt* T

## § 141 FUTURE,—Middle.

(i) 3rd pl. . -*sa-re* only in G, *anuvatisare*, other versions give active *anuvati-*  
*samt* D,K (-*vaṭi*-), -*śamt* S,M

## § 142 PASSIVE,—Indicative.

(i) 3rd sg -*ti* in non-Western area

*pasavati* K,S,M (*pra*-), *khādīyat* PE

(ii) 3rd pl . -*re* only in the West, *ārabhare* G, but -*anti* in the rest, *anuvīdhī-*  
*yamt* K,PE, *ālābhīyamt* M,D,J

## § 143 PASSIVE,—Imperative.

(i) 3rd sg -*tām* only in G *anuvīdhīyatām*, but *anuvīdhīyatu* S,M

(ii) 3rd pl -*antu*, *anuvīdhīyamtu* K

## § 144 PASSIVE,—Optative.

(i) 3rd sg -*yā*, *discyā* bh.

(ii) 3rd pl :

1 -*yā* or -*vū*, *yujeyā* j, *yujevū* d

2 -*su* (Aorist term see above § 128) *lan nīyasu* S

## § 145 PASSIVE,—Aorist.

(i) 3rd pl : -*su*, *ārabhisu* G,M, *arabhiyisu* S, *āla(m)bhīyīsu* K,D,J

## § 146 PASSIVE,—Future.

(i) 3rd pl . -*sare* in G, *ārabhisare* G ; but -*san* ti elsewhere

*sūsunisera* G ; *sūsuṣyū* K ; *sūstuscyū* E,M.

## § 147 PASSIVE,—Middle.

(i) 3rd pl : -*re*, *ārabhare* G ; -*īya-re*, *anuvīdhīyare* G

## § 148 FUTURE PASSIVE —Middle.

(i) 3rd pl . -*isa-re*, *ārabhisare* G

## § 149 DESIDERATIVE,—Imperative.

- (1) 3rd sg *-tā* G, *-tu* S,M,D,J  
*susrusātā* G, *susūsatu* D,J, *suśruṣatu* S,M

## § 150 DESIDERATIVE,—Optative.

- (1) 3rd pl *-ra* in G, *-yu* K,S,M  
*susumsera* G, *ṣuṣuṣeyu* K, *suśruṣyu* S,M

## § 151 DESIDERATIVE,—Subjunctive.

- (1) 3rd sg *-tu*, *susuṣātu* K.

## § 152 PRESENT PARTICIPLE,—Active.

- (1) *-anta-*, or *-ta-* (with the loss of anusvāra), *saṁta-* Major RE, PE, MRE, *kalata-* K, *karata-* S,M, *aśata-* M

(a) The two forms *karum* and *karu* occur in G as nom. sg Mas

## § 153 PRESENT PARTICIPLE,—Middle.

- (1) The ending *-māna* occurs in all versions  
*bhumjamāna-* G, *adamāna-* K,D,J, *aśamana-* S (but active form *aśata-* in M), *viṣṇamāna-* S,K, *anuvekhamāna-* T, *saṁmāna-* (< √as-) br, sd  
 (a) The ending sometimes takes the form *-mīna* cf *samṣaṭṭipajamīna-* d, *viṣaṭṭipādayamīna-* d (but active form *-pātayamta-* in j), *pāyamīna-* PE, *pakamamīna-* sd,yr,ru,b, *palakamamīna-* s  
 (b) The dental is cerebralised in the South cf *pakamamīna-* (?) br, *saṁmāna-* Kpb

## § 154 PAST PARTICIPLE,—Passive.

- (1) *-ta*, *mata-* Major RE, T, *prakamta-* Mysore Gr, *pakamta-* MRE, *upayita-* yr  
 (a) The ending is often cerebralised (under the influence of *ṛ*) in non-Western regions. cf *kaṭa-* M,K,D,J,T, sn,rm,ru,Kpb, *apakamta-* PE, *vyūṭha-* ru,yr (but *vyūṭha-* br)  
 (ii) *na*, most of the forms are inherited from Sanskrit  
*prasamna-* G, *prasana-* S,M, *paśamna-* K, *-uvigina-* d,j  
 (a) For Pkt. forms cf *dimna-* T, *dina-* bb  
 (b) For a few other inherited forms cf *ladha-* G,K,S,M, *suḍha-* S,D,J,So, *pata-* PE, *asvattha-* PE, etc

## § 155 FUTURE PARTICIPLE,—Passive.

- (1) *-tava* used in the West and the South, *-taviya-* (or *-ṭaviya-*) in other regions

*katavya-* G, *drahitavya-* Mysore Gr, *kaṭaviya-* M,K,D,J,T, *puṣetaviya-* S,M, *hamtaviya-* PE, *dekhitaviya-* MRE

- (a) *-ṭaviya* occurs in the South, cf *kaṭaviya-* sd, jtr  
 (b) *-y-* of the ending is characteristically dropped in S, cf *viṣetaviya-*  
 (c) *-vy-* of the ending is assimilated to *-v-* in S, cf *kaṭava-*  
 (d) *-tava* occurs as an exception in the East. cf *samcahitavya-* j (but *-taviya-* d)  
 (e) forms with *-tavāya* are apparently mistaken cf. *lā(li)khāpetavaya-* ru, *vivasetaṭavāya* ru  
 (f) similarly *icitavya-* in j is perhaps meant for *-taviya-*.

(ii) -*anīya-* *vedanīya-* K,S,M , *asvāsānīya-* j

(iii) -*ya* · Most of the forms are assimilated or dissolved and a few are palatalised.  
*saka-* G, Mk, sd , *śaka-* S,M , *dupaṭivekha-* PE , *sakīya-* J,ru,yr,  
*cakīya-* d,j,s,b,Kpb , *kaca-* G

(a) The cluster is preserved in *avadhiya-* Rdh (but *avadhiya-* T) , *cakya-* b

#### § 156 INFINITIVES,

(i) of Accusa -*tu* (< -*tum*) *ārādhetu* G.

(ii) of Dat. -*tave* (< -*tavat*) *chamitave* G, *khamitave* D,J , *bhetave* (< √*bhid*)  
 PE , *jāpotave* MRĒ , *ārādhetave* yr

(a) The dental is cerebralised in *palīhaṭave* T

#### § 157 ABSOLUTIVES The distinction between -*tvā* and -*ya* is not maintained

Of the two types of absolutives, those with -*tvā* are more commonly used

(i) -*tpā* (< -*tvā*) in the West, *ārābhutpā* G

(ii) -*tu* (< -*tvā*) in other versions *sutu* K,T , *śrutu* S,M , *jāntu* d

(a) The dental is cerebralised in *kaṭu* d, *kaṭū* j

(b) The ending is extended to -*tūnam* in bb cf *abhiwādetūnam*<sup>90</sup>

(iii) -*ya* *sachāya* (< *saṃ*-√*kṣā*)= *saṃ-khyā* G , *saṃkhaya* S,M

(a) Instead of the form *saṃkheya* at K we are asked to read *saṃkhāya*

(b) The final -*a* > -*ā*, cf *saṃnamdhāpayiyā* sn.

(c) The palatalised form *āgāca* occurs in rm, ng

(d) The cluster is preserved in *adhigīya* bh

(iv) -*tī* (< Vedic -*tvī*) is found only in the N-Western dialect.<sup>91</sup>

Cf *tīṭhīti*, *viṣṇūti* S , *draścīti* M

<sup>90</sup> Cf PISCHEL, Gr § 585

<sup>91</sup> It is found in the Nīya Prakrit as well. See BURROW, § 102

## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS OF THE WESTERN GROUP

#### Prakrit Inscriptions of Western India

#### § 158 INTRODUCTORY

The Prakrit inscriptions which have been treated in this group are mostly centred in the Bombay Presidency\*, their northern limit being in the East Khandesh district and the southern one in the North Kanara district. These limits will incidentally point to an interesting fact that a large number of these inscriptions—about 206 out of 208—have their venue in the districts of Mahārāshṭra. In point of time they vary from the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 2nd cent. A.D. and supply us with sufficient material for a historical treatment century by century. The following numbered paragraphs contain the necessary information about these inscriptions which are arranged chronologically.

1 Vakālā Stone Inscriptions (L 968-L 972) The place Vakālā is situated about one mile to the south-west of Gas village in Sopārā in the Thānā Dist. of the Bombay Presidency\*. There are in all five short inscriptions, the characters of which are old enough to justify their being ascribed to the Aśokan period.

2 Paṭhyār Rock Inscription (L 9) The place is situated in the Kāngra Dist. of Punjab, and as such is far away in the north. It is, however, included here for the sake of convenience. The linguistic material which it affords is very poor and hence its inclusion does not disturb the geographical study. The legend in the Kharoṣṭhī script has been excluded here. The Brāhmī characters of the inscription belong to the Aśokan period.

3 Bhājā Cave Inscriptions (L 1078-L 1085) Bhājā is placed in the Māvaḷ tāluk of the Poona Dist. in the Bombay Presidency. The Buddhist caves at Bhājā are the oldest ones in Western India and belong to the 2nd cent. B.C. There are in all eight Prakrit inscriptions, short in length, in these caves. The oldest inscription among them (L 1078) is engraved in viḥāra No. 17. The characters of this inscription are so old that it can be safely assigned to a period considerably anterior to the beginning of the Christian era. The inscription standing over two rock-cisterns between caves XIV and XVII (L 1079) is in much later characters. But as it does not show any linguistic difference from the older inscriptions it is treated below together with the rest of the inscriptions.

5 Koṇḍāne Cave Inscription (L 1071)<sup>1</sup> The village Koṇḍāne is situated in the Karjat tāluk of the Kolābā Dist. in the Bombay Presidency. The Bhājā caves may be a little earlier than the caves at Koṇḍāne, but the difference is so slight that they may be considered as contemporary or very nearly so. These caves have but only one short Prakrit inscription in characters of about the 2nd cent. B.C.

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\* In this and subsequent sections the old term "Presidency" has been used instead of the current term "Province" since all the old references to find spots etc. in LÜDERS' *Lists* contains that word as it was current then.

1 For one more inscription from Koṇḍāne see Addenda, No. 5

6 Beḍṣā Cave Inscriptions (L 1109-L 1111) Beḍṣā is situated in the Māvaḷ tāluk of the Poona Dist., a few miles south west of Khandālā railway station on the Bombay-Poona division. In point of time the caves are only next to Bhājā and Koṇḍāne and hence may be regarded to belong to the second century B.C. There are only three Prakrit inscriptions in these caves inscribed in characters of quite an early type.

6 Nādsur Cave Inscriptions (L 1067-L 1068) Nādsur is a small village in Pant Sachiv of Bhor's Konkan districts in the Bombay Presidency. It has two short Prakrit inscriptions, the date of which is taken to be second cent. B.C.

7 Kōlhāpur Casket Inscription (L 1185) In making some excavations at Kōlhāpur, a big State in the Bombay Presidency, the foundations of a large stūpa were turned up. In the centre of it was discovered a square stone box containing a relic casket. On the square lid of this stone box is engraved a Prakrit Inscription in Maurya characters.

8 Pittalkhōrā Cave Inscriptions (L 1187-L 1193) These caves are excavated near the deserted village of Patna, 12 miles to the south of Chālisgaon in the East Khāndesh Dist. of the Bombay Presidency. They belong to a very early date ranking with Bhājā and Koṇḍāne caves. There are in all seven short Prakrit inscriptions in these caves. The alphabet of these inscriptions belongs to about 100 B.C. or a little earlier than that.

9 Ajañḍā Cave Inscriptions (L 1197-L 1199) Ajañḍā caves are situated about three and a half miles south-west from Phardapur, in the Aurangābād Dist. of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions. There are in all three<sup>2</sup> Prakrit inscriptions in these caves, L 1197 is the oldest among the group and is inscribed in the characters of about the first or even the second century B.C. L 1198 is also inscribed in early characters. L 1199 is a painted inscription in cave No. X and its characters belong to the same age as the carved inscriptions elsewhere of the Āndhra period. Thus there is a good deal of difference in time between this latter inscription and the former two. But it is only fragmentary in character and yields scanty material to justify our dealing with it separately from the other two.

10 Kārḷē Cave Inscriptions—Part I (L 1086-L 1098, L 1101-L 1104, L 1107-L 1108) The Kārḷē caves are situated some thirty-five miles north-west of Poona in the Bombay Presidency. LUDERS has listed in all twenty-three inscriptions from these Buddhist caves. BÜHLER divides all these inscriptions into two parts on palaeographic grounds. The one he characterises as the earliest Kārḷē inscriptions and the other as the inscriptions of the Āndhra and the Kṣatrapa period. Here we are concerned with the first group, which is styled as Kārḷē I in the ensuing discussion, for its date is about the second century B.C. or a little later than that. To these inscriptions in LUDERS's list, which number nineteen in all, we may now add twelve more inscriptions from the same place. They are edited by Pandit Madho Sarup VATS<sup>2</sup> in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. 18. To this collection again Professors NIKARTIA SASTRI and K.

2. The painted inscription in cave No. 9 is not included by LUDERS in his list. The characters are perhaps of the 5th cent. A.D., and only a fragment of it is left. It reads—*'devadharma . . . sva ma . . .'* It is probably in the mixed dialect and not of much value for the present study. Cf. *ISBI* 4151, n. 4.

GOPALACHARI in their Epigraphic Notes<sup>4</sup> add one more inscription of about the same period. All these inscriptions are, of course, in Prakrit.

11 Kuḍā Cave Inscriptions (L 1037-L 1066) The Kuḍā caves are situated in the Kolābā Dist. about forty five miles south of Bombay. There are in all thirty inscriptions in these caves of which twenty five are found to be in Prakrit. None of the inscriptions gives any date or point of contact with any known dynasty. The alphabet of the inscriptions, however, justifies us in placing them early in the list of inscriptions. They belong to a period late in the second century B.C. or perhaps early in the first century B.C. The other five inscriptions (L 1042-L 1044, L 1046 and L 1047) are written in mixed dialect and in characters of about the fifth or sixth century A.D. Hence they are not treated here.

12 Nānāghāt Cave Inscriptions I (L 1112-L 1118) These seven inscriptions in Prakrit were found in a cave at the top of the Nānāghāt, a pass which leads from Konkan to the ancient town of Junnar in the Poona Dist. Out of these inscriptions L 1112 occupies the left and the right side walls while the rest (L 1113-L 1118), are incised as labels above the heads of a number of portrait figures carved on the back wall. The characters of these inscriptions exactly resemble those of the inscriptions of King Kaṇha in the Nāsik caves and hence they are placed in the first century B.C.

13 Nāsik Cave Inscriptions I LUDERS has listed altogether twenty-eight inscriptions from the Pāṇḍu Lena caves at Nāsik, a district place in the Bombay Presidency. Out of these, one inscription (L 1145) is written in Sanskrit and three (L 1131, L 1136-L 1137) in mixed dialect. The remaining twenty-two have been inscribed in Prakrit and in characters of different dates. A few of them have been regularly dated in the regnal years of the Āndhra Kings and of the Kṣātrapa King Nahapāna.

Here in the first division we include only four inscriptions (L 1140-L 1142, L 1144) in Prakrit which belong on palaeographic grounds to the first century B.C.

14 Karāḍh Cave Inscription (L 1184) The place is situated thirty miles south of Sātārā, a district place in the Bombay Presidency. There is only one Prakrit inscription here, the characters of which belong to the first century B.C.

15 Junnar Cave Inscriptions (L 1150-L 1183) The town of Junnar is situated fifty-five miles north of Poona. The Buddhist caves round Junnar are numerous in number and varying in dates. There are in all thirty-four inscriptions from these caves, all of them being in Prakrit. Most of the inscriptions are short, giving the name of the donor and the description of the gift. There is only one inscription here (L 1174), which is dated in the forty-sixth year of the Kṣātrapa King Nahapāna. The rest of the inscriptions vary in characters, though not in language, from about 150 B.C. to 150 A.D. Most of them, however, belong to the first century A.D. There are three inscriptions (L 1159-L 1161) in these caves which are written in some obscure language the meaning of which yet remains unfathomed.

16 Nāsik Cave Inscriptions II This is the second group of the inscriptions at Nāsik consisting of four Prakrit inscriptions (L 1127, L 1138, L 1148 and L 1149). Palaeographically they are ascribed to about the beginning of the Christian era.

3 "Unpublished Votive Inscriptions in the Caitya Cave at Karle", *EI* 18.325 9

4 *EI* 24.279-82.

17 Nāsik Cave Inscriptions III This is the third division of five Prakrit inscriptions from Nāsik (L 1131-L 1135) They belong to the time of Uṣavadāta i.e. the first (or second) century A.D. The dialect of the inscriptions, as will be shown below, has a few traces of mixed dialect

18 Padana Rock Inscriptions (L 973-L 983) The Padana Hill, a great block of trap in Sālsette, is situated about 15 miles north of Bombay There are in all eleven inscriptions here of which only the last one (L 983) is in Sanskrit giving the Buddhist creed The remaining ten are in Prakrit and their characters enable us to conclude that they belong to about the first (or the second) century A.D. The inscriptions are very short, at times consisting of only a single word

19 Kōl Cave Inscriptions (L 1075- L 1077) About a mile south-east of Mahād in a hill behind the village of Kōl in the Kolābā Dist. are two small groups of caves In the second group there are three short Prakrit inscriptions of about the first century A.D.

20 Śailārwaḍi Cave Inscription (L 1121) Śailārwaḍi caves are situated some fourteen miles east of Kārle They have only one Prakrit inscription of the period of the first century A.D.

21 Nānāghāṭ Cistern Inscriptions II (L 1119-L 1120) This second division of the Nānāghāṭ inscriptions consists of two cistern inscriptions in Prakrit They are much later than the cave inscriptions noticed above (cf Nānāghāṭ I) and belong to the first century A.D.

22 Nāsik Cave Inscriptions IV The Prakrit inscriptions from the Pāṇḍu Lenā caves at Nāsik which fall in this last division of Nāsik inscriptions belong to the Āndhra period L 1122-L 1124 are dated in the regnal years of rājan Vāsīthīputa Sīri Puḷumāyī, L 1125-L 1126 in the years of Gotamīputa Sātakanī and L 1146 in the year of Gotamīputa Sāmi-Sīriyāñā Sātakanī L 1128-L 1130, L 1139 and L 1143 also belong to the same period i.e. the first or the second century A.D.

23 Kārle Cave Inscriptions II In this second division of Kārle inscriptions fall the four later inscriptions viz L 1099-L 1100, L 1105-L 1106 belonging to the second century A.D.

24 Kanhēri Cave Inscriptions (L 984-L 1034) LUDERS has listed in all fifty-one inscriptions from the Buddhist caves at Kanhēri, about 20 miles to the north of Bombay A few among them are written in Sanskrit or mixed dialect, but no less than nineteen of them have so far not been read at all This forms a very serious hindrance in the way of giving a full picture of the dialect preserved in these inscriptions The characters of the inscriptions belong to the Āndhra variety, thus enabling us to put them in the first or second century A.D.

25 Mahād Cave Inscriptions (L 1072-L 1074) The Pūla or Mahād caves are situated about a mile to the south-east of Mahād in the Kolābā Dist. The three Prakrit inscriptions carved in these caves date in the second century A.D.

26 Banavāsī Stone Inscription (L 1186) The inscription is carved on the two edges of a large stone slab in the court of a great temple of Banavāsī in the North Kanara Dist. of the Bombay Presidency The characters of the inscription belong to the second century A.D.



§ 159 Note The table below indicates the distribution of these Inscriptions according to their time-sequence.

Period.	Inscription	No
3rd cent. B C	L 968-L 972, L 9	6
2nd cent. B C	L 1078-L 1085, L 1071, L 1109-L 1111, L 1067-L 1068, L 1185	15
End of 2nd cent. B C	L 1187-L 1193, L 1197-L 1199, L 1086- L 1098, L 1101-L 1104, L 1107-L 1108 plus 13 additions	47
1st cent. B C	L 1037-L 1066, L 1112-L 1118, L 1140- L 1142, L 1144, L 1184	37
1st cent. B C —	L 1150-L 1183	34
1st cent. A D		
1st cent. A D	L 1127, L 1138, L 1148-L 1149, L 1131- L 1135, L 973-L 983, L 1075-L 1077, L 1121, L 1119-L 1120, L 1122-L 1126, L 1128-L 1130, L 1139, L 1143, L 1146- L 1147	37
2nd cent A D	L 1099-L 1100, L 1105-L 1106, L 984- L 1034, L 1072-L 1074, L 1186	32

## PHONOLOGY

### I VOWELS

§ 160 Treatment of the vowel *ṛ* Excepting a few examples in the Nāsik Inscriptions of Nahapāna (i.e. Nāsik III) where the vowel *ṛ* is preserved, it is usually changed to *a*, *i* or *u* in these inscriptions

#### (a) The change *ṛ* > *a*

Koṇḍāṇe	Sk. <i>Kṛṣṇa</i> > <i>Kanha</i> - L 1071 Sk. <i>kṛtā</i> > <i>kata</i> - L 1071
Nādsur	Sk. <i>kṛtā</i> > <i>kata</i> - L 1067
Pittalkhorā	Sk. <i>Mṛgila</i> > <i>Magila</i> - L 1189 etc.
Kārlē I	Sk. <i>grhastha</i> > <i>gahata</i> - L 1091 Sk. <i>grhapati</i> > <i>gahapati</i> - EI 18.328 12
Kuḍā	Sk. <i>grhapati</i> > <i>ga[ha]pati</i> - L 1058
Nānāghāt	Sk. <i>prthivī</i> > <i>pathavi</i> - L 1112 Also cf. <i>gahapati</i> - L 1112
Nāsik I	Sk. <i>kṛpanā</i> > <i>kaṇana</i> - L 1141
Junnar	Sk. <i>-bhṛti</i> > <i>-bhati</i> - L 1163, L 1166 Also cf. <i>gaha</i> - L 1153, L 1157
Nāsik II	cf. <i>gahapati</i> - L 1127
Nāsik III	Sk. <i>vṛddhi</i> > <i>vadhi</i> - L 1133
Kōl	cf. <i>gahapati</i> - L 1075 It occurs also at Śaulārwaḍī (L 1121) and Nānāghāt II (L 1120)
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>tṛtiya</i> > <i>tatiya</i> - L 1146 Sk. <i>kṛṣyate</i> > <i>kasate</i> L 1126

Mahād	cf <i>gahapati</i> - L 1073
Kārle II	Sk. <i>ṛṭṭiya</i> - > <i>ṭṭiya</i> - L 1106 <sup>1</sup>
Kanhēri	Sk. <i>Kṛṣṇasāila</i> - > <i>Kanhasela</i> - L 1013 <sup>2</sup> , L 1028 <sup>3</sup> Sk. <i>parigṛhita</i> - > <i>parigahita</i> - L 1104
Banavāsī	Sk. <i>kṛtā</i> - > <i>kata</i> - L 1186 <sup>3</sup>

Thus the treatment of the vowel *ṛ* > *a* is almost the standard type of change in these inscriptions. Most of the groups of inscriptions noted above do not show any other type of change, and where they do it is only in a few cases.

(b) The change *ṛ* > *i* :

Kuḍā	Sk. <i>ṛṣi</i> - > <i>ṛsi</i> - L 1048
Junnar	cf <i>ṛsi</i> - L 1176
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>kṛtāparādha</i> - > <i>kṛtāparādha</i> - <sup>5</sup> L 1123 Sk. <i>sadṛśa</i> - > <i>sadisa</i> - L 1123
Kanhēri	Sk. <i>Rṣipāla</i> - > <i>Ṛṣipāla</i> - L 1000 <sup>1</sup>

Thus if we except the words with *ṛsi*- there are few other words exemplifying the change *ṛ* > *i*.

(c) The change *ṛ* > *u*

Nādsur	Sk. <i>bhrātṛ</i> - > <i>bhātu</i> - L 1068
Kārle I	Sk. <i>Rṣabhadatta</i> - > <i>Usabhadatta</i> - L 1097
Kuḍā	Sk. <i>duhṛtṛ</i> - > <i>duhutū</i> - <sup>6</sup> L 1048 etc Sk. <i>Mṛgadāsa</i> - > <i>Mugadā[sa]</i> - L 1061 Also cf <i>bhātu</i> - L 1045
Nāsik I	Sk. <i>mātṛ</i> - > <i>mātu</i> - L 1141 Also cf <i>duhutū</i> - L 1141
Nāsik II <sup>7</sup>	Sk. <i>vṛddhika</i> - > <i>ṛddhika</i> - L 1148
Nāsik III	Sk. <i>Rṣabhadatta</i> - > <i>Uṣavadāta</i> - L 1132
Kol	cf <i>duhutū</i> - L 1076
Śailārwaḍī	cf <i>Usabha</i> - L 1121
Nāsik IV <sup>8</sup>	Sk. <i>śṛjamāna</i> - > <i>suṣamāna</i> - L 1146 Sk. <i>ut-kṛta</i> - > <i>ukuta</i> - L 1146
Kārle II	cf <i>Usabhadāta</i> - L 1099 <sup>1</sup> and <i>mātāpitrnam</i> L 1105 <sup>2</sup>
Kanhēri <sup>9</sup>	Sk. <i>ṛtu-kāla</i> - > <i>utū-kāla</i> L 1020 <sup>1</sup> , 1024 <sup>12</sup> etc

Thus it will be easily seen that a large majority of the examples quoted to illustrate the change *ṛ* > *u* express human relationship or have the presence of labials in the neighbourhood.

(d) The vowel *ṛ* is preserved only in the words *kṛta*- and *ṛḍh*- both in L 1133 which falls in the division Nāsik III. They appear to be due to the influence of mixed dialect in which numerous contemporary inscriptions occur at Mathurā.

5 This is perhaps due to the North-western influence. Cf. the forms *ṛṣi*-, *ṛṣe*- in S. M.

6 We get *duhutū* in L 1041 and *duhutū* in L 1053 also.

7 *duhutū* occurs in L 1127 also.

8 We have also *Mugadāsa*- L 1129, *ṛṣi*- L 1123, L 1125 and *Uṣabha*- L 1125.

9 Also cf. *ṛṣi*- L 1027 etc, *duhutū*- L 1020<sup>1</sup>, *ṛṣi*- L 1001<sup>1</sup> etc.

§ 161 Treatment of the Sk diphthongs *ai* and *au* Sk. *ai* and *au* become regularly *e* and *o* in these inscriptions

(a) Change *ai* > *e*

Vakālā	Sk. <i>Bhaimī</i> > <i>Bhemi</i> - L 969
Beḍṣā	Sk. <i>Paṇḍapātika</i> > <i>Peḍapātika</i> - L 1110
Pittalkhorā	Sk. <i>rājavaidya</i> > <i>rājaveja</i> - L 1190, L 1191
Kārle I	Sk. <i>śaila</i> > <i>sela</i> - L 1087
Kuḍā	Sk. <i>cātya</i> > <i>cetiya</i> - L 1050, L 1058 Sk. <i>vaidya</i> > <i>veja</i> - L 1048
Nānāghaṭṭ I	Sk. * <i>traiḍaśa</i> <sup>10</sup> > <i>terasa</i> - L 1112
Nāsik I	cf <i>cetiya</i> - L 1140
Junnar	Sk. <i>trai-vidya</i> > <i>teviya</i> - L 1171
Nāsik III	Sk. <i>Vaiśākhā</i> > <i>Vesākha</i> - L 1133 Sk. <i>Caitra</i> > <i>Cetra</i> - L 1135
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>naṅgama</i> > <i>nekama</i> - L 1139
Mahāḍ	cf <i>cetiya</i> - L 1072
Kārle II	Sk. <i>haimanta</i> > <i>hemanta</i> - L 1106 <sup>1</sup>
Kaṇhēri	Sk. <i>havranyaka</i> > <i>heranika</i> - L 993 <sup>1</sup> etc
Banavāsi	cf <i>hemanta</i> - 1186 <sup>1</sup>

(b) Change *ai* > *i* (or *ī*) This type of change occurs in a few instances

Junnar	Sk. <i>Caitra</i> > <i>Čiṭa</i> - L 1182, but the derivation is rather doubtful
Nāsik III	Sk. <i>ekaika</i> > <i>ekika</i> - <sup>11</sup> L 1133
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>Paśācīpadraka</i> > <i>Pisāṇpadaka</i> - L 1123

(c) Change *au* > *o*

Bhājā	Sk. <i>Kauśiki</i> > <i>Kosiki</i> - L 1079
Kārle I	Sk. <i>Gauṭī</i> > <i>Gotī</i> - L 1088
Kuḍā	Sk. <i>Kautsi</i> > <i>Kochi</i> - L 1058
Junnar	Sk. <i>Kausthalakī</i> > <i>Kothalakī</i> - L 1171
Nāsik II	Sk. <i>dvaū</i> do L 1148 Sk. <i>mātāpitarau</i> > <i>mātāpitaro</i> - <sup>12</sup> L 1148
Padana	Sk. <i>Kauśikēya</i> > <i>Kosikaya</i> - L 974
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>paura</i> > <i>pora</i> - L 1123
Kārle II	cf <i>kosiki</i> - L 1100 <sup>2</sup>
Kaṇhēri	cf <i>mātāpitaro</i> L 998 <sup>2</sup> , L 1016 <sup>2</sup> as also <i>āmāpitaro</i> L 1024 <sup>2</sup>

§ 162 Treatment of Sk. *aya*, *ayī* and *avi* All these generally become *e* in these inscriptions.

(a) Change *aya* and *ayī* > *e*

Kuḍā	Sk. <i>layana</i> > <i>lena</i> - or <i>lena</i> - passim
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10 The form *traiḍaśa* occurs at Gurnar For the derivation of this form (< P<sub>1</sub>m Ind. \**trayedaśa* < I E \**trevezdekṃ*) cf TURNER BSOS 4 364

11 Cf the Aśokan parallel *śika*- at Sāmāth.

12 Is it an example of preservation of Sk. dual form ?



- Kārlē II Sk. *Mahāsanghika* > *Māhāsaghiya*- L 1106<sup>16</sup>  
 Kaṇhēri Sk. *bhadanta* > *bhādam*[ta]- L 987<sup>10</sup>  
 Sk. *catuḥśāla* > *-cātusāla* L 998<sup>10</sup> The word, however,  
 may be derived from the extended base in Sk. viz  
*cātuhśāla*- We also get *sahā* in L 1001<sup>5</sup> etc
- Banavāsī Sk. *Śālakarni* > *Sālākarni*- L 1186<sup>1</sup>
- (c) The change *a* > *ɪ* usually due to the presence of the palatal semivowel *y*<sup>18</sup>  
 Kuḍā Sk. *Arya-Tīlu* > *Ayi-Tīlu*- L 1050 The change ap-  
 pears to have been facilitated by the following *ɪ*  
 Nāsika I Sk. *rājani* > *rājini* L 1144 Here the change has taken  
 place due to assimilation  
 Junnar Sk. *haranyaka* > *Heranika*- L 1179 This appears to  
 be due more to confusion between the suffix *-aka*-  
*-ika*- than to the presence of *y* Also cf. *abikā*- L 1164  
 (< *āmrikā*)  
 Nāsik IV Sk. *Sudarśana* > *Svḍisana*- L 1124 This may be due  
 to the change of *ɾ* > *ɪ* in the root √*drś*-  
 Sk. *mahardhika* > *mahidhika*- L 1123 This appears  
 to be an example of peculiar Prakrit sandhi between  
*maha* + *idhika* (< Sk. *iddhi-ka*)  
 Sk. *sanvatsarā* > *savichara*-<sup>19</sup> L 1123<sup>1</sup>
- (d) Change *a* > *u* mostly due to assimilation.  
 Vakālā Sk. *Ugradeva* > *Ugudeva*- L 972  
 Kuḍā Sk. *Mṛgadāsa* > *Mugudā*[sa]- L 1061  
 Nānāghāt II Sk. *prapā* > *-puvā*- L 1120 This is partly due to as-  
 similation and partly due to analogy with Sk. *Kāpa*-  
 > *kūva*-  
 Kaṇhēri Sk. *-sattvā* > *-satu*- L 998<sup>5</sup>
- (e) Change *a* > *e*  
 Kārlē I Sk. *upāsaka* > *upāseka*- EI 18 326 12 The change is  
 obviously through mistake  
 Junnar Sk. *-ṇgamasya* > *-ṇgamesa* L 1153  
 Sk. *-mukūṭasya* > *-mukūḍesa* L 1163 These are the  
 readings of FRANKE<sup>20</sup> Here the change has occurred  
 before the gen singular termination BÜHLER in both  
 these cases reads *-ṇgamasa* and *-mukūḍasa*  
 Nāsik III Sk. *ca* > *ce* L 1135 (once only)  
 Nāsik IV Sk. *ātah* > *eto* L 1139  
 Sk. *etasya* > *etesa* L 1126 Cf. the examples from the  
 Junnar inscriptions above.

16 This is found only once, but we get *saha* very often Cf. the lengthening of the final vowel in Aśokan Inscriptions.

17 May be from the suffix *-āka*-, seen in such forms as Amg. *nyāga* < Sk. *\*nijāka*-

18 In Gurnar the vowel *a* is preserved Sk. *madhyama* > *majhama*-.

19 Cf. FISCHER, §101-§103

20 Cf. Epigraphische Notizen, ZDMG 50.595 If FRANKE's reading is correct, the influence of the gen. pl. of pronominal bases ending in *-a*, viz. *-eṣām*, is to be seen in these forms.

(f) In a few cases the vowel  $a$  is initially lost.

Nāsik IV	Sk $\acute{a}pi > pi$ L 1123
	Sk $anena > nena$ L 1139
Kanhēri	Sk. $\acute{a}pi > vi$ L 988 <sup>11</sup> etc.

§ 165 Treatment of the Sanskrit vowel  $\bar{a}$ . The vowel  $\bar{a}$  is usually preserved. Still the following few changes may be noted

(a)  $\bar{a} > a$ , before a consonant cluster<sup>21</sup>

Pittalkhorā	. Sk $Vātsī- > Vachī-$ L 1191 etc.
Kudā	. Sk. $amātya- > amaca-$ L 1053
	Sk $bhāryā- > bhayā-$ L 1037 etc.
Nānāghāt I	. Sk. $\bar{A}ptoryāma- > Atuyāma-$ L 1112
	Sk. $Daśarātra- > Dasarata-$ L 1112.
Nāsik IV	Sk $rājāmātya- > rāyāmaca-$ L 1141
	Sk $bhāndāgārtika- > bhamdākārtika-$ L 1141
Junnar	Sk $Dhānyaka- > Dhamnīka-$ L 1180 Also cf $bhayā-$ L 1155
Nāsik II	Sk $aparāddha- > aparadha-$ L 1148
Nāsik III	Sk $Kārṣāpana- > Karṣāpana-$ L 1133
Nānāghāt II	. Sk. $rājñah > rano$ L 1120
	Sk $Kāmyavana- > Kamavana-$ L 1120
Nāsik IV	: Sk $bhāryā > bharīyā$ L 1146
	Sk $-pāśvā- > -pasa-$ L 1123 etc. etc
Mahād	. cf $pasa-$ L 1072
Kārlē II	. Sk. $mārga- > maga-$ L 1105 <sup>2</sup>
	Sk $vāstavyā- > vathava-$ L 1106 <sup>2</sup> .
Kanhēri	. Sk $rātra- > rata-$ L 998 <sup>2</sup>
	Sk $\bar{a}cārya- > ācariya-$ L 999 <sup>1</sup> etc. etc.
Banavāsī	Sk $rājñah > rañio$ L 1186 <sup>1</sup> .
	Sk $\bar{a}cāryā- > acariya-$ L 1186 <sup>2</sup>

The examples become more and more frequent in the inscriptions from Nāsik IV onwards thus showing that the change  $\bar{a} > a$  before a consonant cluster was tending to become normal after the beginning of the Christian era

(b) Change  $\bar{a} > a$  before the terminations There are very few instances of this change in this division

Kārlē I	. Sk. $Dharmadeti\bar{a}- > Dī armada(de)ta-ya$ EI 18.328 12
Nāsik III	. Sk $Barnāsā- > Banāsa-ya$ L 1135
Śailārvaḍi	. Sk $\bar{S}n aguptanikā- > Śiāguta(n)ka-ya$ L 1121
Kanhēri	. Sk $Dharmā- > Dī ām.a-ya$ L 1102 <sup>2</sup>

(c) Change  $\bar{a} > a$  takes place irregularly in some cases and may be ascribed to the scribe's negligence.

Bhājā	Sk $-jā,ā > ja,ā$ L 1084
Kārlē I	: Sk. $pariṇāśāp'a- > pariṇāśap'a-$ L 1087
Kudī	Sk $Bī-ā lā > Bīa,lā$ L 1050

<sup>21</sup> It may be noted that the Gurmur version mostly preserves the long vowel in such cases.

Nānāghaṭ I	Sk <i>sāgara</i> > <i>sagara</i> - L 1112
	Sk <i>grāma</i> - > <i>gama</i> - L 1112
Junnar	Sk <i>upāsaka</i> - > <i>uvasaka</i> - L 1162
	Sk <i>kalyāna</i> - > <i>kallaña</i> - L 1177, L 1179
Nānāghaṭ II	Sk <i>Śātakarm</i> - > <i>Satakam</i> - L 1120
	Sk <i>Vāsiṣṭhīputra</i> - > <i>Vasatīputa</i> - L 1120
	Sk. <i>pāṇiya</i> - > <i>pamya</i> - L 1120
Nāsik IV	Sk <i>ārogya</i> - > <i>aroga</i> - L 1126
	Sk. <i>-Mandāra</i> - > <i>-Madara</i> - L 1123 Also cf <i>Sadakan</i> L 1125
Kārle II	Sk. <i>mātrā</i> > <i>mātara</i> L 1106 <sup>4</sup>
Kanheri	Sk <i>Ānanda</i> - > <i>Anada</i> - L 1024 <sup>1</sup>
	Sk. <i>svāmi</i> - > <i>samī</i> - L 986 <sup>1</sup> , L 995 <sup>2</sup> etc
Banavāsi	Sk <i>ācārya</i> - > <i>acarīya</i> - L 1186 <sup>2</sup>

(d) Lastly we observe a very few number of cases where the vowel *ā* becomes *ī*, *e* or *o*

(i) Change *ā* > *ī* due to assimilation

Kanheri Sk *Kalyāṇkī* > *Kaliyṇkī* L 1014<sup>1</sup>

(ii) Change *ā* > *e* before a termination

Vakālā Sk *Ugradevā*- > *Ugudeve-ya* L 972

This is very probably due to analogy with the similar change of *a* > *e* before the termination of gen singular of masculine nouns<sup>22</sup>

(iii) Change *ā* > *o*

Kanheri Sk. *Śātakarm*- > *Sotakamni*- L 987<sup>2</sup>

Sk. *suvarṇakāra*- > *suvarṇakora*- L 986<sup>1</sup>

§ 166 Treatment of the Sanskrit vowel *i* The vowel, though usually preserved, undergoes a few changes in the circumstances noted below

(a) Change *i* > *ī* in a metrically long syllable There are very few instances of this type of change.

Nānāghaṭ I Sk *Indra*- > *īda*- L 1112

Nāsik I Cf *Idrāgni*- L 1140

Nāsik III Sk *vīmśa*- > *viśa*- L 1133

Sk. *siddha*- > *śidha*- L 1132

Nāsik IV Cf *-viśa*- L 1123

Kanheri Sk *Mitrabhūti*- > *Mītabhūti*- L 1012<sup>1</sup>

(b) Change *i* > *ī* irregularly in a very few cases

Nāsik IV Sk *mahardhika*- > *mahīdhika*- L 1123

Kanheri Sk. *-parivāra*- > *-pārivāra*- L 998<sup>2</sup>, 1005

The Nāsik example may perhaps be due to confusion in suffix *-ika*- *-ika*- as paralleled by *-āka*- *-aka*- noted above Others indicate a feature which is more or less well-established in classical and epic Sanskrit of lengthening the final *-i* of prepositions.

22 Cf above §164(e)

(c) Change *i* > *a*

Kuḍā

Sk. *Nāgimkā* > *Nāgamkā* L 1041Sk. *Padminkā* > *Padumaminkā* L 1041

Both these examples are probably derived directly from the Sk masculine bases *Nāga-* and *Padma-*

Nānāghāt I . Sk. *prthivī* > *pathavi* L 1112 The Prakrit base is perhaps derived from Sk *prthivī* > \**path<sup>a</sup>vī*

Kōl . Sk. *dvitīyikā* > *bitiyakā* L 1076 The change is due to the confusion between *-ika-* *-aka-*<sup>23</sup>

Śailārwaḍi . Sk. *Śivagupminkā* > *Śtagula-mkā* L 1121

Nānāghāt II . Sk. *grhapati-* > *gahapata-* L 1120  
Sk. *Vāsiṣṭhīputra-* > *Vasaṣṭhīputa-* L 1120

This is probably due to assimilation or the scribe's negligence.

Kaṇhērī . Sk. *dvigarbha-* > *bagabha-* L 998<sup>10</sup>.

Sk. *Rohinī-* > *Roham-* L 1033<sup>1</sup>

(d) Change *i* > *u* due to assimilation

Pittalkhorā . Sk. *duhut-* > *duhutu-* L 1192, it occurs also at Kuḍā (L 1041 etc.), Nāsik I (L 1141), and Nāsik II (L 1127)

Junnar . Sk. *pādonadvika-* > *pāunaduka-* L 1165

(e) Change *i* > *e* usually in a metrically long syllable

Kārle I . Sk. *pravrajita-* > \**pavāita-* > *pavaṭta-* L 1108

Kuḍā . Sk. *Viṣṇu-* > *Venhu-* L 1060

Sk. *kaṁṣṭhā* > (also *kāmṣṭha-*) > *hancṣha-* L 1045

Nānāghāt II . Sk. \**i-ttha* > *ettha* L 1120, also cf Nāsik IV (L 1124 etc.), Kārle II (L 1105<sup>1</sup>), Kaṇhērī (L 987<sup>15</sup>), and Banavāsī (L 1186<sup>2</sup>)

Nāsik IV . Sk. *Tiraśmi-* > *Tcranhu-* L 1126

Elsewhere at Nāsik we get *Tiranhu-* The derivation, however, is extremely doubtful

Mahād . Sk. *Viṣṇu-* > *Vhenu-* L 1072, and at Kaṇhērī (*Venhu-* L 1001<sup>3</sup>)

(f) The vowel *i* is lost initially in the following few examples

Nāsik III . Sk. *iti* > *ti* L 1133 etc. It occurs in *Cantraloti* and the initial *i* is lost in *samdhi*

Nāsik IV . Sk. *idānīm* > *dān-* L 1126

Sk. *iti* > *ti* L 1146, also at Kaṇhērī (L 1007<sup>7</sup>)

§ 167 Treatment of the Sk vowel *i* The vowel is preserved in many cases and yet in equally numerous instances it becomes short

(a) Change *i* > *e* before a consonant cluster. The change occurs in a very limited number of instances.

Nānāghāt I . Sk. *āikṣā-* > *āikḥā-* L 1112

Nāsik III . Sk. *tīlā-* > *tīlā-* L 1135

Nāsik IV . Sk. *grīsmā-* > *gīrīcā-* L 1123 etc.

Sk. *i.ānā-* > *i.ānā-* L 1123



Kārlē II Cf *gimha-* L 1100<sup>1</sup>, *titha-* L 1099<sup>3</sup>

(b) Change *ī* > *i* before the terminations This type of change occurs fairly often.

Vakālā Sk. *Bhaimī-* > *Bhemī-ya* L 969

Bhājā Sk. *Dharmagīrīnām* > *Dhamagīrīnam* L 1080

Here the short vowel of the base is preserved

Beṣṣā Sk. *Gobhūlīnām* > *Gobhulīnam* L 1110 cf the nota above.

Sk. *mahādevī-* > *mahādevī-ya* L 1111

Kārlē I Sk. *hasīnām* > *hathīnam* L 1089

Sk. *bhikṣunī-* > *bhikhunī-ya* L 1104

Nānāghāt I Sk. *ṣṭhivī-* > *ṣṭhavi-ya* L 1112.

Nāsik III Sk. *Ujjayinī-* *Ujēnī-ya* L 1135

Sk. *kuṭumbinī-* > *kuṭumbinī-ya* L 1132, L 1134

Śailārwaḍī Cf *kuṭumbī-ya* L 1121

Nāsik IV Sk. *Gautamī-* > *Gotamī-ya* L 1123

Sk. *senāpatinī-* > *senāpatinī-ya* L 1146

But the long vowel is preserved in cases as *Balasrīya* L 1123, *mahādevīya* L 1126

Kārlē II Sk. *layanavāsīnām* > *lenavāsīnam* L 1099<sup>4</sup>

Sk. *nadī* > *nadī-yā* L 1099<sup>2</sup>

Kaṇhēri Sk. *daśamī-* > *dasamī-ya* L 1021<sup>2</sup>

Sk. *bhagvī-* > *bhagvī-ya* L 1021<sup>4</sup> etc

This change occurs very often in Kaṇhēri inscriptions though a few cases of the preservation of the long vowel like *kuṭumbinī[na]* L 987<sup>12</sup> could be found

Banavāsī Sk. *mahābhōjī-* (?) > *mahābhuvī-ya* L 1186<sup>1</sup>

(c) Change *ī* > *i* at the end of the first member of a compound This type of change is fairly normal in these inscriptions

Bhājā long *ī* is preserved here

Sk. *Kausikī-putra-* > *Kosikīputa-* L 1079

Pittalkhorā It is preserved here also

Sk. *Vātsī-putra* > *Vachī-puta-* L 1191 etc.

Ajaṇṭā Sk. *Vāsiṣṭhī-putra-* > *Vāsiṣṭhi-puta-*<sup>24</sup> L 1197

Kārlē I Sk. *Gauphī-putra-* > *Goti-puta-* L 1088

Kuḍā Sk. *Kautsī-putra-* > *Kochi-puta-* L 1058

Nānāghāt I Sk. *Devī-Nāganukā-* > *Devī-Nāyanikā-* L 1114

These may be, however, two different words.

Nāsik I Sk. *Indrāgnī-datta-* > *Idrāgm-data-* L 1140

Nānāghāt II Cf *Vasatthi-puta-* L 1120

Nāsik IV Sk. *devī-layana* > *devī-lena-* L 1124

Also cf *Gotamī-puta-* L 1125 etc.

In some examples the long vowel is preserved Cf *Vāsiṣṭhi-puta-* L 1123 etc. *Gotamī-puta-* L 1123

Kārlē II Cf *Kosikī-puta-* L 1100<sup>2</sup>, *Vāsiṣṭhi-puta-* L 1100<sup>1,3</sup> etc.

24 The reduction indicated here is typical in metonymics in OIA as in *Rohini-nandana-* etc., cf WACKERNAGEL, A: Gr. II, § 56, p 134

- Kaṇhēri . Sk. *Rohiṇī-matra-* > *Rohiṇi-mita-* L 996<sup>2</sup> etc.  
Also cf *Gotamī-puta-* L 1024<sup>2</sup>.
- Banavāsī . Sk. *Hārītī-putra-* > *Hārīti-puta-* L 1186<sup>1</sup>
- (d) Change *ī* > *i* in the suffixes .
- Kārle I . Sk. *Dharmottarīya-* > *Dhamutarīya-* L 1094
- Nānāghāt I . Sk. *Anvārambhanīya-* > *Anārabhamīya-* L 1112
- Nāsik I . Sk. *Dālāmītrīyaka-* > *Dālāmītiyaka-* L 1140
- Junnar . Sk. *Mūrdhakīya-* > *Mudhakīya-* L 1151
- Śaṭlārwaḍī . Sk. *hālakīya-* > *hālakīya-* L 1121
- Nāsik IV . Sk. *Bhadrāyanīya-* > *Bhadayamīya-*<sup>25</sup> L 1124
- Kārle II . Cf *Okhalakīya-* L 1100<sup>2</sup>
- (e) Change *ī* > *i* irregularly in some instances
- Beḍṣā . Sk. *dvīṭīyikā-* > *bitīyikā-* L 1111
- Kārle I . Sk. *Jambudvīpa-* > *Jabudīpa-* L 1087
- Kuḍā . Cf *bitīyikā-* L 1065
- Nānāghāt I . Sk. *pānīya-* > *pāniya-* L 1120  
Cf *bitīya-* L 1112 B
- Junnar . Sk. *trīṇi* > *tinī* L 1163  
Sk. *Vīrabhūti-* > *Virabhuti-* L 1172
- Nāsik II . Cf *Vīra-* L 1127.
- Nāsik III . Sk. *Cīvarīka-* > *Civarīka-* L 1133  
Sk. *nīvi-* > *nivi-* L 1133
- Kōl . Cf *bitīyakā-* L 1076
- Nāsik IV<sup>26</sup> . Sk. *ṭīṭīya-* > *ṭaliya-* L 1146  
Sk. *nīlā-* > *nīta-* L 1146
- Kārle II . Cf *bitīya-* L 1106<sup>1</sup> ; *ṭaliya-* L 1106<sup>1</sup>
- Kaṇhēri<sup>27</sup> . Sk. *paṇḍrīta-* > *paṇḍalita-* L 1004.
- Banavāsī . Sk. *Jīva-putra-* > *Jīva-puta-* L 1186<sup>1</sup>

§ 168 Treatment of the Sk vowel *u* : The vowel is generally well preserved Yet the following few changes are noteworthy

(a) Change *u* > *ū* in a metrically long syllable. This type of change is to be met with in a very few cases.

- Kārle I . Sk. *ullamā-* > *ūlama-* L 1087
- Padana . Sk. *Uttara-* > *Ūdara-* (?) L 974
- Nāsik IV . Sk. *bhukta-* > *bhūta-* L 1125
- Kārle II . Sk. *-putra-* > *-pūta-* L 1099<sup>2</sup>
- Kaṇhēri . Cf *pūta-* L 1001<sup>2</sup>

(b) Change *u* > *ū* irregularly in a few cases

- Kārle I . Sk. *mathamā-* > *mathīra-* L 1101, L 1102.
- Nānāghāt I . Sk. *-suta-* > *-sūta-* L 1112
- Nāsik IV . Sk. *Mṛgādāsa-* > *Mugādāsa-* L 1129

<sup>25</sup> Once we get *ī* > *e* probably in mistake. cf *Bhadrāyanīya* L 1124

<sup>26</sup> We also get *-nīvi-* L 1139 cf *cīrika-* L 1129 etc.

<sup>27</sup> We also get *nīvi-* L 988<sup>1</sup> etc., *cīrika-* L 985<sup>1</sup> etc., *pānīya-* L 1005<sup>1</sup> Once we find the long vowel preserved in the same word cf *pānīya-* L 1015.

(c) Change  $u > i$  mostly in the familiar example *purisa-*

Nāsik II \**pūrṣa* > OIA *pūruṣa* > *purisa*- L 1127

It occurs also at Nāsik IV (L 1128) and Kanheri (L 1020<sup>o</sup>)

Nāsik III Sk. *duhitṛ* > *ḍihitu*- L 1132, L 1134

(d) Change  $u > ā$  occurs rarely

Junnar Sk. *Māna-mukūṣa* > *Māna-Mukaḍa*- L 1163

Padana Sk. *kuṭumbika* > *Kudabika*- L 976

The change in both these latter examples seems to be due to dissimilation.

§ 169 Treatment of the Sk. vowel  $ū$  The long vowel  $ū$  is not well preserved as it is often shortened to  $u$

(a) Change  $ū > u$ , before a consonant cluster This type of change does not occur very often.

Ajanṭā Sk. *pūrva* > *-puva*- L 1199

Kārle I Cf *puva*- L 1089, L 1107

Junnar Sk. *mūrdhakīya* > *mudhakīya*- L 1151

Nāsik III Cf *puvāka*- L 1133

Nāsik IV Sk. *pūrnā* > *puna*- L 1123 We also get *puva*- L 1120, L 1124 etc.

Kārle II Cf *puva*- L 1100<sup>2</sup>

(b) Change  $ū > u$  occurs at times before the terminations

Vakālā Sk. *vadhū* > *badhu-ya* (?) L 970

Nāsik III Sk. *bhikṣūnām* > *bhikkhunam*<sup>28</sup> L 1133

Kārle II Cf *bhikkhuna* L 1105<sup>2</sup>

At Nāsik IV, however, we get *bhikkhūna* or *bhikkhūnam* in L 1126

(c) Change  $ū > u$  is found in some irregular cases

Bhājā Sk. *stūpa* > *thupa*- L 1080, L 1081, but the long vowel is found in *thūbha*- L 1085 Though the reading is doubtful, this appears to be an example of popular etymology, where the mass imagination connected the word *thubha*- with the Sk. root  $\sqrt{stū}$ - instead of the root  $\sqrt{stubbh}$ -

Beḍṣā Sk. *Mārakūṭa* > *Mārakuḍa*- L 1110, cf *thupa*- L 1110

Kuḍā Sk. *rūpā* > *-rupa*- L 1045

Nānāghāt I Cf *rupa*- L 1112 B

Nāsik I Sk. *pūjā* > *-pujā*- L 1140

Junnar Sk. *Virabhūti* > *Virabhuti*- L 1172, also cf *Svabhuti*- L 1173

Sk. *mūla* > *-mula*- L 1162, L 1176

Nāsik IV Sk. *abhūta* > *abhuta*-<sup>29</sup> L 1123

Kārle II Cf *pujā*- L 1106<sup>3</sup>, *Vāluraka*- L 1100<sup>3</sup>, L 1105<sup>1</sup>

Kanheri Sk. *pūjārtha* > *puyatha*- L 1000<sup>3</sup>, also cf *Nāgamula*- L 1021<sup>4</sup>

(d) Change  $ū > u$ , at the end of the first member of a compound The examples are extremely rare.

28. Perhaps the short vowel of the base is preserved.

29. The word, however, may be derived from Sk. *ābhūta*-

- Nāsik IV . Sk. *Vadhū-śabda-* > *Vadhu-sada-* L 1123
- (e) Change *ū* > *o*, before a consonant cluster
- Kārlē I : Sk. *Śūrpāraka-* > *Sopāraka-* L 1094
- Nānāghāt II · Cf *Sopārāya-* L 1119
- Kanhēri Cf *Sopārāya-* L 988<sup>4</sup> and *Sopārāga-* L 995<sup>1</sup>
- (f) Change *ū* > *a* occurs in a solitary case and very probably due to mistake
- Junnar : Sk. *jambū-bhṛti-* > *jāba-bhṛti-* L 1163

## II CONSONANTS SIMPLE

§ 170 The simple consonants are almost invariably preserved in their initial position in all inscriptions. In their medial position, too, they are usually preserved. But in some cases we notice a few tendential changes and this is found especially in the inscriptions of later centuries. The simple consonants are dealt with in their usual classification below. The changes that are noticed are generally not of universal application and are limited only to some particular instances. Only those examples which show some change have been quoted below, the examples of preservation being excluded.

§ 171 Gutturals (a) The change of intervocal surds to sonants is met with in the following examples.

(1) Change -k- > -g-. The instances occur after the beginning of the Christian era

- Nāsik III Sk. *nālikera-* > *nāhgera-* L 1133
- Kanhēri In these inscriptions which are slightly later than Nāsik III we find a few more examples
- Sk. *Śūrpāraka-* > *Sopārāga-* L 995<sup>1</sup>.
- Sk. *pralokana-* > *-palogana-* L 1012<sup>2</sup>
- Sk. *Bhoṃkī-* > *Bhoṃgi-* L 1013<sup>1</sup>
- Banavāsī : Sk. *taṭāka-* > *taṭāga-*<sup>30</sup> L 1186<sup>2</sup>

(11) Change -kh- > -gh- Unlike the case of -k- this change is noticed sometime in the second century B.C.

- Kārlē I · Sk. *-mukha-* > *-mugha-* L 1090, L 1092
- Junnar Sk. *pramukha-* > *pamugha-* L 1153
- Nāsik II : Sk. *lekhaka-* > *legghaka-* L 1149

It is noteworthy that here -k- of the suffix remains unchanged.

- Kārlē II Sk. *hita-sukha-* > *hita-sugha-* L 1106<sup>3</sup>.

(b) The weakening of a guttural to y is found in such cases as follows :

(1) Change -k- > -y-. The -k- which undergoes this change belongs to the suffix

- Kuṇḍī Sk. *Vīṣṇukā-* > *Venḥṛiyā-* L 1050
- Junnar · Sk. *Lankutika-* > *Lanḥṛiyā-* L 1169
- Nānāghāt II · Sk. *Śūrpāraka-* > *Sopārāya-* L 1119
- Nāsik IV · Sk. *śāmrīka-* > *śāmrīya-* L 1125
- Kārlē II · Sk. *maḥāśaṅghika-* > *maḥāśaṅghīya-* L 1106<sup>3</sup>.
- Kanhēri : Cf *[Sop]ārāya-* L 1005

<sup>30</sup> The change is effected in Sk. itself for we get both the bases *taḍāka-* and *taḍāga-* besides *taḍāka-*.

(11) Change -g- > -y- Though the weakening has started very early, the examples are rather rare and are not found in inscriptions of later centuries

Bhājā Sk. *Nāga* > *Nāya*- L 1078

Nānāghāt I Sk. *Nāgaṃkā* > *Nāyaṃkā*- L 1114

(c) The change of a sonant to a surd occurs only in the case of -g- It is recorded in about the first century B.C.

Nāsik I Sk. *bhāṇḍāgārīka* > *bhaṇḍākārīka*- L 1141

Junnar Sk. *nāgara* > *nakara*-<sup>31</sup> L 1152

Nāsik IV Sk. *Sagara* > *Sakara*- L 1123

Sk. *naigama* > *nekama*- L 1139

Kaṇhērī Sk. *bhāgā* > *bhāka*- L 998<sup>11</sup>

Sk. *Nāganaka* > *Nākanaka*- L 985<sup>1</sup> Also cf *nekama*-<sup>32</sup> L 1001<sup>3</sup>

(d) The loss of intervocal consonants is found only in a solitary case where -k- is dropped in an inscription of about the first or second century A.D.

Paḍaṇa Sk. *Vāsaka* > *Vāsāka*-<sup>33</sup> L 973

§ 172 Palatals (a) The change of a palatal surd to a corresponding sonant is not found in these inscriptions. As an exception, however, the following example of the first or second century A.D. may be noted

Nāsik IV Sk. *Pisācīpadraḥa* > *Pisāṇpada*- L 1123

(b) The weakening of a palatal is exemplified only by the palatal *ṛ* > *y* It is important to note that the change has started quite early

Kārlē I Sk. *Bhrāṇilā* > *Bhāṇilā*- L 1091

Sk. *vāṇṇā* > *vāṇya*- EI 18 326 3 and 327 9

Kuḍā Sk. *mahābhoja* > *mahābhoya*-<sup>34</sup> L 1037 etc.

Sk. *pravaraṇṭikā* > *pavayṇṭikā*- L 1041

Sk. *vāṇṇyā* > *\*vāṇṇya* > *vāṇṇya*- L 1055 Also cf *Bhāṇilā*- L 1050

Nānāghāt I Sk. *rājā* > *rāyā*- L 1113, also cf *rāyasa* L 1112

Nāsik I Sk. *rājāmātya* > *rayāmāca*- L 1141

Nāsik IV Cf *pavayṇta*- L 1125

Kaṇhērī Sk. *pūjārtha* > *puyārtha*- L 1000<sup>3</sup> Also cf *pavayṇta*- L 1125

(c) As in the case of weakening, it is only the palatal *ṛ* which is lost in the intervocal position right from the second century B.C. onwards

Kārlē I Sk. *pravaraṇta* > *pavāṇta*- L 1107, *pavāṇta*- L 1108, also cf Kuḍā (*pavāṇṭikā*- L 1063), Nāsik IV (*pavāṇta*- L 1130, L 1139), and Kaṇhērī (*pavāṇṭika*- L 1006<sup>2</sup>, L 1020<sup>2</sup>)

Kaṇhērī Sk. *Bhoṇkī* > *Bhoṇṭi*- L 1013<sup>1</sup>

Mahād Sk. *Kānabhoja* > *Kānabhoa*- L 1072

31 We get *nagara*- also in Junnar inscriptions.

32 Instead, *negama*- occurs more often in Kaṇhērī inscriptions.

33 This is the name of a mountain.

34 We get *mahābhoja*- too in the Kuḍā inscriptions.

§ 173 Cerebrals. (a) The change of a surd to a sonant is observed in the case of both -t- and -th-

(i) Change -t- > -ḍ-. It occurs from the second century B.C. and is maintained in later inscriptions

Bhājā	: Sk. <i>Naḥaśarva</i> > <i>Nadasava</i> - (?) L 1078
Beḍṣā	Sk. <i>Mārakuḍa</i> > <i>Mārakuda</i> - L 1110
Kuḍā	Sk. <i>Karahākaḥa</i> > <i>Karahākaḍa</i> - L 1055
	Sk. <i>Ṣāḥ-garūn</i> > <i>Sāḍageri</i> - L 1037, L 1045
Junnar	: Sk. <i>vaḥa</i> > <i>vaḍa</i> - L 1162
	Sk. <i>mukuḥa</i> > <i>-mukaḍa</i> - L 1163
	Sk. <i>kuḥira</i> > <i>kuḍira</i> - (or <i>kuḥira</i> -) L 1177.
Nāsik III	. Sk. <i>kuḥumbinī</i> > <i>kudumbinī</i> - L 1132, L 1134
Padana	Cf. <i>kuḍabika</i> - L 976
Śailārwaḍi	. Sk. <i>Dhenukākaḥa</i> > <i>Dhenukākaḍa</i> - L 1121, also cf. <i>kuḍubinī</i> - L 1121
Kaṇhēri	Cf. <i>kuḍubinī</i> - L 1024 <sup>5</sup>
Banavāsī	Sk. <i>Viṣṇukaḥa</i> > <i>Vinhukaḍa</i> - L 1186 <sup>1</sup>

(ii) Change -th- > -ḍh- appears very late and only in a proper noun

Kaṇhēri . Sk. *Māḥharīputra* > *Maḥ[Mā]ḍharīputra*- L 1001<sup>1</sup>

(b) Change of sonant -ḍ- > -t- occurs in a plausible example of the second century A.D.

Banavāsī . Sk. *taḍāka* > *taḥāga*- L 1186<sup>2</sup>

In Sanskrit we have also *taḥāka*-, though of not frequent use.

(c) Change of -ḍ- or -ḍh- > -t- or -th- is found in this group from the second century B.C.

Beḍṣā	: Sk. <i>Aṣāḍha</i> > <i>Asāḥa</i> - L 1110
Kuḍā	Sk. <i>Aṣāḍha</i> > <i>Asāḥa</i> - L 1066, and <i>Asāḥa</i> - L 1041
Nāsik IV	. Sk. <i>garudā</i> > <i>garuḥa</i> - L 1123
Kārlē II	Sk. <i>ṣoḍaṣā</i> > <i>soḥa[sa]</i> L 1099 <sup>3</sup>
Kaṇhēri	Sk. <i>patrikā</i> > * <i>padikā</i> > <i>palika</i> - L 1024 <sup>11</sup> etc. We also get <i>soḥasaka</i> - L 1024 <sup>13</sup> , <i>solasaka</i> <sup>15</sup> L 1006 <sup>7</sup> , and <i>solasa</i> L 998 <sup>7</sup>

(d) Change -ḍ- > -n- is found in a numeral

Junnar . Sk. *śāḍ-vinśati* > *śanurisa*<sup>16</sup> L 1163

(e) In a few cases we find that some cerebrals lose their character and become dentals

(i) Change -th- > -tḥ- occurs rather late and only in the case of the root √*stḥ*

Nāsik IV . Sk. *pratiṣṭhāpana* > *patitḥāpana*- L 1123

Kaṇhēri . Sk. *pratiṣṭhāpita* > *patitḥāpita*<sup>17</sup>- L 1006<sup>5</sup>.

(ii) Change -ḍ- > -d- occurs even in the first century B.C.

Kuḍā . Sk. *Māḍaḥa* > *Māḍaḥa*<sup>18</sup> L 1037 etc.

35. Cf. below the loss of cerebralisation

36. Perhaps under the influence of Sk. *śāḍ-vinśati*

37. We get *patitḥāpita*- also in Kaṇhēri inscriptions. These changes are rather to be considered as a result of the double treatment of √*stḥ*, dental and cerebral, and not a change from cerebral to dental or vice versa.

38. The derivation is doubtful. Lüders seems to take it from *Māḍaḥa*.

Junnar . Sk. *ṣoḍaśā-* > *so-dasa* L 1152

Here it is not as much the case of loss of cerebralisation as of the preservation of original Sanskrit dental *d*.

(iii) Change *n* > *n* is found in many instances and from a period much anterior to the beginning of the Christian era.

Also cf in termination *putena* L 1067

Nādsur	Sk. <i>Śivaganaka-</i> > <i>Śivaganaka-</i> L 1067
	Sk. <i>śramanā-</i> > <i>-samana-</i> L 1124
Kārlē I	Sk. <i>vānija-</i> > <i>vāmya-</i> EI 183263 and 3279
	Sk. <i>grhinī</i> <i>gharini</i> <sup>39</sup> EI 1832811
Kuḍā	Sk. <i>brāhmanā-</i> > <i>banmhana-</i> L 1050
Nānāghāt I	Sk. <i>vārūna-</i> > <i>varuna-</i> L 1112
	Sk. <i>vārna-</i> > <i>vana-</i> L 1112
	Sk. <i>dākṣinā-</i> > <i>dakhinā-</i> L 1112

There are numerous other examples for the change is universal here.

Nāsik I	Sk. <i>Kṛṣṇa-</i> > <i>Kanha-</i> L 1144
Junnar	Sk. <i>śrenī-</i> > <i>seni-</i> L 1165
	Sk. <i>ganā-</i> > <i>gana-</i> L 1158
Nānāghāt II	Sk. <i>Śātakarni-</i> > <i>Satakarni-</i> L 1120
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>kārṣāpana-</i> > <i>kāhāpana-</i> L 1139
	Sk. <i>śramanā-</i> > <i>-samana-</i> L 1124
Kaṇhēri	Sk. <i>manukārā-</i> > <i>manukara-</i> L 1005
	Sk. <i>haranyaka-</i> > <i>heranika</i> <sup>40</sup> L 993 <sup>1</sup>

(iv) Change *-l-* > *-l-* occurs in a few cases.

Nāsik IV	<i>Puḷumāvi-</i> > <i>Pulumāvi-</i> L 1147
Kaṇhēri	Cf the examples <i>solasaka-</i> L 1006 <sup>1</sup> and <i>solasa</i> L 998 <sup>1</sup> quoted above.

§ 174 Dentals (a) The change of a surd to sonant occurs in the case of *-t-*<sup>41</sup> It has started from the first century B C

Kārlē I	<i>pūrvatah</i> > <i>puvādo</i> L 1089
Nāsik I	Sk. <i>Śālavāhana-</i> > <i>Sālavāhana-</i> L 1144
Padana	Sk. <i>Uttara-</i> > <i>*Ūtara-</i> > <i>*Ūdaa-</i> (?) L 974
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>Śātakarni-</i> > <i>Sadakarni-</i> L 1125
	Sk. <i>khātaka-</i> > <i>-khādaka-</i> L 1124, L 1125 etc

(b) The weakening of a consonant takes place both in the case of *-t-* and of *-d-*

(i) Change *-t-* > *-y-* is rather rare.

Kuḍā	Sk. <i>Gautamā-</i> > <i>Goyammā-</i> L 1053
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(ii) Change *-d-* > *-y-* has started early in the second century B C and is maintained in later inscriptions.

Bhājā	Sk. <i>Bhadanta-</i> > <i>bhayamta-</i> L 1081 etc.
Kārlē I	Sk. <i>vedikā-</i> > <i>veyikā-</i> L 1089, L 1103, L 1104 We also get <i>bhayata-</i> or <i>bhayamta-</i> L 1089, L 1195 etc

39 Pl. *ghara-* < IE\**g\*hor-* and not Sk. *grha-*

40 But *heranika-* L 998<sup>1</sup>, 1033<sup>1</sup>

41 This occurs very often in the N-Western Kharoṣṭhī

Kuṇḍā : Cf *bhayata-* and also *bhadata-* L 1041, L 1060 etc., also cf Junnar (L 1172), Nāsik IV (L 1128), and Kanhēri (cf *bhayata-* L 993<sup>3</sup>, L 1012<sup>1</sup> etc.)

Nāsik III Sk *pādona-* > *pāyūna-* L 1133

(c) *d-* > *dh-* is found once due to anticipation

Kanhēri Sk *duhit-* > *dh[u]tu-* L 1020<sup>2</sup>

(d) Change -*t-* and -*d-* > -*r-* is found in numerals

(i) Change -*t-* > -*r-* :

Nāsik III . Sk. *saptatī* > *\*sattatī* > *satatī* L 1133

(ii) Change -*d-* > -*r-* :

Nānāghāt I . Sk *dvādaśā-* > *bārasa-* L 1112

Sk. *\*traya-daśa-* > *terasa-* L 1112

Junnar : Sk *pañcadaśā-* > *panarasa-* L 1158, also cf *bārasa-* L 1166

Nāsik III : Cf *bārasa-ka-* L 1133, *panarasa* L 1133, L 1135

Nāsik IV . Cf *bārasa-ka-* L 1139, *terasa* L 1123

Kanhēri : Cf *bārasa-* L 1000<sup>5</sup>, L 1007<sup>1</sup>

(e) Change of sonant -*d-* > -*t-* may be obtained from the following example .

Kanhēri . Sk *sādas-* > *sata-* L 985<sup>2</sup>

(f) In the end we come to the loss of intervocal dentals which is found in cases of -*t-* and -*d-*

(i) -*t-* is lost in a few cases in inscriptions of first and second century A D . It occurs only in proper names

Kōl : Sk. *Āghātakarṣa-* > *Āghāakasa-*

Kanhēri . Sk *Pratiṣṭhāna-Paiṭhāna-* L 988<sup>5</sup>

(ii) The loss of -*d-* is more definite than that of -*t-* though even here the examples are few

Junnar . Sk. *pādonadvika-* > *pāōnaduka-* L 1165

Padana Sk *Nandīpada-* > *Nandīpaa-* L 980

Nāsik IV Sk. *vcdikā-* > *vciakā-* L 1143

§ 175 Labials . (a) We do not find here instances of the change from surd to sonant or vice versa . Instead we get here the change of a labial to *v*

(i) Change -*p-* > -*v-* in some cases and from early times

Ajanṭā : Sk *upatataka-* > *utacataka-* L 1198

Nānāghāt I Sk. *prapā-* > *-puā-* L 1120

Junnar . Sk. *upāsaka-* > *utacaka-* L 1162

Sk *\*apavilla-* > *āvacila-* L 1167

Kanhēri . Sk *śapātra-* > *śavātra-* L 987<sup>3</sup>

(ii) Change -*bh-* > -*t-* is noted in a few cases

Kārlē I . Sk *stambha-* > *thamta-* EI 18.326.2 (once only), we also get *thabha-* EI 18.325.1 etc.

Nāsik III Sk *Rṣabhādatta-* > *Uṣādāta-* L 1132

(iii) Change -*m-* > -*v-* :

Nāsik IV . Sk *dharmastu-* > *dīstavastu-* L 1124

<sup>42</sup> 10 < *\*thamba-* with assimilation due to the initial *apavilla-*, see infra under § 175(b).



(b) The loss of aspiration is found in the change *-bh-* > *-b-* where the second aspirate is dissimilated by the initial one

Pittalkhorā Sk. *stambha-* > *ṭhaba-* L 1188

Kārlē I Sk. *stambha-* > *ṭhaba-*<sup>43</sup> L 1095

Kaṇhēri Sk. *√stubbh-* > *ṭhuba-* L 993<sup>4</sup>

§ 176 Semi-vowels The semi-vowels are also generally preserved in all positions. In the western group we do not get any example indicating the change *r* > *l*. The following few peculiarities of this class are, however, to be noted

(a) The semi-vowel *y* undergoes the following changes

(i) Change *-y-* > *-v-* The examples are only from inscriptions of the first and second century A.D.

Nāsik IV Sk. *Bhadrāyaṇīya-* > *Bhadāvaṇīya-* L 1123

Sk. *vinayika-* > *vinavika-* L 1124, L 1125

Mahād Sk. *cātīya-* > *\*cetīya-* > *ceṭīva-* L 1072

(ii) Change *-y-* > *-j-*<sup>44</sup> This also occurs in the first century A.D.

Nāsik IV Sk. *bhāryā-* > *\*bhariyā-* > *bharijā-* L 1146

(iii) Change *-y-* > *-c-* in a very doubtful instance.

Nāsik IV Sk. *Pāṇiyātra-* > *Pāṇcāta-* L 1123

(iv) Loss of intervocal *-y-* is met with mostly from the inscriptions of the first century A.D.

Junnar Sk. *kalyāṇa-* > *kaḷaṇa-* L 1177, L 1179

Nāsik IV Sk. *ḍrya-* > *\*ariya-ka-* > *\*aria-ka-* > *ara-ka* L 1124

Kaṇhēri Sk. *ācāryā-* > *ācāna-* L 999<sup>1</sup>

Sk. *cātīya-* > *ceṭīa-* L 988<sup>2,7</sup> Also cf. *kaḷaṇa-* L 988<sup>8</sup>, the gen. sg. fem. nouns in *-ā* (*-ya* > *-a*), *bhayā* L 993<sup>1</sup>, *pavāṇīkā* L 1006<sup>2</sup>

Mahād cf. *ceṭīa-* L 1073

(b) The semivowel *r* is dropped in a solitary instance of doubtful derivation

Padana Sk. *Uttara-* > *Ūdaa-* L 974

(c) As in the case of *y*, the semivowel *v*, which is otherwise well preserved, undergoes a few changes

(i) Change *-v-* > *-b-* This change in the initial position which is supposed to have occurred at a very early date is indeed highly doubtful

Vakālā Sk. *Vadhū-* > *Badhu-* L 970

(ii) Change *-v-* > *-p-* due to assimilation.

Junnar Sk. *Pallava-* > *Palapa-* L 1158

(iii) The weakening of intervocal *-v-* to *-y-* occurs rarely Its first appearance is noted in the first century B.C.

Kuḍā Sk. *apavaraka-* > *uyaraka-* L 1058

Nāsik IV *Puṣumāvi-* > *Puṣumāyi-*<sup>45</sup> L 1122

(iv) The loss of intervocal *-v-* is found in equally few cases

Nāsik IV *Puṣumāvi-* > *Puṣumāi-* L 1147

Kaṇhēri Sk. *cīvarika-* > *ciarika-* L 1006<sup>7</sup>

<sup>43</sup> We also get *ṭhabha-* L 1097 etc. and *ṭhambha-* L 1093 etc.

<sup>44</sup> This occurs in the eastern, northern and north-western versions of Aśoka.

<sup>45</sup> The intervocal *-v-* is preserved in *Puṣumāvi-* at Kārlē II (L 1106<sup>1</sup>)

§ 177 Sibilants As a general rule all the three Sanskrit sibilants are reduced to the single dental sibilant *s* in these inscriptions. It is only in a few inscriptions at Nāsik that the distinction between the three sibilants is maintained.

(a) The palatal sibilant ś > s in all positions

Vakālā	Sk. <i>Satrumardana-</i> > <i>Satumardana-</i> L 968
Bhājā	. Sk. <i>Kauśikī-</i> > <i>Kosikī-</i> L 1079.
Nādsur	. Sk. <i>Śiva-</i> > <i>Siva-</i> L 1067.
Kārle I	. Sk. <i>Śaila-grha-</i> > <i>sela-[ghara]-</i> L 1087

In one of the Kārle inscriptions lately published by VATS we get *Śegaputrasa* (cf. *El* 18.329 13). VATS remarks that śe may be ge. To me, however, it seems to be *Śaśa-pultrasa*.

Kuḍā	Sk. <i>śaila-</i> > <i>sela-</i> L 1045
Nānāghāt I	Sk. <i>śūra-</i> > <i>sūra-</i> L 1112
	Sk. <i>śakaṣa-</i> > <i>sakaṣa-</i> L 1112

*Haku-siri-* L 1117. There is some difficulty in the derivation of this name of a prince. BÜHLER throws out an initial suggestion to derive it from Sk. *Sakti-śrī-* 'he whose glory is in the (sacrificial) barley-flour'. But in his additional remarks he proposes to identify this prince with *Sati-* whose name occurs in L 1112. He, therefore, would like to derive it from Sk. *Sakti-śrī-*<sup>46</sup>

It is indeed very difficult to accept either of the two derivations proposed by BÜHLER. The linguistic difficulties appear to be almost unsurmountable. The change of initial ś- > *h-*, and still more the assimilation of the cluster *-kt-* > *-lk-* (and not to *-lt-*), not to mention the change of final *-i* > *-u* in the latter case, are too unusual. The only thing that may be said in favour of the proposed derivation is that inasmuch as *Haku-siri* was a young prince, such changes could be regarded as possible in terms of endearment.

Nāsik I	Sk. <i>Śātavāhana-</i> > <i>Sātavāhana-</i> L 1144
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In one instance *-ś-* is preserved, Sk. *cāturdiśa-* > *cātudiśa-* L 1140

Junnar	. Sk. <i>Śiva-</i> > <i>Siva-</i> L 1170, L 1173
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Nāsik II In this group there are a few more instances of the preservation of the palatal ś

Sk. *cāturdiśa-* > *cātudiśa-* L 1127, but cf. Sk. *Śaka-* > *Saka-*<sup>47</sup> L 1148

Sk. *Daśapura-* > *Daśapura-*<sup>48</sup> L 1148

Sk. *Śakasya-* > *Sakaśa-* L 1149 due to assimilation<sup>49</sup>

Nāsik III (1) ś > s · Sk. *śuddhā-* > *-sudha-* L 1135

(ii) : ś > ś : As noticed above it is in this group particularly that the distinction between the three sibilants seems to have been appreciably felt

Sk. *śatā-* > *śata-*<sup>49</sup> L 1133

Sk. *śuddhā-* > *śudha-* L 1133

Sk. *Śaka-* > *Śaka-* L 1135

<sup>46</sup> ASI 564, No. 7

<sup>47</sup> These are perhaps loan words

<sup>48</sup> Note however *-śa-* as gen. sing. term in Ceylonese inscriptions

<sup>49</sup> We get *śata* in L 1133 L 1135

It is possible to say that all these three words are simply loans from the Sanskrit, though it is difficult to point out why exactly these were picked up as loan-words

Padana	Sk. <i>Kauśikeya</i> > <i>Kosikaya</i> - L 974
Kōl	Sk. <i>Śivadatta</i> > <i>Śivadatta</i> - L 1076, L 1077
Nānāghāt II	cf <i>Sopārāya</i> - L 1119
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>Śātakarni</i> > <i>Sadakani</i> - L 1125, also cf <i>-satu</i> - L 1123, <i>cātudisa</i> - L 1128, L 1139
Kārle II	Sk. <i>Śivaskanda</i> > <i>Śivakhada</i> - L 1105 <sup>a</sup> , also cf <i>-sata</i> - L 1099 <sup>2</sup> , <sup>a</sup>
Kaṇhēri	cf <i>cātudisa</i> - L 998 <sup>a</sup> etc <i>Śiva-pāhita</i> - L 993 <sup>2</sup>
Banavāsī	cf <i>Śātakarni</i> - L 1186 <sup>1</sup>

(b) The sibilant *ṣ* disappears from all inscriptions except a few at Nāsik

Beḍṣā	Sk. <i>Aśāḍha</i> > <i>Asāḍa</i> - L 1110
Kārle I	Sk. <i>Rṣabha</i> > <i>Usabha</i> - L 1097, also cf <i>Asaḍhamtā</i> - L 1098
Kuḍā	cf <i>Asāḍha</i> - L 1041 or <i>Asāḍa</i> - L 1066
Junnar	Sk. <i>Rṣi</i> > <i>Iṣi</i> - L 1176
	Sk. <i>ṣoḍaśā</i> > <i>sodasa</i> - L 1152

The cerebral *ṣ* is preserved in the following numeral

	Sk. <i>śāḍ-viṃśati</i> > <i>ṣanu-ṣa</i> - L 1163
Nāsik II	Sk. <i>Puruṣa</i> - <i>Purisa</i> - L 1127
Nāsik III	Sk. <i>śreṇṣu</i> > <i>śreṇsu</i> L 1133

But the sibilant *-ṣ-* is preserved in a proper name.

	Sk. <i>Rṣabha</i> > <i>Uṣava</i> - L 1132—L 1135
Nānāghāt II	Sk. <i>Damaghoṣa</i> > <i>Damaghosa</i> - L 1120
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>nṛviśesa</i> > <i>-nviśesa</i> - L 1123, also cf <i>-purisa</i> - L 1123, <i>Usabha</i> - L 1125
Kārle II	cf <i>Usabha</i> - L 1099 <sup>1</sup> , <i>soḷa[sa]</i> - L 1099 <sup>2</sup>
Kaṇhēri	cf <i>Iṣpāla</i> - L 1000 <sup>1</sup> , <i>solāśa</i> - L 998 <sup>7</sup> , L 1020 <sup>a</sup>
Banavāsī	Sk. <i>śṣya</i> > <i>śsa</i> - L 1186 <sup>a</sup>

§178 The aspirate *h* The aspirate *h* is usually preserved in all positions The following sporadic changes may be noted

(i) *-h-* > *-kh-* due to assimilation

Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>Kṣaharāta</i> > <i>Khakharāta</i> - L 1123
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(ii) Loss of intervocal *-h-* occurs in an inscription of the first century A D

Śailārwaḍī	Sk. <i>Śimhagupta</i> > <i>Siāguta</i> - L 1121
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§179 Palatalisation The law of palatalisation under the operation of which mostly the dentals become palatals in the presence of the semivowel *y* and the sibilant *s* is discussed here. The dentals that are usually affected are *t* and *d*

(a) Palatalisation of the dental *t*

(i) Change *-ty-* > *-c-* It has started from very early times The examples that we get are almost of a stereotyped character

Kuḍā	Sk. <i>rajāmātya</i> > <i>rājamaca</i> - L 1053
Nāsik I	cf <i>rāyāmaca</i> - L 1141
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>satyā</i> > <i>saca</i> - L 1123, cf <i>āmaca</i> - L 1124 etc
Kārle II	cf <i>amaca</i> - L 1105 <sup>1</sup> , and Banavāsī (L 1186 <sup>2</sup> ).

(ii) Change *-t- > -c-* under the influence of the vowel *i* is rather peculiar. It has occurred about the beginning of the Christian era

Nāsik II . Sk. *mṛ-yātula-* > *m-yācūla-* L 1127

(iii) Change *-ts- > -ch-* . This has also occurred from early times

Pittalakhorā Sk. *Vātsī-* > *Vachī-* L 1191 etc

Kuḍā Sk. *Kautsīputra-* > *Kochi-puta-* L 1058

Junnar Sk. *Vatsa-* > *Vacha-* L 1174

Nānāghāt II . Sk. *Samvatsarā-* > *Savachara-* L 1120

It also occurs at Nāsik IV (L 1126, L 1146 etc), Kārle II (L 1100<sup>1</sup>, L 1106<sup>1,4</sup>), Kanhēri (L 1001<sup>2</sup>), and Banavāsī (L 1186<sup>1</sup>)

Where the cluster *-ts-* does not occur in the body of a word but is due to sandhu the cluster is assimilated to the sibilant. cf Nāsik IV Sk. *ut-savā-* > *usava-* L 1123

(b) Palatalisation of the dental *d*

(i) Change *-dy- > -j-*

Pittalkhorā Sk. *vaidya-* > *-veja-* L 1191 etc, also cf Kārle I (*El* 24 282 No 16<sup>3</sup>) and Kuḍā (L 1048)

Junnar Sk. *travidya-* > *teviya-* L 1171 Also cf *mahāveja-* L 1163

Nāsik IV Sk. *Vidyādhara-* > *Vijādhara-* L 1123

Sk. *Adyakāla-* > *Ajakāla-* L 1125

(c) Palatalisation of the dental *dh* .

(i) Change *-dhy- > -jh-*

Nāsik IV Sk. *Vmdhya-* > *Vijha-* L 1123

(d) Palatalisation of the nasals *n* and *ṇ*

(i) Change *-ny- > -ñ-*

Junnar Sk. *ṇṇyārtha-* > *ṇñārtha-* L 1174

(ii) Change *-ṇ- > -ñ-*

Junnar Sk. *Kalyāṇa-* > *Kaliñña-* L 1177, L 1179

(iii) Change *-ny- > -mñ- or -ñ-*

Nānāghāt I Sk. *Dhānyagiri-* > *Dhamñagiri-* L 1112 B<sup>1</sup>

Junnar Sk. *dhānyaka-* (?) > *dhamñaka-* L 1180

(iv) Change *n- > ny-*

Nāsik II Sk. *naigama-* > *nyegama-* L 1127

(e) Palatalisation of *kṣ*

(i) Change *kṣ > ch* in all positions

Nānāghāt I : \**kṣat* (> OIA *śat*) > *cha* L 1112

Junnar Sk. *Lakṣṇ-* > *Lact-* L 1176

Nāsik IV Sk. *ṣaṣṭhā-* > *chaṣṭha-* L 1122

Sk. *kṣaṣṭha-* > *chaṣṭha-* L 1123<sup>1</sup>

Sk. *Rkṣaṣṭha-* > *-(a)chaṣṭha-* L 1123<sup>2</sup>

Sk. *kṣṭhā-* or *kṣṭha-* > *chṭha-* L 1125<sup>1</sup>, L 1125<sup>2</sup>

Kārle II cf *chṭha-* L 1105<sup>1</sup>

Mahūd : Sk. *kṣṭra-* > *chṭra-* L 1073

§ 180 Cerebralisation Under the operation of the law of cerebralisation the dentals are turned into cerebrals under the influence of certain sounds. These sounds

are usually *ṛ*, vocalised or unvocalised, and the sibilant. In very few instances dentals, except the nasal *n* which changes to *ṇ* very often, become cerebrals without the influences noted above. As the examples noted below will bear out, the phenomenon has already a limited sphere of action and it becomes of some frequent occurrence in the inscriptions from the first century A.D. onwards. The changes at all places are, however, not of universal application.

(a) Cerebralisation of the dental *t*

(i) Change *-ṛt-* > *-aṭ-* The first instance occurs in the first century B.C.

Junnar : Sk. *Kṛta-putraka-* > *Kaṭaputaka-* L 1162

cf. however, *kata-* in L 1174

Nāsik IV cf. *kaṭa-* L 1124 etc. and Kārle II (L 1105<sup>6</sup>)

(ii) Change *-ṛt-* > *-ṭ-* The examples are quite few.

Nāsik IV Sk. *parivartaka-* > *paṛvaṭaka-* L 1124

Banavāsī Sk. *nartaka-* > *naṭaka-* L 1186<sup>5</sup>

(iii) Change *-ṛ- -t-* > *-ṭ-* The change is met with almost exclusively in the preposition *prati-*

Nāsik III Sk. *pratika-* > *\*paṭika-* > *paḍika-* L 1133<sup>2,3</sup>

Sk. *Kṣaharāta-* > *[kṣaharā]ṭa-* L 1135

Sk. *apratī-dātavya-* > *\*a-paṭī-dātava-* > *a-paḍī-dātava-* L 1133

Nāsik IV . Sk. *pratisaṃstarana-* > *paṭisaṭharana-* L 1124 Also cf. cf. *paṭi-pūna-* L 1123

Kaṇhēri . Sk. *pratyanga-* > *\*paṭi-aga-* > *paḍi-aga-* L 998<sup>9</sup>

Sk. *pratiṣṭhāpita-* > *\*paṭiṣṭhāpita-* > *paḍiṣṭhāpita-*

Thus in some cases we get a double change. First the change of *-t-* > *-ṭ-* and then that of *-ṭ-* > *-ḍ-*

(iv) Change *-tr-* > *-ṭ-* This type of change has made its appearance perhaps in the first century B.C.

Junnar Sk. *Citra-* > *Ciṭa-* L 1182

Nāsik IV Sk. *patrikā-* > *paṭikā-* L 1124, Kārle II (L 1105<sup>6</sup>)

Kaṇhēri cf. *paḍika-* L 1006<sup>7</sup>

(v) Change *st-* and *-st-* > *ṣh-* and *-ṣh-* (or *-ṭ-*) This change has taken place since early times

Pittalkhorā Sk. *stambha-* > *ṣhaba-* L 1188

Nānāghāṭ I . Sk. *hastin-* > *ha[ṣhi-]* L 1112 B

Nāsik IV . Sk. *Śrīstana-* > *Śrīṣṭana-* (?) 1123

Sk. *\*mrast-* > *mrāṣhi-* L 1123

Kaṇhēri Sk. *vāstavyā-* > *vaṣṭhava-* L 1002<sup>5</sup>

Sk. *hāsta-* > *haṣṭha-* L 1024<sup>2</sup>

(vi) Change *t* > *ṭ* without the influence of *ṛ* or a sibilant.

Nāsik IV Sk. *Śvetagiri-* > *Seṭagiri-* L 1123

(b) Cerebralisation of the dental *th*

(i) Change *-ṛth-* > *-ṭh-* It is found from the first century B.C. It may be noted that the cerebral is found only in the equivalents of the word *-ārtha-*

Kuḍā : Sk. *sārthavāha-* > *saṭhāvāha-* L 1066

We find the dental -*ṣh-* in *sathavāha-* L 1062, L 1065

Kāphēri : Sk. *sukhārtha-* > -*sukhaṭha-* L 1016<sup>6</sup>, but  
cf -*sughatha-* L 1024<sup>6</sup>.

Sk. *puṇyārtha-* > *pu[ṇa]ṭha-* L 986<sup>11</sup>.

(ii) Change -*r-th-* > -*ṣh-* · This is noticed even in the earliest inscriptions.

Beṣṣā : Sk. *Mahārathmī-* > *Mahāraṭhmi-* L 1111.

Kārlē I : cf *mahāraṭhi-* L 1088 ; also Nānāghāt I L 1112,  
L 1116

Nāsik IV : Sk. *pariharatha* > *parihareṭha* L 1126

Kānhēri cf *mahāraṭhmi-* L 1021<sup>3</sup>.

(iii) Change *sth-* or -*sth-* > *ṣh-*, -*ṣh-* :

Ajanṭā : Sk. *sthānaka-* > *ṭhānaka-* L 1198

Junnar : Sk. *upasthāna-* > *upaṭhāna-* L 1151 ; also cf *Viraṭhāna-*  
L 1168.

Kārlē II : Sk. *vijayastha-* > *viṣayaṭha-* L 1105<sup>5</sup>.

All these examples are connected with the base √*sthā-*

(iv) Change -*th-* > -*ṣh-* without apparent reason.

Nānāghāt I : Sk. *Dakṣiṇāpatha-* > *Dakṣi[nāpa]ṭha-* L 1112

Kārlē II : Sk. *pāṭha-* > *pāṭha-* L 1106<sup>4</sup>

Kānhēri : Sk. \**i-ttha* > *eṭha* L 998<sup>6</sup>, L 1024<sup>11</sup> ; we get *cṭha* also  
L 987<sup>15</sup>

The cerebral *ṣh* appears to be due to confusion between the two hypothetical bases  
\**i-tra* and \**i-ttha*

(c) Cerebralisation of the dental *dh* :

(i) Change -*rdh-* > -*ḍh-* It is attested from early times

Kārlē I : Sk. *vardhakm-* > *vaḍhaki-* L 1092<sup>2</sup>

Junnar : Sk. *vardha-* > -*vaḍha-* (?) L 1152, we get -*dh-* in  
*Mudhakiya-* L 1151.

Nāsik IV : Sk. *mahardhika-* > -*mahidhika-* L 1123

(ii) Change -*r-dh-* > -*ḍh-* · The word *podhi-* (usually mas., but sometimes  
neut. L 1177, L 1180) in the sense of 'a tank, a cistern' is of frequent occurrence in  
Prakrit inscriptions. The Sanskrit equivalent of this word is not quite certain. It  
is proposed here to derive it from Sk. *pradhī-* ° 'a well'. In that case the intervocal  
-*dh-* > -*ḍh-* under the influence of *r*. The word occurs in the inscriptions at Bhājā  
(L 1079), Nāsik I (L 1140), Junnar (*passim*), Nāsik II (L 1148 etc.), Nānāghāt  
II (L 1119), Kānhēri (L 995<sup>3</sup> etc.), and Mahād (L 1072)

(d) Cerebralisation of the dental *ṣ* :

(i) The cerebralisation of -*ṣ-* is observed in the Western inscriptions from  
early days. However the dental -*ṣ-* is also very often preserved

Kārlē I : Though the dental *ṣ* is usually preserved still a ten-  
dency to cerebralise it in the intervocalic position can  
be noticed

Sk. *Dharmatācā-* > *Dharmatācā-* L 1092 ; we get  
*Dharm-* L 1093

53. The change of *o* > *e* is probably due to the influence of Sk. *pritha-* 'a cave'.

	Sk. <i>layana</i> > <i>lena</i> - L 1107
	Sk. <i>yavana</i> > [ <i>ya</i> ] <i>vana</i> - EI 18 327 6
Kuṇḍā	These inscriptions further demonstrate a marked tendency to cerebralise <i>n</i> . An example is noted where the change takes place even in the initial position
	Sk. <i>Nandā</i> > <i>Naṃdā</i> - L 1037
	Sk. <i>bhāgīneyī</i> > <i>bhāgīneyī</i> - L 1041
	Sk. <i>antevāsīnī</i> > <i>ālvāsīnī</i> - L 1060, but <i>atevāsīnī</i> - L 1041
Nāsik I	Sk. <i>yavana</i> > <i>yona</i> - L 1140, also cf <i>lena</i> - L 1144
Karāḍ	cf <i>lena</i> - L 1184
Junnar	Sk. <i>bhōjana</i> > <i>bhojana</i> - L 1182
	Sk. <i>jāna</i> > <i>jaṇa</i> - L 1151, also cf <i>yavana</i> - L 1182
Nāsik II	We get examples of initial cerebralisation too
	Sk. <i>myukta</i> > <i>myuta</i> - L 1127
	Sk. <i>mr-yātita</i> > <i>mr-yācita</i> - L 1127
	Sk. <i>kuṭumbīnī</i> > <i>kuṭumbīnī</i> - L 1127
Nāsik III	cf <i>lena</i> - L 1133
Śailārwaḍi	Here <i>n</i> becomes <i>n</i> in all cases and in all positions
	cf <i>Naṃdā</i> - L 1121, <i>Dhenukākāṣa</i> - L 1121 etc. etc
Nāsik IV	Though not invariably, <i>n</i> becomes <i>n</i> very often.
	Sk. <i>paryavasāna</i> > <i>payavasāna</i> - L 1146
	Sk. <i>sēnā</i> > <i>-senā</i> - L 1146
	Sk. <i>varnana</i> > <i>vanana</i> - L 1124 etc. etc.
Kārle II	Sk. <i>yāpanārtha</i> > <i>yāpanatha</i> - L 1099 <sup>s</sup> , also cf <i>lena</i> - L 1099 <sup>s</sup> , but <i>lena</i> - L 1100 <sup>s</sup> , L 1105 <sup>s</sup>
Kanheri	The cerebralisation is observed frequently
	Sk. <i>pāṇīya</i> > <i>pāṇīya</i> - L 1006 <sup>s</sup> etc but cf <i>pāṇīya</i> - L 1016 <sup>s</sup>
	Sk. <i>bhagīnī</i> > <i>bhagīnī</i> - L 1021 <sup>s</sup> , but cf <i>bhagīnī</i> - L 1006 <sup>s</sup>
	Sk. <i>Ānanda</i> > <i>Anada</i> - L 999 <sup>s</sup> , L 1024 <sup>s</sup> , <sup>s</sup>
Mahāḍ	cf <i>lena</i> - L 1072
Banavāsī	Sk. <i>nartaka</i> > <i>naṭaka</i> - L 1186 <sup>s</sup>
(ii)	The change of <i>n</i> > <i>n</i> in terminations is dealt with here separately, as the presence of <i>-n</i> - in terminations need not be necessarily taken as changing Sk. <i>-n</i> > <i>-n</i> - but as merely the case of preserving original Sk. <i>-n</i> -. It will be noticed that whereas the earlier inscriptions preserve the dental <i>-n</i> - of terminations, the later ones change it to <i>-n</i> - after the fashion in Sanskrit.
Bhājā	<i>-n</i> - not cerebralised in terminations
	Sk. <i>dharmagīrīnām</i> > <i>Dhamagīrīnām</i> L 1080
	Sk. <i>śhāvīrānām</i> > <i>therānam</i> L 1080 etc.
Nādsur	<i>-n</i> - not cerebralised as above.
	Sk. <i>-putrena</i> > <i>-putena</i> - L 1067
	Sk. <i>bhrātī</i> > <i>bhātu-no</i> L 1068
Pittalkhorā	Here also <i>-n</i> - remains unchanged
	Sk. <i>putrānām</i> > <i>putāna</i> L 1188

- Kārlē I . -n- is sometimes changed to -n-  
 Sk. *putrena* > *-putena* L 1092, but  
 cf *Rohamitrena* > *Rohamitena* EI 18 326 5<sup>1</sup>

On this analogy we also get some examples where -n- > -n- though Sanskrit does not require it.

- Sk. *hatmantānām* > *hematānām* L 1107  
 Sk. *svāminā* > *sāmīna* L 1092  
 Sk. *śreṣṭhinā* > *seṣṭhinā* L 1087.  
 Nāsik I . Sk. *mahāmātreṇa* > *mahāmāteṇa* L 1144<sup>2</sup>  
 But cf *putena* L 1140  
 Junnar Sk. *bhrātṛnām* > *bhātṛnām* L 1169  
 Sk. *trīn* > *trī* L 1163  
 Sk. *dvi-* > *be-na* L 1151

But it is not cerebralised in *camdānam* L 1156 The -n- of the suffix is, however, not cerebralised here.

- Sk. *bhikṣu-nī* > *bhikṣu-nī* L 1152  
 Sk. *Lakṣmī-nukā-* > *Lakṣmī-nukā* L 1176  
 Nāsik III Contrary to our expectations these inscriptions show a  
 tendency not to cerebralise -n- in terminations  
 Sk. *putrena-* > *putena* L 1133  
 Sk. *trīn* > *trī* L 1133  
 Sk. *nāliketānām* > *nāligetāna* L 1133<sup>1</sup>  
 Sk. *sahasrān* > *-sahasān* L 1133, but cf *sahasrān*  
 L 1133  
 Śailārwaḍī -n- > -n- though Sanskrit does not require it.  
 Sk. *grhapati-nā* > *gahapati-nā* L 1121  
 Nāsik IV Sk. *grīṣmānām* > *gimhāna* L 1126  
 Sk. *kuṭumbikena* > *kuṭumbikena* L 1117 etc.  
 But cf *putena* L 1130  
 Kārlē II -n- > -n- in some cases  
 Sk. *brāhmarānām* > *brahmarāna* L 1099<sup>2</sup>  
 Sk. *sahasradena* > *-sahasade-na* L 1099<sup>2</sup>

But cf *bhikṣuna* L 1105<sup>2</sup>, *pūtēna* L 1099, 1100<sup>2</sup>, etc

- Kanherī In many cases it is cerebralised  
 Sk. *sarīena* > *sarīena* L 998<sup>2</sup>  
 Sk. *śīlātṛcānām* > *śīlātṛcāna* L 987<sup>1</sup>, *śīlātṛcā* L 1095<sup>1</sup>  
 cf also the following examples  
 Sk. *āmarāna* > *amarāna* L 1024  
 Sk. *blīkṣa* > *blīkṣa* L 995<sup>2</sup>  
 Sk. *saṅgīena* > *saṅgīena* L 1024<sup>2</sup>, etc.

The dental -n- is preserved in some cases as

- Sk. *śīlātṛcā* > *śīlātṛcā* L 987-  
 Sk. *parīcācā* > *parīcācā* L 998, etc.  
 Mahād Sk. *sarīena* > *sarīena* L 1072  
 Sk. *kṣetṛcā* > *kṣetṛcā* L 1073  
 Sk. *yācā* > *yācā* L 1073



(e) Cerebralisation of the cluster *-ñ-*

(1) Change *-ñ-* > *-n-* occurs in very few instances of about the first century

A.D

Nānāghaṭ II Sk. *rdjñah* > *raṇo* L 1120

Nāsik IV Sk. *ājñapta-* > *ānata-* L 1124, L 1126

(f) Cerebralisation of the liquid *l*

(1) *-l-* > *-ḷ-* in a few examples

Junnar Sk. *Nandabāḷikā-* > *Nadabāḷikā-* L 1176

Kārlē II Sk. *Autkhalakīya-* > *Okhalakīya-* L 1100<sup>2</sup>

(11) *-l-* > *-ḷ-* (or *-r-*)

Junnar Sk. *Syāmala-* > *Sāmaḷa-* or *Sāmara-* L 1175

### III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 181 The consonant clusters in these inscriptions are usually simplified by the process of assimilation. The method of assimilation is the usual one followed in Pāli and literary Prakrits where two consonants of equal value form a cluster, the former is assimilated to the latter and in case of unequal value the stronger of the two prevails. Though these assimilated conjuncts are represented in writing as a single consonant with only one symbol, they were no doubt, pronounced as double ones, except of course in the initial position and in all likelihood where the quantity of the preceding short vowel was lengthened. Thus the method of putting down a single symbol for an assimilated conjunct forms only an 'orthographical peculiarity' and does not always represent the correct pronunciation. In the following discussion the words are quoted as they actually appear in the inscriptions and not with the restored spelling.

Very few conjuncts have been dissolved by the addition of a vowel—i.e. *svara-bhakti*—and some of them have been preserved without assimilating the conjunct. The following discussion is centred round only the important clusters. Such clusters as exemplify the normal assimilation, as for example, *kt* > *tt*, *pt* > *tt*, *ngh* > *ngh* (or *gh*), *nt* > *mt* (or *t*) are not illustrated.

§ 182 As noted above the double consonants are normally represented orthographically as single ones. But the following few instances show the double ones.

Padapa *-tt-* is found in,

Sk. *Musaladatta-* > *Musaladatta-* L 978, L 981

Nāsik IV *-ddh-* is found in,

Sk. *siddha-* > *siddha-* L 1123, L 1124

But cf *siddha-* L 1122 etc

§ 183 Consonant clusters with Stops. A cluster of two stops is normally assimilated to the latter. The following discussion only deals with stops clustered with sibilants and semivowels.

(a) Clusters with sibilants + gutturals

(1) Change *sk* > *kh*

Kuḍā Sk. *Skanda-* > *Khamda-* L 1037, L 1045

Nāsik IV Sk. *skandhāvāra-* > *-khandhāvāra-* L 1125

Kārlē II Sk. *śivaskanda-* > *Sivakhada-* L 1105<sup>6</sup>

Kanhērī Sk. *Skandanāga-* > *Khāndanāga-* L 1021<sup>2</sup>

Banavāsī cf *Sivakhada-* and *Khadasāṭi-* L 1186<sup>2</sup>

(ii) Change *-ṣk-* > *-k-* :

Paṭhyār : Sk *puṣkarinī* > *pukarinī* L 91.

## (b) Clusters with sibilants + cerebrals :

(i) Change *-ṣṭ-* > *-ṭh-* :

Nānāghāṭ I : Sk *ṣṭā* > *yṭha* L 1112

Sk *\*laṣṭi* > *-laṭhi* L 1112

Junnar : Sk *aṣṭā* > *aṭha* L 1168

It is found also at Nāsik III (L 1133), Kārle II (L 1099<sup>3</sup>), Kanheri (L 1021<sup>6</sup>), Mahād (L 1072, L 1073)

(ii) Change *-ṣṭh-* > *-ṭh-*

Beḍṣā : Sk *śreṣṭhin-* > *seṭhi-* L 1109

Pittalkhorā : Sk *Pratiṣṭhāna-* > *Paṭiṭhāna-* L 1187 etc

Ajanṭā : Sk *Vāsiṣṭhī-* > *Vāsiṭhi-* L 1197

Kārle I : cf *seṭhi-* L 1087

Kuḍā : Sk *kaṁṣṭhā-* > *kancṭha-* L 1045

Nāsik I : Sk *mṣṭhāpita-* > *mṣṭhāpita-* L 1141

Kōl : cf *seṭhi-* L 1075

Nānāghāṭ II : cf *Vāsathiputa-* L 1120

Nāsik IV : Sk *adhiṣṭhāna-* > *adhiṭhāna-* L 1123

Sk *ṣaṣṭhā-* > *chaṭha-* L 1122.

Kārle II : Sk *niṣṭhita-* > *niṭhita-* L 1106<sup>4</sup>

Kanheri : cf *Paṭiṭhāna-* L 988<sup>6</sup> etc

Mahād : cf *seṭhi-* L 1073

(iii) Change *-ṣṭh-* > *-ṭh-* : This loss of cerebralisation is met with very rarely

It is worth noting that in the following examples the original Sk. root has the dental and not the cerebral :

Nāsik IV : Sk *pratiṣṭhāpana-* > *paṭiṭhāpana-* L 1123, also cf *paṭiṭhāpita-* L 1006<sup>7</sup>

## (c) Clusters with sibilants + dentals

(i) Change *st* > *th* both initially and medially :

Bhājā : Sk *stūpa-* > *thupa-* L 1080, also cf Beḍṣā (*thupa* L 1110) and Nādsur (*thūpa-* L 1038)

Kārle I : Sk *stambha-* > *thabha-* L 1088 etc

Sk *lastin-* > *lati-* L 1089

Kuḍā : cf *thambha-* L 1045

Nānāghāṭ I : cf *kaṭhi-* L 1112

Nāsik II : Sk *vāstavyā-* > *vāṭhaca-* L 1148

Nāsik III : cf *vāṭhaca-* L 1133

Śailārwaḍi : cf *vāṭhaca-* L 1121

Nāsik IV : Sk *lāsta-* > *kaṭha-* L 1139

Kārle II : cf *vāṭhaca-* L 1105<sup>8</sup>, L 1105<sup>9</sup>

Kanheri : Sk *\*stibha-* > *thuba-* L 993<sup>6</sup>

(ii) Change *st* > *ṭh* : Cf above cerebralisation § 189, (i).(iii) Change *st* > *th* :

The word *thaca-* > Sk *sthāca-* occurs at Bhājā (L 1081 etc.), Kārle I (L 1089), Kuḍā (L 1049 etc.), Junnar (L 1171), and Kanheri (L 987<sup>6</sup> etc.) Also cf

Kanheri : Sk *apasthāca-* > *apasthāca-* L 987<sup>6</sup>

(iv) Change *sth* > *t* with the loss of aspiration

Kārlē I Sk *gṛhastha* > *gūhata*- L 1091

(v) The cluster- *-sth-* is once preserved in an inscription of about second century AD

Kārlē II Sk. *-sthiti-* > *sthata-ye* L 1106<sup>s</sup>

(d) Cluster with semivowel *ṛ*, + dentals<sup>51</sup>

(1) Change *-ṛt-* > *-t-*

Junnar Sk *mṛvartana* > *mṛvatana*- L 1162 etc

Nāsik III Sk *Kārttika* > *Kātika*- L 1133

Nāsik IV Sk *vartita* > *-vatita*- L 1123

Also cf *mṛvatana*- L 1125

(ii) Change *-ṛth-* > *-th-*

Kārlē I Sk. *ārtha* > *atha*- EI 18 326 5

Kuḍā Sk *sāṛthavāha* > *sahavāha*- L 1062, L 1065

Junnar Sk. *punyārtha* > *puñatha*- L 1174

Nāsik III Sk. *tīrthā* > *titha*- L 1135

Kanḥērī cf *-sughatha*- L 998<sup>s</sup> etc., *puṇyatha*- L 1000<sup>s</sup>

(iii) Change *-ṛd-* > *-d-*

Vakālā Sk *mardana* > *-madana*- L 968

Nāsik I Sk. *cāṭerdiśa* > *cātudiśa*- L 1140, also Nāsik II (L 1127), Nāsik III (L 1133), Kārlē II (L 1099<sup>s</sup> etc.), and Kanḥērī (L 998<sup>s</sup> etc)

Nāsik IV cf *madana*- L 1123

(iv) Change *-ṛdh-* > *-dh-*

Kuḍā Sk *Ardhagacchaka* > *Adhagachaka*- L 1058

Nānāghāṭ I Sk. *kulavardhana* > *kulavadhana*- L 1112

Nāsik III Sk. *Govardhana* > *Govadhana*- L 1133

Nāsik IV Sk. *dhanurdhara* > *dhanudhara*- L 1123

Kanḥērī Sk *ardhā* > *ādha*- L 1024<sup>11</sup>

### § 184 Consonant Clusters with the Semivowels

(a) Clusters with stop + *y* In the treatment of palatalisation one aspect of the clusters with dentals has already been noticed Under this head some other aspects are dealt with.

(1) Change *-gy-* > *-g-*

Nāsik IV Sk *ārogya* > *aroga*- L 1126

(ii) Change *-jy-* > *-j-*

Nāsik III Sk *bhojya* > *bhoja*- L 1133

(iii) Change *-ty-* > *-t-*

The word *cetiya* < Sk. *cetiya* occurs in most of the cave inscriptions cf Kuḍā (L 1050, L 1058), Nāsik I (L 1140, L 1141), Junnar (L 1153, L 1178), and Kanḥērī (L 987<sup>s</sup>)

(iv) Change *-ty-* > *-t-*

Nāsik IV Sk. *ācintya* > *acita*- L 1123

51 Contrast this treatment with that of cerebralisation above § 180

(v) The cluster -ly- is preserved in a few examples

Junnar	Sk. <i>amātya</i> > [ā]mātya- L 1174
Nāsik III	Sk. <i>naityaka</i> > <i>netyaka</i> - L 1135

(b) Clusters with the semi-vowel *r* + *y*. The treatment of this cluster is rather varied

(i) Change -ry- > -riy- .

Kārlē I	Sk. <i>bhāryā</i> > <i>bharīyā</i> EI 24 282 16 <sup>2</sup>
Nānāghāt I	Sk. <i>brahmacārya</i> > - <i>bramahacariya</i> - L 1112 Also cf <i>bhāriyā</i> - L 1112
Nāsik I	cf <i>bhāriyā</i> L 1141
Junnar	Sk. <i>ganācārya</i> > <i>ganācariya</i> - L 1171
Nāsik IV	. cf <i>*bhāriyā</i> > <i>bharīya</i> - L 1146
Kanhēri	Sk. <i>ācāryā</i> > <i>ācariya</i> - L 987 <sup>3</sup>
Banavāsī	cf <i>acariya</i> - L 1186 <sup>2</sup>

(ii) Change -ry- > \*-riy- > -ria-<sup>52</sup>

Kanhēri	Sk. <i>ācāryā</i> > <i>ācaria</i> - L 999 <sup>1</sup>
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(iii) Change -ry- > -y- by assimilation

Kuḍī	Sk. <i>bhāryā</i> > <i>bhayā</i> L 1037, L 1045 etc.
Nānāghāt I	Sk. <i>Āptor-yāma</i> > <i>Atuyāma</i> - L 1112
Nāsik I	Sk. <i>nir-yālita</i> > <i>ni-yālita</i> - <sup>53</sup> L 1140

In these two examples the cluster is rather -r-y- and not -ry-

Junnar	cf <i>bhāyā</i> - L 1155, L 1176
Nāsik III	cf <i>myālita</i> - L 1133
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>paryavasita</i> > - <i>payavasita</i> - L 1146
Kārlē II	cf <i>bhāyā</i> L 1099 <sup>2</sup> , and Kanhēri (L 993 <sup>1</sup> )

Once the cluster is represented as a double one

Kanhēri	Sk. <i>āryaka</i> > <i>āyyaka</i> - L 1002 <sup>2</sup>
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(iv) Change -ry- > \*-riy- > \*-yir- > \*-ir-

Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>aryaka</i> > <i>airala</i> - L 1124, also <i>ayalā</i> - L 1123
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(c) Clusters with the semivowel *l* + *y*. As in the case of *ry*, *ly* has also developed in various ways

(i) Change -ly- > -lly-

Kanhēri	Sk. <i>Kālyāna</i> > <i>Kāllyana</i> - L 998 <sup>3</sup> etc * We also get <i>Kāllyimbi</i> - L 1014 <sup>1</sup>
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(ii) Change -ly- > -lay-

Kanhēri	Sk. <i>Kālyāna</i> > <i>Kālayana</i> - L 1024 <sup>2</sup>
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(iii) Change -ly- > -l- by assimilation

Nāsik III	Sk. <i>mālyā</i> > - <i>māla</i> - L 1133
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>tulyā</i> > <i>tala</i> - L 1123

(iv) Change -ly- > \*-ly- > -lla-

Junnar	Sk. <i>Kālyāna</i> > <i>Kālāna</i> - L 1177, L 1179
Kanhēri	. cf <i>Kālāna</i> - L 988 <sup>1</sup> , L 1000

<sup>52</sup> cf above the loss of intervocalic -r- § 176 (iv).

<sup>53</sup> The word can also be derived from Sk. *nir-yālita* cf HULTZSCH *Ind. et. et. Ait.*, p. 100 n. 1.

(v) The cluster *-ly-* is once preserved at Nāsik III in *mūlya-* (L 1133) probably as a loan word

Nāsik III Sk. *mūlya-* > *mūlya-* L 1133

(d) Clusters with the semivowel *v* + *y* The cluster is regularly assimilated to *v* in later inscriptions.

(1) Change *vy* > *v* initially and medially

The word *vāthava-* < Sk. *vāstavyā-* occurs at various places Cf Nāsik II (L 1148), Nāsik III (L 1133), Śailārwaḍī (L 1121), Kārlē II (L 1105<sup>1</sup>, L 1106<sup>2</sup>), and *vāthava-* at Kanḥēri (L 1024<sup>3</sup>) 'We may also cf *-vatava-* < Sk *vaktavya-* at Nāsik IV (L 1126) and *dātava-* < Sk *dātavya-* at Nāsik IV (L 1139), and Kanḥēri (L 998<sup>4</sup>)

(e) Consonant clusters with sibilants + *y* The clusters are usually assimilated to *s* In a very few cases they are preserved

(1) Change *-śy-*, *-ṣy-*, and *-sy-* > *-s-*

Kuḍā	Sk. <i>Puṣyā-</i> > <i>Pusā-</i> L 1045, also <i>Pusanaka-</i> L 1065
Nāsik I	Sk. <i>uddiśya</i> > <i>udisa</i> L 1140, also Nāsik II (L 1148)
Nāsik III	Sk. <i>bhaviṣyati</i> > <i>bhaviṣati</i> L 1133
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>aprāveśya-</i> > <i>apavesa-</i> L 1125 etc.
	Sk. <i>kṛṣyate</i> > <i>kasate</i> L 1126
Kanḥēri	Sk. <i>śiṣya-</i> > <i>sisā-</i> L 987 <sup>20</sup>

(ii) In the genitive singular termination of the masculine and neuter nouns ending in *-a*, *-sy-* > *-s-* It is only in the inscription of King Puḷumāyī at Kārlē that the cluster is preserved

Kārlē II	Sk. <i>vāstavyasya</i> > <i>vathavasya</i> L 1106 <sup>2</sup>
	Sk. <i>putrasya</i> > <i>puttasya</i> L 1106 <sup>2</sup>
	Sk. <i>Sauvarṣakasya</i> > <i>Sovasakasya</i> L 1106 <sup>2</sup>

(f) Consonant Cluster with the aspirate *h* + *y*

(1) Change *-hy-* > *-y-*

Nāsik IV Sk. *pratigṛhya* > *patigaya* L 1124

(ii) *-hy-* is preserved in Nāsik IV Sk *Sahya-* > *Sahya-* L 1123 (as a loan word ?)

(iii) Change *-hy-* > *-yha-* by metathesis

Nāsik IV Sk. *pratigṛhya* > *patigayha* L 1124

§ 185 Consonant Clusters with the Semi-vowel *r* In a large number of instances the cluster is generally assimilated But in some cases the cluster is preserved This tendency to preserve the cluster with *r* is noted especially in the North-Western (and Western) inscriptions of Aśoka and in later period it is noticed in inscriptions of Western India more than in any other individual group of Prakrit inscriptions (except of course the North-Western)

(a) Clusters with stop + *r*

(1) Change *-(ṣ)tr-* > *-ṭh-*

Nāsik IV Sk. *rāṣṭrā-* > *raṭha-* L 1124, L 1125

(ii) Change *-tr-* > *-t-*

Vakālā Sk. *Satrumardana-* > *Satumadana-* L 968

Bhājā Sk. *putrā-* > *-puta-* L 1079

Beḍā , Sk *Aṣāḍhamitra-* > *Asāḍamita-* L 1110

Nādsur	. cf. <i>puta</i> - L 1067
Pittalkhorā	Sk. <i>Mitradeva</i> - > <i>Mitadeva</i> - L 1187.
Ajaṇṭā	. cf. <i>puta</i> - L 1197.
Kārle I	. Sk. <i>Svātmitra</i> - > <i>Sātmita</i> - L 1094.
Kuḍā	. cf. <i>Sātmita</i> - L 1040
Nānāghāt I	. Sk. <i>trirātra</i> - > <i>trirata</i> - L 1112 , also cf. <i>-Dasarata</i> - L 1112
Nāsik I	Sk. <i>mahāmātra</i> - > <i>mahāmāta</i> - L 1144.
Karād	. cf. <i>-puta</i> - L 1184
Junnar	. Sk. <i>Buddhamitra</i> - > <i>Budhamita</i> - L 1169 Also initially Sk. <i>travidya</i> - > <i>tcviya</i> - L 1171
Nāsik II	cf. <i>Sivamita</i> - L 1138
Śailārwāḍi	cf. <i>puta</i> - L 1121 , also Nānāghāt II (L 1120)
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>kṣatriya</i> - > <i>Khatiya</i> - L 1123 And initially Sk. <i>trivarga</i> - > <i>-tivaga</i> - L 1123
Kārle II	Sk. <i>kṣatrapa</i> - > <i>khatapa</i> - L 1099 <sup>51</sup>

It is represented as a double consonant in *putta*- L 1106<sup>52</sup>.

Kanhēri	. cf. <i>S[ɪ]vamita</i> - L 998 <sup>53</sup>
Mahād	Sk. <i>kṣētra</i> - > <i>chela</i> - L 1073
Banavāsī	cf. <i>-puta</i> - L 1186 <sup>54</sup> .

(iii) Change -*tr*- > -*tar*-

Karād	Sk. <i>Sanghamitra</i> - > <i>Samgham[ɪ]tara</i> - L 1184
Nāsik III	. Sk. <i>jāmātrā</i> > <i>jamātārā</i> L 1133
Kārle II	Sk. <i>mātrā</i> > <i>mātārā</i> <sup>55</sup> L 1106 <sup>54</sup> ; also <i>jāmātārā</i> L 1199 <sup>55</sup> .

(iv) The cluster -*tr*- is preserved in a few cases from the inscriptions of early times

Beḍṣā	Sk. <i>putrā</i> - > <i>putra</i> - <sup>55</sup> L 1109
Pittalkhorā	Sk. <i>Vātsīputra</i> - > [ <i>Vach:pu</i> ] <i>tra</i> - L 1189
Kārle I	Sk. <i>Agñmitra</i> - > <i>Agñmitra</i> - L 1088 also <i>putra</i> - EI 18 329 13 Sk. <i>Gauṭīputra</i> - > <i>Gotiputra</i> - L 1088 ,
Nānāghāt I	Sk. <i>putrada</i> - > <i>putrada</i> - L 1112

It is also preserved initially in the proper name *Tranakayiro* But the reading is uncertain as the symbol can as well be read as *bla* or *ta*

Nāsik II	cf. <i>-putra</i> - L 1148
Nāsik III	. Sk. <i>citra</i> - > <i>cetra</i> - L 1135 Sk. <i>trita</i> > <i>trita</i> L 1133 Sk. <i>Kṣatrapa</i> - > <i>Kṣatrapa</i> - L 1132-L 1135 ; also <i>putra</i> - L 1132, L 1134 , and Kanhēri : cf. <i>-putra</i> - L 1002 <sup>56</sup>

(v) Change -*dr*- > -*d*-

Kārle I	Sk. <i>Blacra-gin dr-</i> > <i>Blacra-gin</i> - L 1101, L 1102
Nānāghāt I	. Sk. <i>Ccra</i> - > <i>Ccra</i> - L 1112 Sk. <i>Idra</i> - > <i>Idra</i> - L 1112

51 This is however, doubtful

52 FRANKS reading of ZDMG 50593

- Junnar cf *Camda*- L 1156  
 Nāsik IV Sk. *samudrā*- > *-samuda*- L 1123  
 Also cf *Mahida*- L 1123, *Cada*- L 1123
- (vi) The cluster *-dr-* is preserved in a few instances from Nāsik group  
 Nāsik I Sk. *Indrāgnī*- > *Idrāgnī*- L 1140  
 Nāsik III cf the place name *Cikhala-padra*- L 1133
- (vii) Change *-dhr-* > *-dh-*  
 Nāsik II Sk. *alparandhra*- > *aparadha*- L 1148
- (viii) Change *pr* > *p* initially and medially  
 Pittalkhorā Sk. *Pratiṣṭhāna*- > *Patīṭhāna*- L 1187 etc.  
 Kuḍā Sk. *pravrajitkā*- > *pāvayitkā*- L 1041  
 Junnar Sk. *prayoga*- > *payoga*- L 1158  
 Sk. *pramukha*- > *-pamugha*- L 1153  
 Nāsik III Sk. *a-pratī*- > *a-paṭī*- L 1133  
 Nāsik IV Sk. *prīyā*- > *-pīya*- L 1123  
 Sk. *prathamā*- > *pathama*- L 1146  
 Kārle II cf *pathama*- L 1100<sup>2</sup>, *pavajita*- L 1099<sup>4</sup>, L 1105<sup>2</sup>  
 Kanhēri Sk. *pralokana*- > *-palogana*- L 1012<sup>2</sup>
- (ix) Change *-pr-* > *-pīr-*  
 Kuḍā Sk. *Śiva-prīta*- > *Sivapīrita*- L 1051
- (x) Cluster *pr* is preserved  
 Nāsik III Sk. *prayukta*- > *prayuta*- L 1133
- (xi) Change *br-* > *b-*  
 Kolhāpur Sk. *Brahman*- > *Bamha*- L 1185<sup>1</sup>  
 Nāsik IV Sk. *brāhmanā*- > *-bamhana*- L 1123
- (xii) The cluster *br* is preserved in the following examples  
 Nānāghāt I Sk. *brahmacārya*- > *-bramahacārya*- L 1112  
 Nāsik III Sk. *brāhmanā*- > *brāhmana*- L 1133, L 1135  
 Kārle II cf *brahmana*- L 1099<sup>2</sup>
- (b) Clusters with semi-vowel *v* + *r*  
 (i) The cluster is always assimilated to *v* as for example Sk. *pravrajita*- > *pavajita*-  
 The word occurs almost in all inscriptions  
 (ii) The cluster is once initially preserved perhaps as a loan word  
 Nānāghāt I Sk. *vratā*- > *vrala*- L 1112
- (c) Clusters with sibilant + *r* The clusters are usually assimilated to *s*  
 (i) Change *śr-* > *s-*  
 Beḍṣā Sk. *śreṣṭhin*- > *seṭhi*- L 1109 The word recurs in many later inscriptions  
 Junnar Sk. *śremi*- > *semi*- or *sem-* L 1162, L 1165  
 (ii) Change of *śr* > *sīr* is found in the word *sīr* < Sk. *śrī*- in all cases  
 (iii) *śr-* is preserved as *śr-* or *sr-* in a few cases  
 Nāsik III Sk. *śremi*- > *śremi*- L 1133  
 Sk. *śrāvītā*- > *srāvita*- L 1133  
 (iv) *-sr-* is preserved in  
 Nāsik III Sk. *sahāsra*- > *-sahasra*- L 1133, L 1135

§ 186 Consonant clusters with the semivowel *l* .(i) Change *kl*- > *kil*-Nāsik IV . Sk. *klmna*- > *-kilna*- L 1123(ii) Change *-hl*- > *-lh*- by metathesisNāsik IV Sk. *Pahlava*- > *Palhava*- L 1123

§ 187 Consonant clusters with the semivowel *v* . In a majority of cases the cluster is assimilated . In a few cases, however, it is dissolved by svarabhakti or is preserved

(a) Clusters with stop + *v*(i) Change *-tv*- > *-t*- .Junnar Sk. *catvāri* > *catāri* L 1167Kārle II . Sk. *sattvā*- > *-sata*- L 1106<sup>3</sup>Kanhēri . cf. *-sata*- (L 1016<sup>7</sup>) and *-satu*- (L 998<sup>5</sup>)(ii) Change *dv*- > *b*- It usually occurs in the numerals .Beḍṣā Sk. *dvitīyikā* > *bitīyakā* L 1111Kuḍā Sk. *dvañ* *bc* L 1039 , also cf. *bitīyakā* L 1065Nānāghāṭ I . Sk. *dvādaśā*- > *bārasa*- L 1112Junnar cf. *bc* L 1163 , *bārasa* L 1163Nāsik III cf. *bc* L 1133 , *bārasaka*- L 1133Kol cf. *bitīyakā* L 1076Nāsik IV cf. *bārasaka*- L 1139 , *bitīya*- L 1123Kārle II cf. *bitīya*- L 1106<sup>1</sup>Kanhēri Sk. *dvi-garbha*- > *bi-gabha*- L 998<sup>11</sup>,  
*ba-gabha*- L 998<sup>10</sup>Mahād cf. *bc* L 1072(iii) Change *dv* > *d* initially and mediallyKārle I Sk. *Jambudvīpa*- > *Jabudīpa*- L 1087Junnar Sk. *pādonadvika*- > *pāonaduka*- L 1165Sk. *dvāra*- > *-dāra*- L 1150Nāsik II Sk. *dvañ* > *do* L 1148Nāsik III . Sk. *dvi*- > *di*- L 1133Nāsik IV Sk. *dviśā*- > *dīśa*- L 1123(iv) Change *dt*- > *r*-Kārle I Sk. *dtau* *ic* L 1101, *EI* 124 282 No 16<sup>7</sup>(v) The cluster *dt* is rarely preservedJunnar Sk. *dtī* *dtīc* L 1164(vi) Change *-ḍt*- > *-ḥv*- in a numeralJunnar . Sk. *śāḍṭin ścṭi* > *ścṭvīśa* <sup>7</sup> L 1163

(b) Clusters with the semivowel *r* - *r* . The cluster is always assimilated to *r* in later inscriptions as for example Sk. *sāra*- > *sa*-*a*- . It is only once represented as a double consonant at Kanhēri cf. *sa*-*ra*- L 987<sup>14</sup>

(c) Clusters with the sibilants - *r* . The cluster is usually assimilated to *s* .(i) Change *sr* or *śr* > *s* initially and mediallyKārle I Sk. *Srīrāṣṭrī* > *Srīrāṣṭrī*- L 1094Kuḍā . cf. *Srīrāṣṭrī*- L 1040

36 Perhaps under the influence of *ś* - *r* - *ś* -



Nānāghāt I	Sk. <i>aśva</i> > <i>asa-</i> L 1112
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>pārśvā-</i> > <i>-paśa-</i> L 1123
	Sk. <i>patheśvara-</i> > <i>-pathesara-</i> L 1123
	Sk. <i>svāmi-</i> > <i>-sāmi-</i> L 1125, L 1146

It occurs also at Kārle II (L 1100<sup>1</sup>) and Kanphēri (L 986<sup>1</sup>, L 1024<sup>2</sup>)

(11) The cluster *sv* is sometimes preserved initially

Kuḍā	Sk. <i>svāmīputra-</i> > <i>svāmīputa-</i> L 1062
Nāsik IV	cf <i>-svāmi-</i> L 1124, L 1125 and also Kanphēri (L 1001 <sup>1</sup> )

### § 188 Consonant clusters with the sibilants

(a) The cluster *kṣ* is generally assimilated to *kh* in all positions. It is only at times palatalised to *ch*<sup>57</sup> in these inscriptions which seems to have been the early western treatment of this cluster

(i) Change *kṣ* > *kh* initially and medially

Nādsur	Sk. <i>Saṅgha-rakṣita-</i> > <i>Saṅgha-rakhita-</i> L 1068
Kārle I	Sk. <i>bhikṣu-</i> > <i>bhikkhu-</i> L 1101
Kuḍā	cf <i>Ist-rakhita-</i> L 1048
Nānāghāt I	Sk. <i>dākṣinā-</i> > <i>dakhinā-</i> L 1112
	Sk. <i>dikṣā</i> > <i>dikhā</i> L 1112
Nāsik I	cf <i>bhikkhu-</i> L 1140, <i>-rakhita-</i> L 1140
Junnar	Sk. <i>akṣaya-</i> > <i>akhaya-</i> L 1152, L 1155
	Sk. <i>kṣētra-</i> > <i>kheta-</i> L 1168
Nāsik II	cf <i>bhikkhu-</i> L 1127
Nāsik III	Sk. <i>Dakṣa-</i> > <i>Dakha-</i> L 1132, L 1134
Nānāghāt II	Sk. <i>pakṣā-</i> > <i>-pakha-</i> L 1120
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>kṣētra-</i> > <i>-kheta-</i> L 1125
	Also cf <i>-pakha-</i> L 1123 etc., <i>bhikkhu-</i> L 1123 etc.
Kārle II	Sk. <i>Kṣaharāta-</i> > <i>Khaharāta-</i> L 1099 <sup>1</sup>
	Also cf <i>bhikkhu-</i> L 1105 <sup>2,4</sup> , <i>pakha-</i> L 1100 <sup>1</sup> etc
Kanphēri	cf <i>bhikkhu-</i> L 998 <sup>1,7</sup> , <i>akhaya-</i> L 1006 <sup>8</sup> etc
Mahāḍ	cf <i>-rakhita-</i> L 1073
Banavāsī	cf <i>pakha-</i> L 1186 <sup>1</sup>

(11) The cluster *kṣ* is preserved in some Nāsik III inscriptions cf *Kṣaharāta-* L 1132, L 1133 and *Kṣatrapa-* L 1132 etc.

(b) The cluster *ṛś* (or *ṛṣ*) is assimilated to *s* and sometimes with a nasal to *ms*. In some cases the cluster becomes *h* and in fewer cases still the cluster is dissolved by svarabhakti

(i) Change *-ṛś-* and *-ṛṣ-* > *-s-*

Nānāghāt I	Sk. <i>varṣā-</i> > <i>-vasa-</i> L 1112	It occurs also at Junnar (L 1174), Nāsik III (L 1133), and Nāsik IV (cf <i>vāsa</i> L 1125, L 1139)
Nāsik IV	Sk. <i>dārśana-</i> > <i>-dasana-</i> L 1123	
Kārle II	Sk. <i>Sauvarṣaka-</i> > <i>Sovasaka-</i> L 1106 <sup>2</sup> , also <i>anuvāsa-</i> L 1099 <sup>3</sup>	
Kanphēri	cf <i>vasa-</i> L 1000 <sup>6</sup> , <i>vāsārata-</i> L 998 <sup>7</sup>	
Banavāsī	Sk. <i>varṣasattā-</i> > <i>vasasatā-</i> L 1186 <sup>1</sup>	

57 For this treatment cf above palatalisation § 179 (e)

(ii) Change *-ṛś-* > *-ms-*

Kuṇḍā	Sk <i>Sudarśana-</i> > <i>Sudan.sana-</i> L 1054
Nānāghāt I	Sk. <i>Sankarśana-</i> > <i>Samkamsana-</i> L 1112

This is probably due to assimilation

(iii) Change *-ṛś-* > *-h-* Sk *kārṣāpana-* is generally represented as *kāhāpana-* or *kāhāpana-*, cf Nānāghāt I (L 1112), Junnar (L 1152, L 1158), Nāsik III (L 1133), Nāsik IV (L 1139), and Kanheri (L 998<sup>1</sup>, L 1006<sup>2</sup> etc.)

(iv) Change *-ṛś-* > *-ṛis-*

Nāsik IV	Sk <i>varśā-</i> > <i>varisa-</i> L 1146
	Sk <i>rājarśi-</i> > <i>rājarisi-</i> L 1123

(v) The cluster *-ṛś-* is preserved probably in a loan word

Nāsik III	<i>kārṣāpana-</i> L 1133
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§ 189 Consonant clusters with *h* It is dissolved by svarabhakti

(i) Change *-ṛh-* > *-rah-*

Nāsik I	Sk <i>Arhat-laya-</i> > <i>Arahalaya-</i> L 1141
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§ 190 Consonant clusters with Nasals The clusters with nasals follow the general treatment of such clusters in Prakrit inscriptions. When a nasal precedes a stop, the nasal is represented as an anusvāra which is either preserved in writing or not. Thus Sk *sangha-* will always become *sangha-* or *sagha-*. Similarly Sk *dhārma-* will always be *dhamma-* or *dhama-*. But some clusters with *ñ*, *n*, *ṇ* and *m* show certain peculiarities which are noted below

(a) Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

1 The cluster *jñ* is generally assimilated to the following nasal and is represented as *mñ* or *ñ*. But in some cases it is replaced by the dental *n* and in a few cases by *m*.

(i) Change *jñ* > *mñ* or *ñ* in all positions

Nānāghāt I	Sk <i>yajñā-</i> > <i>yamñā-</i> L 1112, <i>yañā-</i> L 1112
	Sk. <i>ṛājñāh</i> > <i>rañō</i> L 1114
Nāsik III	Sk <i>jñāyate</i> > <i>ñāyate</i> L 1135, also cf <i>ramñō</i> L 1135, <i>rañō</i> L 1133, L 1134. It occurs also at Nāsik IV (L 1122 etc, <i>Siṃ-Yañā-</i> L 1146), Kārlī II (L 1022 <sup>1</sup> etc), Kanheri (L 987 <sup>1</sup> etc, <i>Siṃ-Yañā-</i> L 1024 <sup>2</sup> ), and Banavāsī (L 1186 <sup>1</sup> )

(ii) Change *jñ* > *n* initially and medially

Bhājā	Sk <i>jñāta-</i> > <i>Nāya-</i> (?) L 1078
Nāsik IV	Sk <i>ī\jñāp-</i> > <i>ā-\āpā</i> L 1124, L 1125
Kārlī II	cf <i>ā.c'a-</i> L 1105 <sup>1</sup>
Kanheri	Sk <i>jñāta-</i> > <i>ī\ā-</i> L 992 <sup>1</sup> , L 1020

(iii) Change *jñ* > *n* cf cerebralisation § 189 (e) above.

2 Cluster *ñc* becomes *nc* or *c* in most cases. In a few cases however, it becomes *n*.

(i) Change *-ñc-* > *-nc-* or *-c-*

Junnar	Sk <i>pañcagāhī-</i> > <i>pañcagāhī-</i> L 1157
Nāsik III	cf <i>pañcā-</i> L 1133

Nānāghāṭ II cf *pacama-* L 1120, also Nāsik IV (L 1122, L 1126), Kārle II (L 1100<sup>1</sup>), and Kanḥēri (cf *pacama-* L 987<sup>3</sup>).<sup>1</sup>

(ii) Change *-ñc-* > *-n-* in some numerals

Junnar Sk. *pañcadaśā* > *panarasa* L 1158

Nāsik III cf *panarasa* L 1133, L 1135

(b) Clusters with the nasal *n*

1 The cluster *mn* becomes *mn* or *n* in earlier inscriptions and thus in this treatment *n* loses its cerebral aspect. Later on, however, the cerebral *n* establishes itself<sup>58</sup>

(i) Change *-mn-* > *mn-* or *-n-*

Nānāghāṭ I Sk. *suvarṇa-* > *suvaṁna-* L 1112 B etc

Sk. *vārṇa-* > *vana-* L 1112

(ii) Change *-mn-* > *mn-* or *-n-* It will be seen that the dental *n* does not appear in inscriptions dating after the beginning of the Christian era

Junnar Sk. *suvarṇakāra-* > *suvaṇakāra-* L 1177

Nāsik III Sk. *Barnāsā* > *Banāsa-* L 1135

cf *suvaṇa-* L 1135

Nāsik IV Sk. *pūrnā-* > *-puna-* L 1123

Sk. *varṇana-* > *vanana-* L 1124

Sk. *Śātakarni-* > *Śātakam-* L 1123 etc.

Kārle II cf *Banāsā* L 1099<sup>2</sup>

Kanḥēri cf *suvaṇa-* L 986<sup>1</sup>, *Śātakam-* L 1024<sup>2</sup>

Banavāsī cf *Śātakamni-* L 1186<sup>1</sup>

(iii) The cluster *-mn-* is once preserved

Nāsik III cf *suvarṇa-* L 1133

2 The cluster *śn* Excepting a few instances from Nāsik I, the assimilated conjunct preserves the cerebral

(i) Change *-śn-* > *-nh-*

Bhājā Sk. *Viṣṇu-* > *Vinhu-* L 1079

Koṇḍāne Sk. *Kṛṣṇa-* > *kanha-* L 1071

Kuḍā cf *Venhu-* L 1060

Nāsik IV cf *Vinhu-* L 1124, L 1125, *Kanha-* L 1123, L 1130

Kanḥēri cf *Venhu-* L 1001<sup>3</sup>, L 1002<sup>3</sup>, *Kanha-* L 1024<sup>3</sup>

Mahād cf *Vhenu-* L 1072, and Banavāsī cf *Vinhu-* L 1186<sup>1</sup>

(ii) Change *-śn-* > *-nh-*

Nāsik I Sk. *Kṛṣṇa-* > *Kanha-* L 1144

(iii) The cluster *-śn-* is once preserved

Nāsik II Sk. *Viṣṇu-datta-* > *Viṣṇu-data-* L 1148

The compound is apparently a loan word

3 The cluster *-nd-* is represented either as *-d-* or *-nd-*<sup>59</sup>

(i) Change *-nd-* > *-d-*

Beḍṣā Sk. *paṇḍapātika-* > *peḍapātika-* L 1110

Nāsik I Sk. *bhāṇḍāgārika-* > *bhaṇḍakārika-* L 1141

58. Cf with this the treatment of single *n* above §173, (c iii)

59 The derivation of *Mamdava-* or *Madava-* (Kuṭī L 1037, L 1045) < Sk. *Māṇḍapa* or *Māṇḍavya-* is highly doubtful LÜDERS seems to derive the forms from *Māṇḍava-*.

4 The cluster *-nm-* becomes *-n-* in almost all later examples. Its earlier treatment in west seems to have been *-n-* or *-ñ-*

(i) Change *-ny-* > *-n-* :

Beṣṣā . Sk *āraṇyaka-* > *āraṇaka-* L 1110  
Junnar . Sk. *haraṇyaka-* > *heraṇika-* L 1179  
Kanhēri . cf *heraṇika-* L 996<sup>1</sup>

(ii) Change *-ny-* > *-n-* :

Kanhēri . cf *heraṇika-* L 993<sup>1</sup>

(iii) Change *-ny-* > *-ñ-*, cf above palatalisation § 179 (d)

(c) Clusters with the nasal *n* .

1 The cluster *-gn-* is either assimilated to *-g-* or is rarely preserved

(i) Change *-gn-* > *-g-*

Kārlē I . Sk *Agṇimītra-* > *Agimīta-* L 1088 ,  
also cf *Agī-la-* EI. 18 326 5

Kuḍā . cf *Āgimīta-* L 1041

(ii) Preservation of the cluster is met with in the following example

Nāsik I . Sk *Indrāgnīdatta* > *Idrāgnīdata-* L 1140

2 The cluster *-tn-* is assimilated to *-t-* or dissolved into *-tm-*

(i) Change *-tn-* > *-t-* :

Kanhēri . Sk. *sapātina-* > *savata-* L 987<sup>13</sup>

(ii) Change *-tn-* > *-tm-*

Nāsik IV . Sk *\*senāpatnī-* > *-senāpatim-* L 1146

3 The cluster *sn* is dissolved by svarabhakti

(i) Change *sn-* > *san-*

Kuḍā . Sk. *snāna-* > *sanāna-* L 1056

4 The cluster *-ny-* is palatalised to *-ñ-* in earlier inscriptions. It appears as *n* later on

(i) Change *-ny-* > *-ñ-* . cf above palatalisation § 179 (d iii)

(ii) Change *-ny-* > *-n-*

Nāsik IV . Sk *Dhāṇyakaṣa-* > *Dhanakaṣa-* L 1124<sup>12</sup>

Kārlē II . Sk. *anya-* > *ana-* L 1106 , also Kanhēri (L 988<sup>11</sup>)

(d) Clusters with the nasal *m* .

1 The cluster *-tm-* is rarely preserved

Nāsik I . Sk *dharmātmanā* > *dharmātmanā* L 1140

2 The cluster *-dm-* > *-dum-* by svarabhakti

Kuḍā . Sk *Padmanabha-* > *Padumabha-* L 1041

3 The cluster *sm* or *ṣm* is usually changed to *mh*

(i) Change *-sm-*, *-ṣm-* > *-mh-* (or *-m-*)

Kārlē I . Loc. sg term *-smu-* > *-mhi-* L 1087

Nāsik I . cf *-mhi-* L 1140, and *-m-* in L 1141

Nāsik IV . Sk *śma-* > *śma-* L 1124 L 1125 etc.

Sk *ṣma-* > *ṣma-* L 1122 L 1123 etc.

Kārlē II . cf *śma-* L 1100 and also Kanhēri (L 987 etc.).

(ii) The cluster *-s-* is preserved in one term,

Nāsik III . Sk. *śma-* > *śma-*

4 The cluster *hm* is usually preserved in the form *mh* which it obtains by metathesis But sometimes it is preserved in its original form

(1) Change *-hm-* > *-mh-*

Kolhāpur	Sk. <i>Brahma-</i> > <i>Bamha-</i> L 1185 <sup>1</sup>
Kuḍā	Sk. <i>brāhmanā-</i> > <i>bammhana-</i> L 1050 or <i>bamman-</i> L 1050
Nānāghāt I	Sk. <i>brahmacaryā-</i> > <i>bramhacariyā-</i> L 1112
Paḍaṇa	cf <i>bamhacārī-</i> L 976
Nāsik IV	cf <i>bamhana-</i> L 1123

(11) Cluster *hm* appears in

Nāsik III	cf <i>brāhmana-</i> L 1133, L 1135
Kārlē II	cf <i>brahmana-</i> L 1099 <sup>2</sup>

5 The cluster *mbh* is usually represented as *mbh* or *bh* In some cases, however, the stop *bh* > *b* or *v*, cf for this treatment above under Labials § 175 (11)

6 The cluster *-mr-* > *-b-* (through \**-mb-* ?)

Junnar	Sk <i>āmtrakā-bhṛti-</i> > <i>ābikā-bhati-</i> L 1164
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## MORPHOLOGY

### A. DECLENSION

#### § 191 Bases ending in *-a* and *-ā*

##### (a) Masculine and Neuter Nouns in *-a*

Nom sg Mas The termination is *-o*, in a very few cases *-e* is noticed It may be noted that *-mukha* and *-ghara* are used as masculine nouns, and *kāhāpana* is mas and neut. both

##### Nom sg Mas.

##### (1) *-o*

Bhājā	<i>gābho</i> L 1078
Beḍṣā	<i>thupo</i> L 1110
Pittal	<i>ṭhabo</i> L 1188
Ajaṇṭa	<i>gharamukho</i> L 1197
Kārlē I	<i>thabho</i> L 1088 etc
Kuḍā	<i>uyarako</i> L 1058 , <i>ceṭiyagharo</i> L 1050
Nānāgh I	<i>aso</i> L 1112
Nāsik I	<i>ceṭiyagharo</i> L 1140
Junnar	<i>maṭapo</i> L 1174 , <i>uvasako</i> L 1162
Nāsik II	<i>ovarako</i> L 1127
Nāsik III	<i>ovarako</i> L 1132 etc.
Paḍaṇa	<i>ārāmo</i> L 973 , <i>ṭavato</i> L 975
Nāsik IV	<i>yakho</i> L 1143 <i>gāmo</i> L 1126 etc

##### Nom pl Mas

##### (1) *-ā*

Kuḍā	<i>tharimbhā</i> L 1045
Nānāgh I	<i>asā</i> L 1112 , <i>kāhāpanā</i> L 1112
Nāsik III	<i>brāhmanā</i> L 1135 , <i>kāhāpanā</i> L 1133
Nāsik IV	<i>kārītā</i> L 1143
Kaṇhēri	<i>ovarakā</i> L 988 <sup>1</sup> , <i>therā</i> L 987 <sup>10</sup>
Mahād	<i>ovarakā</i> L 1072

Kārle II	. <i>madapo</i> L 1106 <sup>2</sup> , <i>gāmo</i> L 1100 <sup>3</sup> etc.
Kaṇhēri	<i>cakamo</i> L 998 <sup>4</sup> , - <i>ātamo</i> L 988 <sup>10</sup>
Mahāḍ	<i>dato</i> L 1072
Banav	<i>viḥāro</i> L 1186 <sup>2</sup> <i>amaco</i> L 1186 <sup>2</sup>
(ii) -e	
Nāsik IV	<i>ukute</i> L 1146 ; <i>khetaparihār[e]</i> L 1125
(iii) -a	
Bhājā	<i>thupa</i> L 1080
Beḍṣā	<i>kārita</i> L 1110
Kārle I	. <i>gharamugha</i> L 1090 etc.
Kārle II	<i>navagabha</i> L 1106 <sup>3</sup> , <i>deyadhama</i> L 1106 <sup>2</sup>
Kaṇhēri	<i>thuba</i> L 993 <sup>4</sup>

These are probably instances where bases are used without the addition of terminations

Acc. sg Mas The anusvāra is almost in all cases dropped Once at Kārle we get the term -e

Acc. sg mas		Acc. pl Mas	
(i) -a		(i) -e	
Nāsik IV	<i>āmaca</i> L 1124 , <i>gāma</i> L 1123 etc.	Nāsik IV	<i>parihāre</i> L 1124
Kārle II	. <i>parihara</i> L 1105 <sup>4</sup> , <i>amaca</i> L 1105 <sup>1</sup>		
(ii) -e			
Kārle II	<i>parihāre</i> L 1105 <sup>5</sup>		
Nom sg Neut . The anusvāra is occasionally dropped		Nom pl Neut (i) -ā	
(i) -am (or -a)		Junnar	<i>mitatā ānā</i> L 1158 , <i>kāhāparānā</i> L 1152.
Bhājā	<i>dēnam</i> L 1078 , <i>deyadhama</i> L 1079	Nāsik III	<i>datārā</i> L 1133 ; <i>sarasārā</i> L 1133 etc.
Kaṇḍāne	<i>katam.</i> L 1071	Nāsik IV	<i>mitatāre satārā</i> L 1125
Beḍṣā	<i>dārā[m]</i> L 1109 , <i>deyadhama</i> L 1111	Kaṇhēri	<i>deyastamārā</i> L 995 ; <i>satastamārā</i> L 1024
Nāḍsur	. <i>kata</i> L 1037		<i>Kāhāparānā</i> L 1024
Koḥ	<i>dārā</i> L 1185 <sup>1</sup>	(ii) -ā	
Pittal	<i>dārā</i> L 1188 ; <i>dārā</i> L 1187	Nāsik IV	. <i>baṭṭārā</i> L 1146 , <i>satārā</i> L 1145

Ajaṇṭā	<i>deyadhamam</i> L 1198, <i>dāna</i> L 1197	Mahād	<i>chetāni</i> L 1073
Kārle I	<i>mithūnam</i> L 1102 <i>mithūna</i> L 1101		
Kuḍā	<i>lenam</i> passim , <i>deyadhamma</i> passim		
Nānāgh I	<i>sakaṭam</i> L 1112		
Nāsik I	<i>cetiya-gharam</i> L 1141, <i>lena</i> or <i>lenam</i> L 1140		
Karāḍ	<i>lena</i> , <i>deyadhama</i> L 1184		
Junnar	<i>bigabham</i> L 1169 , <i>dāna</i> L 1157		
Nāsik II	<i>leṇam</i> L 1127 etc.		
Nāsik III	<i>deyadhamam</i> L 1134 , <i>titha</i> L 1135		
Padana	<i>Namdi-ṣaam</i> L 980		
Kōl	<i>deyadhamam</i> L 1075 , <i>cetiya-ghara</i> L 1075, L 1076		
Śailār	<i>lena</i> , <i>deyadhama</i> L 1121		
Nānāgh II	<i>deyadhama</i> L 1119, L 1120		
Nāsik IV	<i>khetam</i> L 1126 etc. , <i>khetā</i> L 1125, L 1126		
Kaṇhēri	<i>nivesanam</i> L 998 <sup>11</sup> , <i>cetiya-ghara</i> L 988 <sup>7</sup>		
Mahād	<i>lenam</i> L 1073, <i>cetiya-ghara</i> L 1072		
Banav (11)-e	<i>taḍāgam</i> L 1186		
Nāsik III	<i>kuśanamūle</i> L 1133		
Nāsik IV	<i>khetapaṇihāre</i> L 1126		
(111) -ā, probably due to loss of final anusvāra			
Nāsik IV	<i>anatā</i> L 1124 (but cf <i>ānatayā</i> L 1125)		

Inst. sg (1) -*na* The term with dental  
is found since the earliest inscriptions

Inst. pl (1) -*hi* The term is noticed  
everywhere.

Koṇḍāne	<i>Balakena</i> L 1071
Beḍṣā	- <i>mitena</i> L 1100
Nādsur	- <i>putena</i> L 1067
Kolh	<i>Dhamagūlena</i> L 1185 <sup>2</sup>
Kārle I	[ <i>Nam</i> ] <i>dikenā</i> L 1104, <i>Bhūtapaḷcānā</i> L 1087

Nānāgh I	<i>yañhehi</i> L 1112
Nāsik IV	- <i>samanehi</i> L 1124 <sup>12</sup> , <i>paṇihārehi</i> L 1124, L 1125
Kārle II	<i>paṇihārehi</i> L 1105 <sup>4</sup>
Kaṇhēri	<i>upamnehi</i> L 987 <sup>8</sup>
Mahād	<i>chetehi</i> L 1073

The vowel stroke of *nā* is not certain It may be a crack

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Nāsik I	· <i>samanena</i> L 1144, <i>putena</i> L 1140
Nāsik III	- <i>putrena</i> L 1133, <i>sahasradena</i> L 1135
Nāsik IV	<i>nikāyena</i> L 1124, <i>Usabhadatena</i> L 1125
Kārle II	<i>Somadevena</i> L 1100 <sup>2</sup> , <i>pālana</i> L 1099 <sup>1</sup> , 1100 <sup>2</sup> etc.
Kanhēri	<i>bālakena</i> L 1024 <sup>5</sup> , <i>siscna</i> L 987 <sup>20</sup>
Banavāsī	<i>siscna</i> L 1186 <sup>5</sup> , <i>naṭakena</i> L 1186 <sup>3</sup>

(ii) -*na* The term with cerebral -*n-* is less frequent

Kārle I	- <i>putena</i> L 1092 <sup>2</sup> , <i>Dhenukākatena</i> L 1092 <sup>1</sup>
Nāsik I	<i>mahāmātena</i> L 1144
Junnar	<i>udcena</i> L 1163, L 1166
Śailar	<i>putena</i> L 1121
Nāsik IV	· <i>kutumbikena</i> L 1147
Kārle II	- <i>sahasadena</i> L 1099 <sup>2</sup>
Kanhēri	<i>savena</i> L 998 <sup>2</sup> , <i>Anadena</i> L 1024 <sup>5</sup>

Dat. sg (i) - <i>ya</i>	Dat pl - <i>hi</i> (?)
Kārle I	<i>sanghāya</i> L 1107 <sup>2</sup> Nāsik IV <i>vimbadhakārci</i> <i>athāya EI</i> 18 326 5      L 1124
Junnar	<i>puñāthaya</i> L 1174, <i>sukhāya</i> L 1153
Kanhēri	- <i>sukhāya</i> L 987 <sup>5</sup> , L 1007 <sup>2</sup> etc.

Abl sg (i) -*ā* This term is rather of frequent occurrence

Pittal	<i>Paṭiṭhānā</i> L 1187 etc.
Kārle I	<i>Sopāarakā</i> L 1694 <sup>1</sup> , L 1095 <sup>1</sup> <i>Dhenukākatā</i> L 1090 etc
Kuḍā	<i>lekhaḥā</i> L 1037
Nāsik IV	<i>nāgarava-khadhā</i> L 1123, - <i>khadhavārā</i> L 1125
Kanhēri	<i>Sopāragā</i> L 995 <sup>1</sup>

(ii) -*ā-to* The termination is rarely used

Bedsā	<i>Nāsikāto</i> L 1109
Nāsik IV	<i>khētāto</i> L 1130
Kanhēri	<i>Kālīya[ra]to</i> L 1032 <sup>1</sup>

Gen sg (i) -(a)sa

Gen pl (i) -*am* This term together with -*na* occurs frequently

Vakālā	<i>satumadanasa</i> L 1079		
Kondūne	<i>Kanhasa</i> L 1071		
Beqā	<i>putasa</i> L 1109	Bhūj	<i>Amphakārci</i> , L 1051
Nādsur	<i>Mitasa</i> L 1038		
Kolh	<i>Banasa</i> L 1185 <sup>1</sup>	Beds	<i>Paṭapāṭāsa</i> , L 1116
Pittal	<i>Mitadesasa</i> L 1187		
Marṭā	<i>Veṣṭipāsa</i> L 1197	Kārle I	<i>trāsāsa</i> L 1094 etc.
Kārle I	<i>glasa</i> L 1092 <sup>2</sup>	Kuḍā	<i>paṭāsa</i> , <i>paṭāsa</i>
Kuḍā	<i>paṭāsa</i> L 1033	Nānsan I	<i>paṭāsa</i> L 1112
Nēnāgh I	<i>dhāsa</i> L 1112	Nāsik I	<i>Nāsa</i> L 1140



Nāsik I	<i>yonakasa</i> L 1140	Junnar	<i>ganācariyānaṃ</i> L 1171
Karāḍ	<i>-putasa</i> L 1184		
Junnar	<i>samghasa</i> L 1174	Nāsik III	<i>brāhmanānam</i> L 1133, L 1135
Nāsik II	<i>lekḥakasa</i> L 1148	Nāsik IV	<i>saṇṭisānam</i> L 1123
Nāsik III	<i>Kṣaharātasa</i> L 1132	Kārle II	<i>savasatānam</i> L 1106 <sup>3</sup>
Padana	<i>pavatasa</i> L 973	Kaṇḥērī	<i>therānam</i> L 1012 <sup>1</sup>
Kol	<i>-putasa</i> L 1075		
Šaular	<i>kuḍubikasa</i> L 1121		
Nānāgh. II	<i>Govindadāsasa</i> L 1119		
Nāsik IV	<i>nilayasa</i> L 1123		
Kārle II	<i>gāmasa</i> L 1105 <sup>1</sup>		
Kaṇḥērī	<i>upāsakasa</i> L 1020 <sup>1</sup>		
Mahāḍ	<i>kumārasa</i> L 1072		
Banavāsi	<i>acariyasa</i> L 1186 <sup>2</sup>		
(ii) <i>-(e)sa</i>	This is of rare occurrence	(ii) <i>-na</i>	
Bhājā	<i>Nāyesa</i> L 1078	Beḍṣā	<i>āranakāna</i> L 1110
Junnar	<i>dhammanigamesa</i> L 1153	Pittal	<i>-putāna</i> L 1188
Kaṇḥērī	<i>vaṭṭhavesa</i> L 1002 <sup>3</sup>	Kārle I	<i>Dhamutariyāna</i> L 1094 <sup>1</sup>
		Kuḍā	<i>Pāṭimutāna</i> L 1041
		Junnar	<i>janāna</i> L 1151
		Nāsik III	<i>devāna</i> L 1135
		Nāsik IV	<i>pavaṭṭāna</i> L 1125 L 1126
		Kārle II	<i>brahmanana</i> L 1099 <sup>2</sup> , <i>pavaṭṭāna</i> L 1105 <sup>2</sup>
		Kaṇḥērī	<i>savasatāna</i> L 1016 <sup>5</sup>
		Banav	<i>hemantāna</i> L 1186 <sup>1</sup>
(iii) <i>-ṣa</i>	occurs according to FRANKE <sup>1</sup> in one inscription at Pittalkhorā	(iii) <i>-nām</i> or <i>-nā</i>	This is less frequent.
Pittal	<i>rājave sa, Magulaṣa, Vachīputaṣa</i> all in L 1191	Bhājā	<i>therānām</i> L 1080, L 1081
		Kārle I	<i>culayakan[ām]</i> EI 18 327 6
(iv) <i>-śa</i>	due to assimilation	(iv) <i>-nam</i>	
Nāsik II	<i>sakaśa</i> L 1149	Kārle I	<i>hematānam</i> L 1107 <sup>1</sup>
		Kuḍā	<i>therānam</i> L 1060
		Kaṇḥērī	<i>savasat[ā]nam</i> L 1024 <sup>9</sup>
(v) <i>-sya</i>	in a late inscription	(v) <i>-na</i>	
Kārle II	<i>Sovasakasya</i> and <i>-puttasya</i> in L 1106 <sup>2</sup>	Kārle I	<i>pavaṭṭāna</i> L 1107 <sup>3</sup>
		Kuḍā	<i>therāna</i> L 1040
		Junnar	<i>putāna</i> L 1169

Nāsik IV	<i>gimhāna</i> L 1123, <i>hemantāna</i> L 1146
Kārle II	<i>brahmanāna</i> L 1099 <sup>r</sup>
Kanhēri	<i>therāna</i> L 1006 <sup>r</sup> etc., [ <i>pa</i> ] <i>vaylāna</i> L 988 etc.

(vi) Once in Nāsik IV we get *hemantā* (L 1147) where the term is apparently lost

Loc. sg (i) -*mhi* The term occurs only in early inscriptions

Kārle I *Jabudīpamhi* L 1087,

Loc. pl (i) -*su* everywhere

Junnar *kāsakārcsu* L 1165,  
*Aparāpītesu* L 1158

Nāsik III *netyakesu* L 1135  
Kārle II *Valūrakcsu* L 1099<sup>r</sup>,  
*vālarakcsa* L 1105<sup>r</sup> and  
*lenesa* L 1105<sup>r</sup> are ap-  
parently mistakes for  
-*su*

Kanhēri *aṭhasu* L 1020<sup>r</sup>

Mahād *pasasu* L 1072

(ii) -*su* cf

Junnar *Puvānadesu* L 1158

(ii) -*e*, occurs very often

Kuḍā *mahābhoje* L 1058

Nāsik I *pavate* L 1140

Junnar *saghe* L 1182,  
*gāme* L 1158

Nāsik III *-māse, lene* L 1133

Sailar *Dhenukākaḍe* L 1121

Nānāgh II *pacame, divase*  
L 1120

Nāsik IV *sātame* L 1146,  
*hathe* L 1139

Kārle II *Pabhāse* L 1099<sup>r</sup>

Kanhēri *vāsārate* L 998<sup>r</sup>,  
*Kankasale* L 1024<sup>r</sup>

(b) Feminine nouns in -ā As in literary Prakrits the terminations for the instrumental, dative, ablative and genitive singular are the same

Nom sg (i) -ā

Kārle I *veṣṭikā* L 1089<sup>r</sup>,  
L 1103

Nānāgh I *acchīnā* L 1112

Nāsik II *ekā* L 1148

Nānāgh II *parīyapīcā* L 1120

Nāsik IV *īcā* L 1143

Kārle II *keṭā* L 1105<sup>r</sup>

Kanhēri *dātā* L 1006<sup>r</sup>,  
*ḍāḍā* L 988<sup>r</sup> etc

(ii) -ā

Nom pl (i) -ā

Kārle I *aparāmā* and *ketthimā*  
L 1019<sup>r</sup>

Nānāgh I *ḍrā* L 1112

Kanhēri *paṭṭā* (or *ṭṭā*), *paṭṭā*  
L 1006<sup>r</sup>, L 1007<sup>r</sup>

(ii) -ā

Nāsik III	<i>data</i> L 1133	Nānāgh II	<i>dakkhīnāyo</i> L 1112
Nāsik IV	<i>data</i> L 1139		
Kaṇhērī	<i>bhojanacātusāla</i> L 998 <sup>10</sup>		

Inst. sg (1) -*ya*Kārle I *Vasumitāya* EI 24  
282 16<sup>4</sup>Kuḍā *bhayāya* L 1037Nānāgh I *bālāya* L 1112Junnar *bhayāya* L 1155 ,  
*Sivapālamkāya*  
L 1155Kārle II *upāstikāya* L 1106<sup>4</sup>Kaṇhērī *-bāḥkāya* L 1021<sup>2</sup>  
*Bodhisamāya* L 1001<sup>6</sup>(11) -*ye*Kārle I *Jayamitāye*  
EI 24 282 16<sup>2-3</sup>(111) -*ā* In Nānāgh I we get *bhāṇyā*(L 1112) Is it from *bhāṇyā* + *a* (< *ya*)  
or is the nom sg form used as instru-  
mental?Dat. sg (1) -*ya*Nāsik I *pujāya* L 1140 , *bhāṇyāya* L 1141Nāsik III *visāya* L 1133Kaṇhērī *pūjāya* L 987<sup>12</sup>(11) -*ā* In Kārle II once we get *pujā*<sup>01</sup> L 1106<sup>3</sup> where the termination seems  
to have been dropped cf, however, the note given aboveAbl sg (1) -*ye*Nāsik IV *senāye* L 1125Gen sg (1) -*ya* This termination is of frequent occurrence.Vakālā *Datāya* L 969 , *Ugudeveya* (?) L 972Beḍṣā *bitiyākāya* L 1111 , *-bāḥkāya* L 1111Pittal *Datāya* L 1192Kārle I *bhāṇyāya* L 1091<sup>2</sup>Kuḍā *pāvayitkāya* L 1041 , *Sapāya* L 1045, L 1048Nānāghāḥ I *Nāyamkāya* L 1114Junnar *bitiyākāya* L 1170 , *Nadabāḥkāya* L 1176Nāsik III *Dakhamitrāya* L 1132, L 1134Kōl *bitiyākāya* L 1076Sailar *Sāgutānīkāya* L 1121Nāsik IV *Jivasulāya* L 1126 , *bhāṇyāya* L 1146Kaṇhērī *Dāmilāya* L 1013<sup>2</sup>, L 1014<sup>1</sup> , *Sivapālamkāya* L 993<sup>2</sup>Banavāsī *-bāḥkāya* L 1186<sup>1</sup> , *vasasatāya* L 1186<sup>1</sup>

## (ii) -yā of rare occurrence

Bhājā                      *jayāyā* L 1084, *Bādhayā* L 1084  
Kārlē I                    *Dhamada(de)vayā* EI 18 328 12.

## (iii) -ye of equally rare occurrence

Kārlē I                    *Asadhamitāye* L 1098

Thus the two terminations -yā and -ye are not to be found at all in later inscriptions

(iv) -va, probably due to -y- > -v-<sup>62</sup>

Kuḍā                      *bhayava* L 1058, *Vohidalāva* L 1058  
Nāsik II                   *Purisadatāva* L 1127

(v) -a, obviously due to -ya > -a by loss of intervocalic -y-<sup>63</sup> Naturally it occurs only in very late inscriptions

Kanhēri                   *pavaṭṭikā* L 1006<sup>2</sup>, *bhayā* L 993<sup>1</sup>, *P[o]nakiasanā*  
L 1006<sup>2</sup>

Loc sg (i) -ya

Loc pl (i) -su

Kārlē I                    *puvāya* L 1107<sup>1</sup>

Nāsik III                *-vāthavāsu* L 1133.

Nāsik III                *Banāsaya* L 1135,  
                              *-sabhāya* L 1133

Kanhēri                   *gimhāsu* L 1000<sup>2</sup>

Nāsik IV                *puvāya* L 1147

Kārlē II                *puvāya* L 1100<sup>2</sup>, *Abulāmāya* L 1106<sup>2</sup>

Kanhēri                *puvāya* L 1001<sup>2</sup>, L 1021<sup>2</sup>

## (ii) -yam occurs in a few examples

Junnar                   *Vadālikāyam* L 1162

Kanhēri                *Mukudasiwaya[ṭhā]yam* L 998<sup>10</sup>

## (iii) -yā occurs only in

Kārlē II                *Banāsāyā* L 1099<sup>2</sup> This is probably due to loss of  
the final anusvāra

## § 192 Bases ending in -ī and -ī

## (a) Masculine Nouns in -ī

Nom sg (i) -ī

Nom pl (i) -yo

Bhājā                    *poḍhī* L 1079, also cf  
Kārlē I (L 1107),  
Kuḍā (L 1041), Nā-  
sik II (L 1149), and  
Kanhēri (L 998<sup>3</sup> etc)

Nāsik I                *poḍhiyo* L 1140, also  
Junnar (L 1154),  
Nāsik II (L 1148)  
Mahād (L 1072)

## (ii) -ī

The word *poḍhi* occurs at various  
places such as Kuḍā (L 1061), Junnar  
(L 1150), Nāsik II (L 1148), Nānigh II  
(L 1119)

## (ii) -o

Kuḍā                    *poḍhiyo* L 1039

Nāsik IV                *Pulunāyī* L 1124, *-Sadaka* L 1125

Banavāsi                *Khadāsālī* L 1186<sup>2</sup>

Inst sg (i) -nā

Inst pl (i) -dī

<sup>62</sup> cf above § 176 (a 1)

<sup>63</sup> cf above § 176 (a 1)

<sup>64</sup> In all these cases I would see to read the word with loss of

Kārle I	<i>Bhayabhūtīnā</i> <i>EI 24.282 16<sup>a</sup></i>	Kanhēri	<i>nāṭhī</i> L 999 <sup>a</sup>
Nāsik IV	[Sā]takanmā, -senāpātīmā L 1124		
(ii) -nā			
Śailar	<i>gahapatīmā</i> L 1121		
Abl sg (i) -mhā			
Kuḍā	<i>Sivabhūtīmā</i> L 1045		
Gen sg (i) -no		Gen pl (i) -nāṇi	
Ajanṭā	<i>Kaṭahādīno</i> L 1197	Bhājā	<i>Dhamagīrmām</i> L 1080
Kārle I	<i>gahapatī[no]</i> <i>EI 18 328 12</i>		
Kuḍā	<i>gahapatīno</i> L 1058		
Nānāgh I	<i>Sātakanmo</i> L 1114		
	<i>Satīno</i> L 1112		
Junnar	<i>Sivabhūtīno</i> L 1173		
(ii) -no		(ii) -nam	
Kuḍā	<i>gaha[pu]tīno</i> L 1062,	Beḍṣā	<i>Gobhūtīnam</i> L 1110
		Kanhēri	<i>Mitabhūtīnam</i> L 1012 <sup>a</sup>
(iii) -sa		(iii) -na	
Ajanṭā	(Āndhra period) <i>yatīpatīsa</i> L 1199	Nāsik IV	<i>Tekīrasīna</i> L 1125
Kārle I	<i>Nadīpatīsa</i> (or) - <i>putāsa</i> (?) L 1094		
Kuḍā	<i>Sivabhūtīsa</i> L 1037		
Nānāgh I	<i>Vedīsrīsa</i> L 1112		
Junnar	<i>gahapatīsa</i> L 1170, <i>Sivabhūtīsa</i> L 1175 (This term is here more frequent than -no)		
Nāsik II	<i>gahapatīsa</i> L 1127		
Nānāgh II	<i>gahapat[ī]sa</i> and <i>Satakanīsa</i> L 1120		
Nāsik IV	- <i>senāpatīsa</i> L 1146, <i>apānāhīsārūcīsa</i> L 1123		
Kārle II	<i>Puṣumāvīsa</i> L 1106 <sup>a</sup>		
Kanhēri	<i>Sātakanīsa</i> L 1024 <sup>a</sup> , <i>gahapatīsa</i> L 1001 <sup>a</sup> - <i>ssa</i> , <i>Sotakanīssa</i> L 987 <sup>a</sup>		
Mahāḍ	<i>gahapatīsa</i> L 1073		
Banav	- <i>Sātākanīsa</i> L 1186		
		Loc pl (i) -su	
		Nāsik IV	<i>Kakhaḍīsu</i> (?) L 1126 It is a village name.
(b) Feminine nouns in -ī			
Nom sg (i) -ī			
Nāsik III	<i>akṣayamvī</i> L 1133, <i>vīdhī</i> L 1133		
Padāṇa	<i>Sīdhavasatī</i> L 975		
Nāsik IV	- <i>mvī</i> L 1139, - <i>nīraṭhī</i> L 1123		
Kanhēri	<i>mvī</i> L 988 <sup>a</sup> etc., <i>kuṭī</i> L 988 <sup>a</sup>		
(ii) -ī			
Kanhēri	<i>mvī</i> L 998 <sup>a</sup> ,		

- Dat. sg (1) -*ye*  
 Kārle II -*sthataye* L 1106<sup>5</sup>
- Gen sg -*ya*  
 Junnar *podhiya*<sup>65</sup> L 1152
- Loc sg -*mhi* Loc. pl (1) -*su*  
 Nāsik III *Anugāmumhi* (?) Nāsik III *śremsu* L 1133  
 L 1135
- (c) Feminine nouns in -ī
- Nom sg (1) -ī Nom pl (1) -*yo*  
 Paṭhyār *pukarim* L 9<sup>1</sup> Nānāgh I *kubhuyo* and  
*rupāmayyo* L 1112
- (ii) -ī
- Nāsik IV *mahādevī* L 1123
- Inst. sg (1) -*ya* Inst. pl (1) -*hi*  
 Kuḍā *atevāsmya* L 1041 Kārle I *atevāsmyhi* L 1107  
 Nānāghāt I *māsopavāsmya* L 1112  
 Kanḥēri *bhagmya* L 1006<sup>3</sup>, -*deviya* L 1024<sup>6</sup>
- Abl sg (1) -*to*  
 Kārle I *Vejayamtito* L 1087
- (ii) -*ye*
- Nāsik IV *Vejayamtiye* L 1125
- Gen sg (1) -*ya* Gen pl (1) -*nam*  
 Vakālā *Bhemya* L 969 Nānāgh I *gātīnam* L 1128  
 Beḍṣā *mahādeviya* L 1111, (ii) -*na*  
*mahārāṭhmya* L 1111, Kārle I : *atevāsmyina* L 1107<sup>2</sup>  
 Kārle I *bhikkhmya* L 1104,  
*gharmiya*  
*EI* 18 328 11
- Kuḍā *mahābhōjiya* L 1054, *bhāgmyiya* L 1041  
 Nānāghāt I *pathaviya* L 1112  
 Junnar *seniya* L 1162, L 1180 etc.  
 Nāsik II *kutumbmya* L 1127  
 Nāsik III *kudumbmya* L 1132  
 Kōl *Dhamasriya* L 1076  
 Śailar *kudubmya* L 1121  
 Nāsik IV *mahādeviya* L 1123, L 1126, *amletāsiya* L 1128 etc.  
 Kanḥēri *bhikkhmya* L 1014<sup>5</sup>; *theriya* L 1005<sup>5</sup>  
 Mahād *Vādasriya* L 1073  
 Banavāsī *Mahābhūmya* L 1186<sup>1</sup>, -*āgasriya* L 1185<sup>5</sup>
- (ii) -*ye*
- Kārle I *natiye* *EI* 18.328 12  
 Junnar *seniya* L 1165  
 Kanḥēri *atetasiye* L 1035 (verce)

<sup>65</sup> The word is apparently used as feminine

<sup>66</sup> From Sk. *napī* or *napī*. VATS derives it from Sk. *napī*

- (iii) *-yā*  
Kanhēri *Bhoīgīyā* L 1013<sup>1</sup> (once)
- (iv) *-yā-va*  
Nāsik IV *Nadāsīryāva* This appears to be an instance of double termination It is also possible to treat *Nadāsīryā-* (< Sk *Nandaśrīkā-*) as the base and then the termination would be *-va*
- (v) *-sa* probably used in mistake  
Bhājā *Bhogavatasa* (for *-tisa* ?) L 1078
- Loc. sg (i) *-ya*  
Nāsik III *Ujenīya* L 1135  
Nāsik IV *Kanhahīmya* L 1130 , *aparīliya* L 1130  
Kanhēri *dasamīya* L 1021<sup>2</sup>
- (ii) *-ye*  
Nāsik III *-nadiye* L 1135  
Nāsik IV *Aparakhadiye* (?) L 1125
- (iii) *-ya[m]*  
Kanhēri *Gamdharakābhamīya[m]* L 998<sup>o</sup>
- (iv) *-yā*  
Kārle II *nadiyā* L 1099<sup>o</sup>
- § 193 Bases ending in *-u* and *-ū*  
(a) Masculine nouns in *-u*  
Nom sg (i) *-u*  
Nāsik IV *-hetu* L 1124  
Kanhēri *hetu* L 987<sup>1</sup>
- Inst. pl (i) *-hi*  
Nāsik IV *bhikkhūhi* L 1124
- Gen sg (i) *-sa*  
Kārle I *bhikkhusa* L 1101  
Nāsik IV *dhamasetusa* L 1123, L 1124  
Kanhēri *Apārenusa* L 1024<sup>1</sup>
- Gen pl (i) *-nam*  
Nāsik III *bhikkhunam* L 1133  
Nāsik IV *bhikkhūnam* L 1126
- (ii) *-na*  
Nāsik IV *bhikkhūna* L 1126  
Kārle II *bhikkhuna* L 1105<sup>2</sup>
- (ii) *-no* occurs rarely  
Kanhēri *bhikkhuno* L 998<sup>2</sup>
- Loc sg (i) *-mhi*  
Nāsik I *Tīramūhumhi* L 1140  
Nāsik IV *Tīranhumhi* L 1126 etc
- (ii) *-mi*  
Nāsik I *Tīranhumī* L 1141
- (b) Feminine nouns in *-ū*  
Gen sg (i) *-ya*  
Vakālā *Badhuya* (?) L 970  
Nāsik IV *Vāsuya* L 1146
- § 194 Bases ending in *-ṛ*  
(a) Masculine nouns in *-ṛ*  
Inst sg *-ā*  
Inst pl *-hi*

Nāsik III	<i>jāmātarā</i> L 1133	Nāsik IV	<i>m[ātā]-pituhi</i> L 1147.
Kārle II	<i>ja[ma]tarā</i> L 1099 <sup>1</sup>		
Gen sg (1) -no		Gen pl (1) -nam	
Nādsur	<i>bhātuno</i> L 1068	Kuḍā	<i>bhātūnam</i> L 1045
Junnar	<i>natuno</i> L 1171, L 1178	Kārle II	<i>mālāpitanam</i> L 1106 <sup>2</sup> .
Kanhēri	<i>bhātuno</i> L 999 <sup>1</sup>	Kanhēri	<i>-pitunam</i> L 987 <sup>10</sup> , L 1000 <sup>2</sup>
(11) -u		(11) -nam	
Nāsik III	<i>jamā[lu]</i> L 1135	Junnar	<i>bhātūnam</i> L 1157, L 1169

(b) Feminine nouns in *r*

Nom sg (1) -ā			
Nāsik IV	<i>mahārāja-mātā</i> L 1123		
Inst sg (1) -u			
Nānāghāṭ I	<i>Vedistī-mātu</i> L 1112		
Kanhēri	<i>Ānada-mātu</i> L 1024 <sup>5</sup>		
(11) -ya and -ye			
Kanhēri	<i>-mātuya</i> L 1021 <sup>4</sup> , <i>mātuye</i> L 1001 <sup>6</sup>		
(111) -(r)a			
Kārle II	<i>mātara</i> L 1106 <sup>1</sup>		
Gen sg (1) -u		Gen pl -nam	
Pittal	<i>duhutū</i> L 1192	Kuḍā	<i>duhutūnam</i> L 1045
Kārle I	<i>mātu</i> L 1091 <sup>2</sup> , L 1104		
Nāsik III	<i>dhūtū</i> L 1132, L 1134		
Kārle II	<i>mātu</i> L 1106 <sup>1</sup>		
(11) -ya			
Kuḍā	<i>duhutuya</i> L 1054 and <i>-mātuya</i> L 1035		

The former occurs also in Nāsik I (L 1141), Nāsik II (L 1127) Kōl (L 1076), and Kanhēri (cf *dhūtuye* L 1020). The latter occurs in Nānāgh I (L 1112), Nāsik I (L 1141), and Nāsik IV (L 1123 L 1126).

The nom and acc. dual forms are perhaps preserved in such cases as *mālāpita* at Nāsik I (L 1140), Nāsik II (L 1146), Kanhēri (L 998, L 1016), and *mālāpitara* at Kanhēri (L 1027). They may equally be regarded as plural forms.

## §195 Bases ending in -au

## (a) Feminine nouns in -au

Nom pl -o	Nānāgh I	<i>gāt o</i> L 1112
Gen pl -ām	Nāsik III	<i>ga ām</i> L 1135

## § 196 Bases ending in consonants

## (a) Masculine nouns ending in -at

Nom sg -o		
Nānāgh I	<i>śarāto</i> L 1113, <i>śāto</i> (?) L 1112	

<sup>67</sup> The final -o could be taken from <-a> or <-at>. The final -o in L 1141 is obviously a mistake.



Gen. sg - <i>sa</i>		Gen. pl (1) - <i>nam</i>	
Ajañṭā	<i>bhagavatasa</i> L 1199	Nānāgh I	<i>mahimāvalānam</i>
Nānāgh. I	<i>sīrmatasa</i> L 1112		L 1112
		Nāsik IV	<i>pativasatānam</i> L 1126
		(11) - <i>ān</i>	
		Nāsik III	<i>bhagavatām</i> L 1133
		(111) - <i>ā</i> , the anusvāra being dropped	
		Nāsik III	<i>bhagavatā</i> L 1135

Loc. sg -*i*

Nāsik IV *satī* L 1126

(b) Masculine and Neuter nouns in -*an*

Nom sg mas -*ā*

Nānāghāṭ I *rāyā* L 1113

Nom. sg. neut. -*am*

Mahāḍ *kamam* L 1072

Inst sg (1) -*nā*

Nāsik I *dhammāṭmanā* L 1140

Kārle II *rāñā* (doubtful) L 1105

Gen sg (1) -*sa*

Kārle I *Bhadasamasa* L 1101

Nānāghāṭ I *rāyasa* L 1112

Junnar *Asasamasa* L 1169

(11) -*ño*

The word *rāñño* occurs at various places such as Nānāgh I (L 1112, L 1114), Nāsik (L 1134), Nāsik IV (L 1122, L 1123 etc., but -*rāyasa* in compound cf L 1123), Kārle II (L 1099<sup>1</sup>, L 1100<sup>1</sup>), Kanhēri (L 987<sup>1</sup> etc.), and Banav (L 1186<sup>o</sup>)

(111) -*no* or *na* rarely used

Nānāghāṭ II *rano* L 1120

Kanphēri *apāno* L 1016<sup>o</sup>, *apana* L 1024<sup>7</sup>

Loc. sg -*ni*

Nāsik I *rajni* L 1144

(c) Feminine nouns in -*an*

Loc. sg -*e*, *nagarasīme* L 1126

(d) Masculine and Neuter nouns in -*as*

Gen. sg -*sa*

Nāsik IV -*sama-tejasa* L 1123 (in compound)

Loc sg -*si*

Nāsik IV -*samarasīrasī* L 1123 (in compound)

(e) Masculine nouns in -*in*

Nom sg (1) -*i* (rarely -*ī*)

Kārle I *hathī* L 1089<sup>1</sup>

Nānāghāṭ I *mahārathī* L 1116, *hathī* L 1112

Padana *bamhacārī* L 976

Nāsik IV -*svāmī* L 1124, L 1125

Inst sg (1) -*nā*

Beḍṣā [*amte*]vāsīnā L 1110

Koṇḍāṇe	<i>amtevāsīnā</i> L 1071
Kārle I	<i>vadhakīnā</i> L 1092 <sup>1</sup>
Nāsik IV	<i>Sujvīnā</i> L 1126 , <i>Dhamanamdīnā</i> L 1130
Kārle II	<i>-hārathīnā</i> L 1100 <sup>2</sup>
Kaṇhēri	<i>Venḥunadīnā</i> L 1001 <sup>3</sup> , <i>-hathīnā</i> L 1001 <sup>7</sup>

ii) *-nā* .

Kārle I	<i>seṭhīnā</i> L 1087 , <i>sāmīnā</i> <sup>68</sup> L 1092 <sup>1</sup>	
Gen sg (i) <i>-sa</i> :		Gen pl (i) <i>-nā</i>
Bhājā	<i>mahārāṭhīsa</i> L 1079	Bedśā <i>Mārakudavāsīnā</i>
Beḍśā	<i>seṭhīsa</i> L 1109	L 1110
Kārle I	<i>amtevāsīsa</i> L 1094 , <i>mahārāṭhīsa</i> L 1088	
Kōl	<i>seṭhīsa</i> L 1075	
Kārle II	<i>mahārathīsa</i> L 1100 <sup>2</sup>	
Kaṇhēri	<i>venḥunamdīsa</i> L 1001 <sup>3</sup> , [ <i>amtevā</i> ]sīsa L 1016 <sup>1</sup>	
Mahād	<i>seṭhīsa</i> L 1073	
(ii) <i>-no</i>		(ii) <i>-nam</i>
Kuḍā	<i>seṭhīno</i> L 1056	Kārle I <i>hathīnam</i> L 1089 <sup>1</sup>
Nānāgh I	<i>mahārāṭhīno</i> L 1112	Kuḍā <i>upajīvīnam</i> L 1045
Junnar	<i>Isimulasāmīno</i> L 1176	Junnar <i>amtevāsīnam</i> L 1171
		Kārle II <i>lenavāsīnam</i> L 1099 <sup>1</sup>

(iii) *-no* .

Kuḍā	<i>seṭhīno</i> L 1063
(f) A few other consonantal bases	
Gen sg mas of a base ending in <i>-j</i> <i>-sa</i>	
Ajanṭā	<i>īamja[sa]</i> <sup>69</sup> L 1198
Gen pl neut. of a base ending in <i>-h</i> <i>-na</i>	
Kaṇhēri	<i>upāhanāna</i> L 998 <sup>1</sup>

## PRONOUNS

## §197 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

(a) The pronominal base *īdam*

Nom sg mas		Nom pl mas.	
Kārle II	<i>īma</i> L 1106 <sup>2</sup>	Nāsik IV	<i>īma</i> L 1125
Nom sg neut	Nāsik I		<i>īm am</i> and <i>īm a</i> L 1140
	Nāsik III		<i>īm am</i> L 1133
	Nāsik IV		<i>īm a</i> L 1147
Inst sg	Nāsik III		(a) <i>īma</i> L 1133 also Nāsik IV (L 1139)
Gen sg	Nāsik II		<i>īma</i> L 1127 c.c.
Loc. sg	Nāsik III		<i>īm am</i> L 1133

<sup>68</sup> Perhaps *sā* read of EI 7.53.6, note 2<sup>69</sup> The base may be *īamja* and not *īam*

(b) The pronominal base *etad*

Nom sg mas		Nom pl mas	
Junnar	<i>esa</i> L 1164	Nāsik III	<i>ete</i> L 1133 also
	<i>eto</i> L 1152		Nāsik IV (L 1125)
Nom. Acc sg neut.		Inst pl	
Nāsik III	<i>eta</i> L 1133	Nāsik IV	<i>etehi</i> L 1125 ,
Nāsik IV	<i>etata</i> L 1124		<i>etahi</i> L 1125
	<i>eta</i> L 1123, L 1125 etc		<i>etehi</i> L 1105 <sup>1</sup>
Mahād	<i>esa</i> L 1072	Kārlē II	
Abl sg		Abl pl	
Nāsik IV	<i>eto</i> L 1130	Nāsik III	<i>eto</i> (?) L 1133 <sup>2</sup>

Gen. sg The word *etasa* occurs in Junnar (L 1152 etc.), Nāsik IV (L 1123 etc.), Kārlē II (L 1105<sup>3</sup>), Kaṇhērī (L 1016<sup>0</sup>, L 1024<sup>10</sup>), and Mahād (L 1072) We have *etesa*<sup>10</sup> in Nāsik IV (L 1126), and Kārlē II (L 1105<sup>3</sup>)

Loc sg	Kaṇhērī	<i>etesi</i> L 998 <sup>10</sup>
Loc sg fem	Nāsik IV	<i>etiya</i> L 1147
	Kārlē II	<i>etāya</i> L 1100 <sup>2</sup>
	Kaṇhērī	<i>etāya</i> L 1001 <sup>2</sup> etc

## § 198 Relative Pronoun

(a) The pronominal base *yad*

Nom sg fem		Nom pl mas	
Nāsik II	<i>yā</i> L 1148	Nāsik IV	<i>ya</i> (?) L 1124
Nom. sg neut.		Nom pl neut	
Nāsik III	<i>ye</i> L 1133 ,	Mahād	<i>yāni</i> L 1073
	<i>yā</i> (?) L 1133		
Nāsik IV	<i>ya</i> L 1124 etc.		

## § 199 Personal Pronouns

## (a) The first personal pronoun

		Inst. pl	
		Nāsik IV	<i>amhehi</i> L 1124, L 1126
Dat. sg			
	Kārlē II		<i>me</i> L 1106 <sup>4</sup>
Gen sg		Gen pl	
Nāsik II	<i>me</i> L 1148	Nāsik IV <sup>2</sup>	<i>na</i> L 1125 etc
Nāsik III	<i>mama</i> L 1133		

(b) The base *tad*

Nom sg mas	Nāsik IV	<i>so</i> L 1126	
Nom sg fem	Nāsik II	<i>sa</i> L 1148	
Nom sg neut.	Nāsik IV	<i>ta</i> L 1126	
Gen sg mas		Gen pl mas	
Nāsik II	<i>tasa</i> L 1126	Nānāgh I	<i>tesa</i> (?) L 1112
Nāsik III	<i>tasa</i> L 1135		

## §200 Some other bases

(a) The pronoun *sava*Acc sg mas -am Kudā *savam* L 1059

Inst sg mas -na

Inst pl -hi

Kanhēri *savena* L 998<sup>2</sup> etcKanhēri *savchi* L 999<sup>2</sup>Mahād *savena* L 1073(b) The pronoun *ana*

Nom sg mas -o

Nom pl neut -ni

Kārle II *ano* L 1106<sup>1</sup>Kanhēri *anām* L 988<sup>11</sup>

## NUMERALS

## §201 Cardinals

- (i) Three quarters Nāsik III *pāyūna-* L 1133<sup>7</sup>
- (ii) One Nāsik II *ekā* (fem) L 1148
- (iii) Quarter to two Junnar *pāonaduka-* L 1165
- (iv) Two The form *be* occurs in Kudā (L 1039), Junnar (L 1153, L 1163), Nāsik III (L 1133), Nāsik IV (L 1123), Kanhēri (L 998<sup>11</sup> etc.), and Mahād (L 1072). But *dve* occurs in Junnar (L 1164), *ve* in Kārle I (L 1101), and *do* in Nāsik II (L 1148).
- (v) Of two Junnar *bena* L 1151
- Nāsik III *dina* L 1135<sup>7</sup>
- (vi) Three Junnar *tri* L 1163, also *trini* L 1133
- Nāsik III *trini* L 1133)
- (vii) Four Junnar *catāri* L 1167
- Of four Nānāgh I *catumnam* L 1112
- (viii) Six Nānāgh I *cha* L 1112
- (ix) Eight Junnar *aṭṭha* L 1167, L 1168, also cf Nāsik III (L 1133), Kanhēri (*aṭṭha* s; L 1020<sup>7</sup>) and Mahād (L 1073)
- (x) Nine Junnar *naiṭa* L 1162
- (xi) Ten Kanhēri *dasaka* L 998<sup>11</sup>
- (xii) Twelve The form *bārasa* occurs in Nānāgh I (L 1112) and Junnar (L 1165). At Junnar (L 1167) we get *bāra* also. The word *bārasaka* is found in Nāsik III (L 1133), Nāsik IV (L 1123), and Kanhēri (L 1000<sup>7</sup> L 1007<sup>7</sup>)
- (xiii) Thirteen *terasa* Nānāgh I (L 1112) Nāsik II (*tera* for *tera* L 1120) Nāsik IV (L 1123) and Kanhēri (L 988<sup>11</sup>)
- (xiv) Fifteen *pañcāsa* Junnar L 1153, also Nāsik III (L 1133 L 1135)

(xv) Sixteen	Junnar Kaphēri	<i>sodasa</i> L 1152 <i>solasa</i> L 998 <sup>7</sup> , <i>solasaka</i> L 1006 <sup>7</sup> , L 1020 <sup>9</sup> etc.
(xvi) Nineteen	Nāsik IV	<i>ekunavīsa</i> L 1123
(xvii) Twenty	Junnar	<i>visa</i> L 1162 A collection of twenty <i>visā</i> Nāsik III (L 1133)
(xviii) Twenty-one	Kārle II	<i>ekavīsa</i> L 1106 <sup>9</sup>
(xix) Twenty-four	Kārle II	<i>catuvīsa</i> L 1106 <sup>1</sup>
(xx) Twenty-six	Junnar	<i>ṣaṇuvīsa</i> L 1163
(xxi) Thirty-five	Nāsik III	<i>pañcatrīśaka</i> (?) L 1133
(xxii) Fifty	Junnar	<i>pācāsa</i> (?) L 1168
(xxiii) Seventy	Nāsik III	<i>sat-rī</i> L 1133
(xxiv) Hundred	Nāsik III	<i>satī</i> L 1133
(xxv) Thousand	Nāsik III	<i>sahasra</i> L 1133 etc.
(xxvi) Hundred-thousand	Nāsik III	<i>satasa[hasa]</i> L 1135, <i>satasāha[sī]</i> L 1135

## § 202 Ordinals

(i) First	<i>pathama-</i> Nānāgh I (L 1112), Nāsik IV (L 1146 <sup>2</sup> ), Kārle II (L 1100 <sup>2</sup> )
(ii) Second	<i>bitīya-</i> Nānāgh I (L 1112), Nāsik IV (L 1123), Kārle II (L 1106 <sup>1</sup> )
(iii) Third	<i>tatiya-</i> Kārle II (L 1106 <sup>1</sup> )
(iv) Fifth	<i>pacama-</i> Kārle II (L 1100 <sup>1</sup> ) and <i>pañcamā-</i> Kaphēri (L 987 <sup>2</sup> )
(v) Sixth	<i>ṣaṣṭha-</i> Nāsik III (L 1122)
(vi) Seventh	<i>sātama-</i> Nāsik IV (L 1146 <sup>1</sup> ), <i>satama-</i> Kārle II (L 1100 <sup>1</sup> )
(vii) Tenth	<i>dasami-ya</i> (fem) Kanhēri (L 1021 <sup>2</sup> )

## CONJUGATION

## § 203 Indicative Mood

Present third per sg - <i>ti</i>	First per pl - <i>ma</i>
Nāsik IV <i>dadāti</i> L 1123	Nāsik IV <i>bhojakāpatī</i> L 1024 <sup>12</sup>
<i>vasatī</i> L 1126	L 1126
<i>ānāpayatī</i> L 1124,	<i>vitārāma</i> L 1124 etc
L 1125	<i>dadama</i> L 1105 <sup>2</sup>
	<i>vitārāma</i> L 1105 <sup>4</sup>
third sg middle - <i>te</i>	
Nāsik III <i>bhujate</i> L 1135	
third sg passive - <i>te</i>	
Nāsik III <i>ñayate</i> L 1135	
Nāsik IV <i>kasate</i> L 1126	
third sg causal (?) - <i>pa-ti</i>	
Kanhēri <i>bhojakāpatī</i> L 1024 <sup>12</sup>	

## § 204 Imperative Mood

Second per sg (1) *-hi*Nāsik IV *pariharchi* L 1124<sup>11</sup>Kārle II *pariharch[ī]*  
L 1105<sup>1</sup>Second per pl (1) *-tha*Nāsik IV *pariharcha* L 1126<sup>11</sup>(11) *-pe-hi* in causal*mbadhāpehi* Nāsik IV (L 1124<sup>11</sup>,  
L 1125<sup>5</sup>) and Kārle II (L 1105<sup>5</sup>)(11) *-pe-tha* in causalNāsik IV *mbadhāpetha*  
L 1126<sup>11</sup>

## § 205 Imperfect.

Third per sg *-ta*

Kārle II

*bhojapayita* (Causal) L 1099<sup>4</sup>

## § 206 Future.

Third per sg *-sati*

Nāsik III

*bhavisati* L 1133<sup>2</sup>

## § 207 Present Participles (a) Active

(1) *-anta*,

Nāsik III

*vasanta*- L 1133<sup>2</sup>(11) *-ata*,

Nāsik IV

*pativasata*- L 1126<sup>5</sup>*sata*- (in *sati*) L 1126<sup>9</sup>

Kanhēri

*vasata*- L 998<sup>5</sup>,

## (b) Middle

(1) *-māna*,

Nāsik IV

*suja-māna*- L 1146<sup>3</sup>*anuvadhīyamāna*- L 1123<sup>10</sup>

## § 208 Past Passive Participles

(1) *-na*

Bhājā

*-dina* (in *Samghadina*- L 1082

Nānāgh I

*dina*- L 1112, also Kārle II  
(L 1106<sup>3</sup> once only)

Kanhēri

*dina*- L 999<sup>2</sup> etc., *upanna*-  
L 987<sup>5</sup>(11) *-na*

Kanhēri

*dina*- L 1020<sup>4</sup>(111) *-ta*

Vakālā

*Dātā*- (fem) L 969

Bhājā

*-data*- (in *Vinīudata*-) L 1079

Kondāre

*kata*- L 1071

Beḍṣā

*kānta*- (causal) L 1110

Nādsur

*kata*- L 1057, *-rakhita*- L 1058

Kolh

*kānta*- (active in sense)L 1185<sup>2</sup>

Kārle I

*kata*- L 1092<sup>2</sup> etc.*pari'hap'ca*- L 1087

Kudā

*(Kha'da)-pā'ta*- L 1067*(Isi)-rakhita*- L 1048

Nāsik I

*phā'ta*- and *hā'ta*- (causal)L 1140<sup>7</sup>*nīkaphā'ta* (causal) L 1141<sup>4</sup>

Junnar

*-rā'ta*- L 115<sup>7</sup>*-rakh'ta*- L 1169

Nāsik II

*-ra'ta*- L 1127<sup>1</sup> etc.

	Nāsik III	<i>prayuta-</i> L 1133 <sup>2</sup> , <i>srāvuta-</i> (causal) L 1133 <sup>4</sup>
	Kōl	<i>-rakhita-</i> L 1075
	Nāsik IV	<i>bhūta-</i> (< Sk <i>bhukta-</i> ) L 1125 <sup>3</sup> etc <i>myātita-</i> (causal) L 1139 <sup>3</sup>
	Kārle II	<i>ānata-</i> L 1105 <sup>5</sup> etc <i>mṛhita-</i> L 1106 <sup>4</sup>
	Kaṇhēri	<i>parihāpita-</i> L 1006 <sup>5</sup> , <i>samāpita-</i> L 987 <sup>10</sup> , and <i>kārāpita-</i> L 988 <sup>10</sup> (all three being causal)
	Mahād	<i>-pālita-</i> L 1072, <i>-rakhita-</i> L 1073.
	Banav	<i>kata-</i> L 1186 <sup>3</sup>
(iv) <i>-ṭa</i>	Kārle II	<i>kaṭa-</i> L 1105 <sup>6</sup> (once)

### § 209 Potential Passive Participles

(i) <i>-ya</i> ,	Nāsik III	<i>-bhoja-</i> L 1133 <sup>3</sup>
	Nāsik IV	<i>deya-</i> L 1123, L 1126 , <i>apavesa-</i> L 1125 etc
	Kārle II	<i>apāvesa-</i> L 1105 <sup>4</sup>
(ii) <i>-tava</i> ,	Nāsik III	<i>-dātava-</i> L 1133 <sup>3</sup>
	Nāsik IV	<i>-dātava-</i> L 1139 , <i>aṛogavatava-</i> L 1126
	Kaṇhēri	<i>dātava-</i> L 999 <sup>8</sup> etc , <i>padīgītava</i> L 998 <sup>9</sup>

### § 210 Absolutives

(i) <i>-ya</i> ,	Nāsik I	<i>udīsa</i> L 1140 <sup>7</sup> , also Nāsik II (L 1148 <sup>4</sup> )
	Nāsik IV	<i>patigaya</i> L 1124 <sup>12</sup> , <i>patigayha</i> L 1124 <sup>13</sup>

## CHAPTER III

### HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS OF THE SOUTHERN GROUP

#### Prakrit Inscriptions of South India

##### § 211 INTRODUCTORY

The Prakrit inscriptions which comprise this group mostly come from the Guntur, Bellary and Kistna districts<sup>1</sup> of the Madras Presidency. Only two inscriptions from Mysore State have their find spots outside the limits of this Presidency. The distribution of the inscriptions from the view-point of time is not quite fair as there is a wide gap from about the 2nd century B.C. to the 2nd century A.D. As usual the following paragraphs contain the relevant description of the inscriptions in this group.

1 Bhattiprōlu Buddhist Casket Inscriptions (L 1329-L 1339) The place Bhattiprōlu (Bhatl) where the casket was unearthed is situated in the Kistnā District of the Madras Presidency. The inscriptions quickly became popular with the scholars on account of their peculiar characters which, in general, agree with the characters of the Aśokan inscriptions. They contain no historical statement which may have enabled us to fix their date. Palaeographically, however, they can be assigned to about 200 B.C.

The language of the inscriptions has also a peculiarity of its own in that it shows a lingual sibilant in the first ten inscriptions (L 1329-L 1338) and a palatal one in the last (L 1339). Though the two symbols for these two sibilants differ in appearance, BUHLER is of opinion that the sounds which they represent are the same.

2 Amarāvati Inscriptions (L 1205 a-L 1326) The Buddhist stūpa at Amarāvati (Amar) in the Kistnā Dist. is much older as is shown by a sculpture and the inscriptions. One among these is engraved in the Maurya characters. The date of the Amarāvati rail is, however, much later than that of the stūpa. It is said to have been erected through the influence of Nāgārjuna in the 2nd century A.D. To the inscription listed by LUDERS we may now add fifty-eight more inscriptions lately published by Ramāprasād CHANDA. These latter are also divided into two groups on palaeographic grounds according as they date either prior to the beginning of the Christian era or in the 2nd century A.D. In the ensuing discussion these two groups are distinguished by styling them as Amar I and Amar II.

3 South Indian Inscriptions (S. Ind. Ins.) For the sake of convenience some contemporary inscriptions, which are detailed below, have been included under the single heading. The general date of this group can be taken to be the 2nd century A.D.

<sup>1</sup> There is a fragmentary Prakrit inscription at Alluri in the Nellore District of the Kistnā Dist. It consists of 17 lines in Brāhmī characters of about the 2nd century A.D. It records a number of gifts in the shape of land and money made by a certain Mahāśāhā, accompanied by his wife, son and daughter-in-law. The gifts appear to have been made to a monk (nigāva) of the Pūrvaśāhīya, a sect of Buddhist monks. Unfortunately the inscription has not been read so far. Cf. *Ann. Rep. of the South Ind. Exp.* 1922-23, 97 and *Proc. Ind. Soc.* 1923-24, 93.

<sup>2</sup> Some Unpublished Amarāvati Inscriptions. *EI* 15-17-75.



(i) China Stone Inscriptions (L 1340) The find spot of the inscription is situated in the Kistnā Dist. The inscription belongs to the time of rājan Gotamiputa Siriyāṇa Sātakaṇi. The characters are of the ordinary Āndhra type, but rather ornamental.

(ii) Maḷavaḷḷi Pillar Inscriptions (L 1195-L 1196) The place where the pillar was found is situated in the Mysore State. Both these inscriptions are found engraved on the same pillar and almost in the same type of characters which are closely allied to those of the latest Āndhra inscriptions at Nāsik and Amarāvati. L 1195 is a little older of the two and contains an edict in Prakrit in which mahārāja Hārīṣṭupāta Sātakaṇi is mentioned. It is therefore to be assigned to the second half of the 2nd century A.D. In this inscription the double consonants are written in full and are not represented with a single symbol.

(iii) Kodavolu Well Inscription (L 1341) This well is situated at Kodavolu in the Godāvāri Dist. of the Madras Presidency. REA found on a hill called *dānam dibba* or "mount of wealth" some structural remains which he thought were a Buddhist stūpa and perhaps other buildings. Close to the mount are three rectangular wells cut in the solid rock. On the inner side of one of them is a Prakrit inscription in the Brāhmī characters of about the end of the 2nd century A.D.

(iv) Dharaṇikoṭa Dharmacakra Pillar Inscription<sup>3</sup> The place is situated in the Guntur Dist. of the Madras Presidency. The characters of the record belong to about the 2nd century A.D. Probably the present record refers itself to the reign of the Āndhra King Puḷumāvi of the Śātavāhana dynasty.

(v) Ādōni Inscription of Sirī Puḷumavi<sup>4</sup> The inscription is engraved on the eastern face of a large natural boulder of reddish granite in the Ādōni tāluk of the Bellary Dist., Madras Presidency. The alphabet resembles that of the Jagayyapēṭa inscription of Purisadata and belongs to the 2nd century A.D.

(vi) Jagayyapēṭa Pillar Inscriptions (L 1202-L 1204) Jagayyapēṭa is a town in the Nandigrāma tāluk of the Kistnā Dist. It is situated about thirty miles north-west of Amarāvati. A few letters found on the capitals of the pilasters surrounding the base of the stūpa so closely resemble the Maurya alphabet that there can be little doubt in assigning to the original structure a period considerably earlier than the beginning of the Christian era.

But the characters of the documents under consideration are of a much later date and allow themselves to be put after the inscriptions of Gotamiputa II Siriyāṇa Sātakaṇi. Sometime after this king and before the accession of the Pallavas to the throne of Vengi, Purisadata ruled over the Kistnā Dist.

(vii) Gurzāla Brāhmī Inscription<sup>5</sup> It is engraved on a grey marble slab at Gurzāla in the Palnāḍ tāluk of the Guntur Dist. The script resembles that of the inscriptions at Nāgārjunikonda and belongs to the end of the 2nd century or the 3rd century A.D.

4 Maṭṭepāḍ Plates of Dāmōdaravarman<sup>6</sup> The village Maṭṭepāḍ (Maṭṭi) is situated in the Ongole tāluk of the Guntur Dist. The language of the plates is Sans-

3 P. Seshadri SASTRI, *EI* 42 256-60

4 V. S. SUTTHANKAR, "A New Andhra Inscription of Sirī Puḷumavi," *EI* 14 153-5

5 Prof. K. A. Nilakanta SASTRI, *EI* 16 123.5

6 E. HULTZSCH *EI* 17.327-30

krit, but the names of the donees appear in Prakrit. The alphabet of the plates is of early southern type of the 2nd century A.D. The plates are dated in the 2nd regnal year of the king Dāmōdaravarman.

5 Nāgārjunikoṇḍa Inscriptions. The place Nāgārjunikonda (Nāgār) where a Buddhist site was discovered in 1926, belongs to the Palnād tāluk of the Guntur Dist. There can be little doubt in stating that next to Amarāvati it is a very important Buddhist site found in South India.

The explorations at this site have brought to light numerous specimens of inscribed *āyaka*-pillars. The records refer to the Ikṣāku dynasty of South India which is also referred to in the Jagayyapēṭa inscriptions. The king Mādhariputa Sirī-Virapurisadata to whom the inscriptions refer flourished in all probability in the 2nd or 3rd century of our era.

The following remarks made by J. Ph. VOGEL in connection with the language and the script of the inscriptions are noteworthy. "A considerable difficulty in the way of interpreting the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions is the want of precision of which they show ample evidence. The careless manner in which they have been recorded is astonishing. Not only single syllables, but whole words have been omitted. In other instances syllables have been repeated or interchanged (e.g. *bhambham* for *Phambham* in C 4 line 7). Very often the length of the vowels *ā* and *ī* is not marked. Even the name of the reigning monarch, Sirī Virapurisadata, is written with *vi* instead of *vī*. Much less frequently the long *ī* has been substituted for the short one.

"The sign for *dha* is sometimes substituted for *pha* whereas a certain confusion seems to prevail between *pha* and *tha*.

"The sign for anusvāra too has often been omitted, while in several cases it is difficult to decide whether what appears to be a dot over the aksara may not be a depression in the surface of the stone due to accident.

"This want of precision becomes especially manifest if we compare the various redactions of the inscription recording the grant of a state by the chief donor, the lady Cāmtisiri. It is clear that these redactions are all based on the same text, but none of them produces that text without some omissions or mistakes."

6 Copper Plate Inscriptions of South India (Cop. Pl.). Just as a group of inscriptions is treated above under the head "South Indian Inscriptions", the following copper plate grants of South India are included under this heading. The general date of this collection is the 3rd century A.D. The Maṭṭepād plates have been separately treated as they are anterior to this group by about a century.

(i) Hīrahaḍaḡalli Copper plate Inscription of Śivaskandavarman (L 1200). The place is situated in the Bellary Dist. The characters of the inscription closely resemble those that are used in the grant of Vijayabuddhavarman's queen. With the exception of the final *ṇaṅga* consisting of a single line in Sanskrit, the whole grant is written in Prakrit.

(ii) Maṇḍavōḷu Copper plate Inscription of Yuvamañḍava Śivaskandavarman (L 1205). Maṇḍavōḷu is a small village, 12 miles east of Narasimhapur, the head quarters of a tāluk in the Kistnā Dist. The date of this grant is given both in word

7 J. Ph. VOGEL, "Prakrit Inscriptions from a Buddhist site at Nāgārjunikonda," *FI* 201-07 and "Additional Prakrit Inscriptions from Nāgārjunikonda," *FI* 216-71.

and numerical symbols KIELHORN<sup>8</sup> has shown that neither numerical symbols nor season-dates have been found in records later than the eighth century A D But the state of characters and the Prakrit language of the inscription compel us to assign it to a period considerably earlier than the eighth century A D i.e. about the third century A D

(iii) Gunapadeya Copper Plate Inscription of Cārulevī, of the time of the Pallava mahārāja Vijayakhandavamma (L 1327) The find spot of the inscription is situated in the Guntur Dist. The characters of this inscription resemble those of the Hīrahadagallī plates, but are less ornamental and more irregular. Unlike other Prakrit inscriptions the orthography of Cārulevī's grant is in accordance with the literary Prakrits in that the double consonants are represented by two symbols. In this respect the above two grants of Śivaskandavarman occupy an intermediate position

(iv) Koṇḍamudi Plates of Jayavarman (L 1328) This village is situated in the Tenali tāluk of the Kistnā Dist. The alphabet of this inscription closely resembles that of the plates of Śivaskandavarman, though in all cases a single letter is used to serve the purpose of a double one. Except the two words Maheśvara and Brhatphalāyana and the Telugu village name Pāmtūra, the language of the plates is Prakrit.

(v) Elūrā Copper Plates of Vijayadevavarman (L 1194) Elūrā is situated in the Godāvāri Dist. The alphabet resembles that of the grants of Śimhavarman and of the plates of Vijayanandivarman This inscription also agrees with the literary Prakrits in representing a double letter by two symbols Excepting the last two customary verses in Sanskrit, the rest of the plates appears in Prakrit

§ 212 Note The following table shows the distribution of these inscriptions in their time sequence

	Period	Inscription	No
1	3rd cent. B C	L 1329-L 1339	11
2	2nd cent. B C and 1st or 2nd cent. A D	L 1205 a-L 1326 A + 58 additions	180
3	2nd cent. A D	L 1340, L 1195-L1196, L 1341, L 1202- L 1204, + 4 additions	
4	3rd cent. A D	L 1200, L 1205, L 1327, L 1328, L 1194, + 48 additions	53

## PHONOLOGY

### I VOWELS

§ 213 Treatment of the Sk vowel *ṛ* The vowel *ṛ* generally becomes *a* in these inscriptions. It is changed to *u* mostly in the words expressive of human relationship and in the presence of a labial The vowel also becomes *i* in a few cases

(a) Change *ṛ* > *a* It will be seen from the examples that *ṛ* > *a* sometimes even in the presence of labials

Amar I	Sk <i>grhapati</i> > <i>gahapati</i> - EI 15 267 25 <sup>1</sup>
Amar II	Sk <i>mṛgá</i> > <i>maka</i> - L 1254
	Sk <i>vṛṣabha</i> > <i>vasabha</i> - L 1239 etc etc.

8 EI 4 195 and note 4

- S Ind Insc : Sk *pratīkṛta-* > *patīkala-* L 1196  
 Nāgār Sk *kṛpanā-* > *-kavana-* EI 20 16 C3<sup>s</sup>  
 Sk *sat-kṛta-* > *-sakata-* EI 20 19 B5<sup>1</sup> etc.  
 Also cf *vasabhā-* EI 20 18.B4<sup>2</sup>, 16 C3<sup>2</sup> etc  
 Cop Pl Sk *vyāpṛta-* > *vāpata-* L 1205<sup>1</sup>, L 1328<sup>-</sup>  
 Sk *trna-* > *-tana-* L 1200<sup>33</sup>, etc. etc

(b) Change *ṛ* > *i* In a very few examples

- Amar II Sk *ṛṣi-* > *Isi-la-* L 1248<sup>1</sup>  
 Sk *kṛtya-* > *-kīca-* L 1261<sup>1</sup>  
 Cop Pl Sk *dṛṣṭa-* > *dīḥa-* L 1200, L 1205

(c) Change *ṛ* > *u* As noticed above mostly in names expressive of human relationship<sup>9</sup>

- Bhaṭṭ Sk *pitṛ-* > *-pītu-* L 1329, L 1330  
 Sk *mātṛ-* > *mātu-* L 1339<sup>1</sup>  
 Amar I Sk *mṛda-* > *mudu-* L 1266,  
 cf *mātu-* EI 15 270 40<sup>1</sup>  
 Amar II Sk *bhrātṛ-* > *bhātu-* L 1243, L 1248 etc  
 Sk *duhitṛ-* > *duhutu-* L 1206, L 1210 etc  
 Sk *napitṛ-* > *natu-*<sup>10</sup> L 1229  
 S Ind Insc Sk *bhrātṛ-ka* > *bhatu-ka-* L 1202<sup>1</sup>  
 Nāgār cf *bhātu-* EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup>, *mātu-* EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup>,  
*pītu-* EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup> etc etc  
 Cop Pl Sk *jāmātṛ-* > *jāmātu-* L 1200<sup>14</sup>,  
 also cf *bhātuka-* L 1200<sup>15</sup>

§ 214 Treatment of the Sk diphthongs *ai* and *au* Sk *ai* and *au* regularly become *e* and *o* respectively

(a) Change *ai* > *e*

- Bhaṭṭ Sk *naigama-* > *negama-* L 1337<sup>1</sup>  
 Amar I Sk *caitya-* > *ceitya-* EI 15 268.29  
 Sk *saṃya-* > *seṇa-* L 1266  
 Amar II Sk *śaila-* > *sela-* L 1280<sup>1</sup>  
 Sk *karāṇyaka-* > *kerāṇika-* L 1239 etc  
 S Ind Insc cf *-ceitya-* L 1202<sup>6</sup>.  
 Nāgār cf *-sela-* EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup> and *ceitya-* EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup> etc  
 Cop Pl Sk *rajaṇyika-* > *rejaṇika-* L 1328<sup>1</sup>, L 1200

(b) *ai* is preserved at Malavalli in *saila-* (L 1196) and *rajaṇyika-* (L 1193)

(c) Change *au* > *o*

- Bhaṭṭ Sk *Kaśīka-* > *Kośaka-* L 1332  
 Amar II Sk *Gaḍanī-* > *Goḍan-* EI 15 270.25

<sup>9</sup> It may be noted that in the Ceylonese inscriptions of the 2nd and 3rd centuries B.C. *e* and *o* treatments in names of human relationship cf *pīca* EI I 181 and *īca* EI I 145 10a

<sup>10</sup> In L 1231 FRANKF treats *pītu-* (< S *pitṛ-*) as *pidu-* (L 1231)

S Ind Insc	Sk. <i>Kaundīya-</i> > <i>Koṇḍīya-</i> L 1195 cf <i>Gotamī-</i> L 1340 <sup>1</sup>
Nāgār	Sk. <i>saumyā-</i> > <i>-soma-</i> EI 20 22 F <sup>1</sup>
Cop Pl	cf <i>Kosika-</i> L 1200 <sup>10</sup> , L 1328 <sup>20</sup> etc

§ 215 Treatment of Sk *aya*, *ayi* and *avi* All these become *e* in these inscriptions

(a) Change *aya* > *e*

Bhaṭṭ.	Sk. <i>Jayanta-ka-</i> > <i>Jeta-ka-</i> L 1332 <sup>8</sup> , L 1337 <sup>3</sup>
Cop Pl	Sk. <i>abhi-√arth-aya-</i> > <i>abhathe-mi</i> L 1200 <sup>14</sup>

(b) Change *ayi* > *e* (a)

Nāgār	Sk. <i>Ujjayinī-</i> > <i>Ujani-</i> EI 20 19 35 <sup>3</sup> , but we are asked to read <i>Ujem-</i>
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(c) Change *avi* > *e*

Amar I & II	Sk. <i>sthāvira-</i> > <i>thera-</i> L 1223, L 1289 etc
Nāgār	cf <i>-thera-</i> EI 20 22 F <sup>3</sup> 24 H <sup>11</sup>

§ 216 Treatment of Sk *ava* Generally it becomes *o*

Bhaṭṭ	Sk. <i>Śravanottara-</i> > <i>Sonutara-</i> <sup>11</sup> L 1337 <sup>d</sup>
	Sk. <i>upavasatha-</i> > <i>upoṣatha-</i> L 1332 <sup>17</sup>
Nāgār	Sk. <i>bhavatu</i> > <i>hotu</i> EI 20 21 E <sup>2</sup>
	Sk. <i>vyavacchinnā-</i> > <i>vochinna-</i> EI 20 16 C3 <sup>8</sup>
Cop Pl	Sk. <i>lavanā-</i> > <i>-lona-</i> L 1205 <sup>13</sup> , L 1328 <sup>32</sup>
	Sk. <i>an-avamṛṣya-</i> > <i>anomasa-</i> L 1328 <sup>31</sup>

§ 217 Treatment of Sk. vowel *a* The vowel *a* is usually preserved The following changes which it undergoes sometimes are noteworthy

(a) Change *a* > *ā* in a metrically long syllable, such changes are rather few

Amar I	Sk. <i>Gopṛīyasya</i> > <i>Gopṛīyāsa</i> <sup>12</sup> EI 15 262 1
Amar II	Sk. <i>sthāvirasya</i> > <i>therāsa</i> <sup>12</sup> L 1250 <sup>3</sup>
	Sk. <i>antevāsikasya</i> > [ante]vāsikāsa <sup>12</sup> L 1233
Nāgār	Sk. <i>agniṣṭomā-</i> > <i>āgiṣṭhoma-</i> EI 20 19 C2 <sup>2</sup>
	Sk. <i>aśvamedhā-</i> > <i>āsamedha-</i> EI 20 19 C2 <sup>2</sup> etc

Both these are doubtful illustrations, for the change in the initial vowel can equally be attributed to sandhi with the preceding vowel in the compound cf *Agīhot-āgiṣṭhoma-vājapey-āsamedha-* etc.

	Sk. <i>sa-naptika-</i> > <i>san[ā]tuk[a]-</i> EI 20 25 K <sup>1</sup>
Cop Pl	Sk. <i>varṣā-</i> > <i>vāsa-</i> L 1200 <sup>18</sup>
	Sk. <i>catvāri</i> > <i>cāltāri</i> L 1200 <sup>39</sup>

(b) Change *a* > *ā* takes place sometimes irregularly

Bhaṭṭ	Sk. <i>sphaṭika-</i> > <i>phāṭiga-</i> L 1330
	Sk. <i>pramukha</i> > <i>pāmukha-</i> L 1335

11 This derivation follows that of LÜDERS, BÜHLER takes it from *Suvarnottara*, cf EI 2.328 f

12 The termination seems to have been *-sa* and not *-ssa*

Amar	II	Sk	<i>sahá</i> > <i>sahā</i> L 1239
		Sk	<i>Nāganikā-</i> > <i>Nakāmikā-</i> <sup>10</sup> L 1248
		Sk	<i>bhagavatah</i> > <i>bhagavāto</i> <sup>11</sup> L 1244
S Ind	Ins		cf <i>sahā</i> L 1202 <sup>5</sup>
Nāgār		Sk	<i>kathaka-</i> > <i>-kāthika-</i> EI 20 24 II <sup>11</sup>
		Sk	<i>vardhaki-</i> > <i>-vadhāki-</i> EI 20 22 F <sup>1</sup>

(c) Change  $a > 1$  due to the presence of  $y$

Amar II      Sk. *lokāditya-* > *logātici-* L 1271<sup>1</sup>  
S Ind Ins      Sk. *kanyakā-* > *kanikā-* L 1202<sup>1</sup>

(d) Change  $a > 1$  occurs in mistake

Nāgār            Sk *Śrī-Vīra* > *Srī-Vinpurisadala*-<sup>1</sup>  
*EI* 20.20 C2<sup>11</sup>   Elsewhere we get *vīra*-

(c) Change  $a > u$  due to assimilation

Amar II      Sk. *napti-* > *muti-* EI 15 274 56<sup>2</sup>

(f) Change  $a > *u$  (due to  $v$ )  $> 0$  in a metrically long syllable

Amar II      Sk *svastika-* > \**suthika-* > *sothika-* L 1287~

(g) *a* is dropped at times in copper plates cf. Sk. *api-* > *i* L 1200<sup>27</sup>, (but *api-* L 1200<sup>37</sup>), Sk. *khálu* > \**khlu* > *khū* L 1200<sup>31</sup>, " "

§ 218 Treatment of the Sk vowel *ā* Though the long vowel is usually preserved still the following changes may be noted

(a) Change  $\bar{a} > a$  before a consonant cluster<sup>16</sup> This change is observed in more cases than  $a > \bar{a}$  in similar circumstances

Bhaṭṭ	Sk. <i>ārya-</i> > <i>aya-</i> L 1339 <sup>1</sup> But this may have come from Sk <i>arya-</i> as well Sk <i>Vyāghra-pād</i> > <i>Vagharā</i> L 1332-
Amar II	Sk. <i>Dhānyakataka-</i> > <i>Dl amñakaṭaka-</i> EI 15 262 1 Also cf <i>aya-</i> EI 15 270 40 <sup>3</sup>
Amar II	Sk <i>bhāryā-</i> > <i>bhayā-</i> L 1248 , <i>bhāryā-</i> EI 15.267.27- , (but cf <i>bhāryā-</i> L 1277, L 1301) Sk <i>rāstrā-</i> > <i>raṭṭa-</i> L 1281 Sk <i>arya-</i> > <i>ayira-</i> L 1280 <sup>2</sup> , <i>āira-</i> L 1276, <i>aya-</i> L 1270
S Ind Ins	Sk <i>ātmanah</i> > <i>apaṇo</i> L 1202 <sup>2</sup> L 1203- etc , (but cf <i>āpayo</i> L 1204 <sup>2</sup> ) Sk <i>amātya-</i> > <i>ancca-</i> L 1341 <sup>1</sup> , etc. etc.
Nācār	Sk <i>Virūpākṣa-</i> > <i>Virūpakhā-</i> EI 20 16 C3 <sup>1</sup> etc Sk <i>ṛṣṇā-</i> > <i>ṛṣṇo</i> EI 20 16 C3 <sup>2</sup> etc Sk <i>ācārya-</i> > <i>ācārya-</i> EI 20 17 C1 <sup>1</sup> etc.
Cor Pl	Sk <i>Kṛtyā-</i> > <i>Kṛṣṇa-</i> L 1270 <sup>1</sup> , also cf <i>ancca-</i> L 1341 <sup>1</sup> , etc

13 Is this due to metathesis?

14 Probab'ly due to analogy with *incipere* of 2000 F247.

15 Is same due to preceding fire?

16 In - Given these assumptions we find  $a > c$ ,  $b < c$  and  $c < b$ . So  $a > c > b > a$ .

(b) Change  $\bar{a} > a$  before terminations This change occurs only in later inscriptions

Amar II	Sk. <i>upāsikā-</i> > <i>uvāsika-ya</i> L 1268
	Sk. <i>Sujātā-</i> > <i>Sujālam-ya</i> L 1264

Note the compensatory addition of a nasal<sup>17</sup> It is important to note that in earlier inscriptions at Amarāvati this vowel is always preserved cf *jāyāya EI* 15 254 12<sup>2</sup>, *Utiyā EI* 15 264 13 etc Even in Amarāvati II this  $\bar{a}$  is more preserved than shortened cf *saputikāya L* 1287<sup>1</sup> etc , *uvāsikāya EI* 15 267 23

S Ind Ins	Sk. <i>bālīkā-</i> > <i>bālīka-m</i> L 1202 <sup>1</sup>
	Sk. <i>kanyakā-</i> > <i>kanika-ni</i> L 1202 <sup>1</sup>

We may also note here the nom sg ending of the fem nouns ending in  $\bar{a}$   
Bhatt *majusa* L 1329 , but *majūsā* L 1338

(c) Change  $\bar{a} > a$  before suffixes It occurs only in a few cases

Amar II	Sk. <i>sa-bhāryā-ka-</i> > [ <i>sa</i> ] <i>bha[ri]ya-ka-</i> L 1230 <sup>7</sup> <i>sabhaya-ka-</i> L 1273 <sup>1</sup>
S Ind Ins.	Sk. <i>Samudrā-ni-</i> > <i>Samuda-ni-</i> L 1202 <sup>3</sup>

(d) Change  $\bar{a} > a$  occurs sometimes irregularly

Amar II	Sk. <i>jñātī-</i> > <i>-nati-</i> L 1230 <sup>9</sup> etc Sk. <i>pratiṣṭhāpita-</i> > [ <i>pa</i> ] <i>tiṣṭhap[ita]</i> - L 1287 <sup>3</sup> etc.
S Ind Ins	Sk. <i>Vāsīṣṭhī-</i> > <i>Vasitḥi-</i> L 1341 , also cf <i>patiṣṭhapita-</i> L 1202 <sup>7</sup> etc. etc
Nāgār	Sk. <i>bālīkā-</i> > <i>balikā-</i> EI 20 19 135 <sup>3</sup> Sk. <i>ācāryā-</i> > <i>acariya-</i> EI 20 24 G <sup>8</sup>

This change occurs in a good many cases cf the remarks on orthography in the introductory § 211 5

§ 219 Treatment of the Sk vowel  $i$  The short vowel is generally preserved The following changes, however, occur in the circumstances noted below

(a) Change  $i > \bar{i}$  in a metrically long syllable occurs in a few cases

Bhaṭṭ.	Sk. <i>Citraka-</i> > <i>Cītaka-</i> (?) L 1337 <sup>9</sup> Sk. <i>Simha-</i> > <i>Ṣiha-</i> L 1335
Amar II	Sk. <i>Kalinga-</i> > <i>Kālīga-</i> L 1251
S Ind Ins	Sk. <i>vitāśam</i> > <i>vitārāśam</i> L 1195
Nāgār	Sk. <i>Vāsīṣṭhī-</i> > <i>Vāsīṭhī-</i> EI 20 16 (footnote 6) D2 <sup>3</sup> or <i>Vāsīdhi-</i> EI 20 16 (footnote 6) D4 <sup>4</sup> , but we get <i>Vāsīṭhī-</i> also

(b) Change  $i > e$  in a metrically long syllable

Amar II	Sk. <i>pṛṇḍaka-</i> > <i>pemḍaka-</i> <sup>18</sup> L 1240 <sup>2</sup> It becomes <i>e</i> once even without a cluster following it. Sk. <i>nivāsaka-</i> > <i>nivāsaka-</i> <sup>18</sup> EI 15 274 55 <sup>1</sup>
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17 Also cf *patiṣṭham[pi]ta-* L 1240<sup>2</sup>

18 It is, however, possible to derive these words from the vṛddhi forms \**paṇḍa-* and \**navāsi-*

- Nāgār            Sk *ī āsī-thī-* > *ī āsclhā-* EI 20 16 (footnote 6) <sup>1</sup>  
 Cop Pl            Sk *\*ī-ttha* > *cltha* L 1200<sup>2</sup>
- (c) Change *ī* > *ī* irregularly in a few cases  
 Nāgār            . Sk *cailya-* > *\*celiya-* > *-celiya-* LI 20 18 132,<sup>3</sup> 2  
                      Sk. *āryatā-* > *\*ayī-kā-* > *ayikā-* EI 20 22 F-  
 Cop Pl            Sk *bhūmi-* > *bhūmī-* L 1327<sup>4</sup>  
                      Sk *Agivcsya-* > *Agivcsa-* 1205<sup>5</sup>.
- (d) Change *ī* > *a*  
 Bhatt            Sk *Kauśika-* > *Kośaka-* L 1332<sup>6</sup>  
 Amar II            Sk *sa-bhagmi-ka-* > *sa-bhagina ka-* L 1249<sup>7</sup>  
                      It appears to be due to dissimilation
- (e) Change *ī* > *u* due to assimilation  
 Amar II            Sk *duhit-* > *duhutu-* L 1206 etc.  
 Nāgār            cf *duhutā* EI 20 18 B2<sup>8</sup> *dhūtu-* EI 20 24 H<sup>9</sup>
- (f) Change *ī* > *ā* occurs in mistake  
 Amar II            *sa-pit-* *ka-* > *sa-pālu-ka-* L 1256
- (g) The vowel *ī* is initially lost in *itī* and *idānīm-*  
 Amar II            Sk. *itī-* > *it* L 1283, also cf S Ind Ins (L 1202<sup>10</sup>),  
                      Nāgār (EI 20 18 B2<sup>8</sup> etc.) and Cop Pl (L 1200<sup>11, 12, 13</sup>,  
                      *itī* L 1200<sup>14, 15</sup>)  
 Cop Pl            Sk. *idānīm* > *dām* L 1205, L 1328<sup>16</sup>.

§ 220 Treatment of the Sk vowel *ī* The long vowel is usually preserved but in the following circumstances it is shortened to *i*

- (a) Change *ī* > *i* before a consonant cluster in a few cases  
 Bhatt            Sk *Sthūlasīrṣm-* > *Thorasī-* L 1332<sup>1</sup>  
 S Ind Ins            Sk *grīṣma-* > *gimha-* L 1195  
 Nāgār            cf *[gimha]-* EI 20 21 G<sup>10</sup> (cf however *digha*  
                      EI 20 17 C1<sup>11</sup> 1<sup>12</sup> C2<sup>13</sup>)  
 Cop Pl            cf *gimha-* L 1205<sup>14</sup>
- (b) Change *ī* > *i* before termination  
 Bhatt            Sk *Simlagoṣṭhī-* > *Sihagoṭhī-ya* L 1335  
 Amar I            Sk *Relī-* > *Relī-ya* LI 15 263 6  
 Amar II            . Sk *ghāṇā-* > *gharāṇ-ya* L 1281 etc  
                      Sk *antetāṣm-* > *atetāṣm-ya* L 1286 etc  
                      But *ī* is preserved in *Bhagī-ya* L 1269  
 S Ind Ins            . Sk *Nīgila-* > *Nīgilāṇ-* L 1202 also  
                      cf *gharāṇ-* L 1202 etc  
 Nāgār            Sk *blegī-* > *blegī-ya* EI 20 18 B1<sup>15</sup> etc,  
                      also cf *gharā-* cf EI 20 25 J etc, it is preserved in  
                      *blegī-ya* EI 20 22 F<sup>16</sup>
- (c) Change *ī* > *i* before a suffix in later compositions. This occurs in a few  
 Amar II            Sk *...-ī-* > *...-i-* L 1252, etc,  
                      cf *...-ī-* L 1200

<sup>10</sup> Pr *grīṣma* < *\*grīṣma-*  
 15



- (d) Change  $\bar{i} > i$  at the end of the first member in a Compound <sup>20</sup>  
 S Ind Ins Sk. *Gautamī-putra-* > *Gotamī-puta-* L 1340<sup>1</sup>  
 But cf *Vāsīthī-puta-* L 1341, *Hārūti-putta-* L 1195,  
 L 1196, *Takīñcī-putta-* L 1195  
 Nāgār cf *Vāsīthī-puta-* EI 20 16C3<sup>5</sup>, *Mādhari-puta-* EI  
 20 22 F<sup>1</sup> etc However, long  $\bar{i}$  is preserved in *Vasīthī*  
*puta-* EI 20 17 A3<sup>5</sup>, *Mādhari-puta-* EI 20 20 C4<sup>6</sup> etc
- (e) Change  $\bar{i} > i$  occurs irregularly  
 Bhaṭṭ Sk. *śārīra-* > *sarīra-* L 1330, L 1334  
 Amar I Sk. *trīṇu* > *tinu* EI 15 p 265, 18, 269 33<sup>3</sup>  
 Sk. *uṣṇīṣa-* > *ūṇisa-* EI 15 271 44  
 Amar II Sk. *pāṇīya-* > *pāṇiya-* L 1279, also *unisa-* L 1231,  
 L 1251  
 Nāgār Sk. *Vīra-* > *Vira-* EI 20 16 C3<sup>6</sup>, also cf *tinu* EI  
 20 22 F<sup>3</sup> where a compensatory nasal is added, *unisa-*  
 EI 20 25 J<sup>1</sup>, etc  
 Cop Pl Sk. *pīḍā-* > *pīlā-* L 1200<sup>10</sup>

§ 221 Treatment of the Sk. vowel  $u$  The vowel though normally preserved, becomes  $u$ ,  $o$  or  $i$  in a few cases <sup>21</sup>

- (a) Change  $u > \bar{u}$  in a metrically long syllable occurs in some instances

Bhaṭṭ.	Sk. <i>Kumbha-</i> > <i>Kūba-</i> (?) L 1333 <sup>1</sup>
Amar I	Sk. <i>uṣṇīṣa-</i> > <i>ūṇisa-</i> EI 15 271 42, 44
Amar II	* <i>kṣulla-</i> > <i>cūla-</i> L 1285, but cf <i>unisa-</i> 1231, L 1251 etc.
Cop Pl.	Sk. <i>dugdha-</i> > <i>-dūdha-</i> L 1200 <sup>31</sup>

- (b) Change  $u > o$  in a metrically long syllable

Amar II	Sk. <i>Kubja-</i> > <i>Koja-</i> <sup>22</sup> L 1253
Nāgār	Sk. <i>puḍgala</i> > <i>pógala-</i> <sup>22</sup> EI 20 25 J <sup>1</sup>

- (c) Change  $u > i$  occurs in the stock example, *purisa-* cf S Ind Ins (L 1202<sup>1</sup>), Nāgār (EI 20 16 C3<sup>13</sup> etc.)

§ 222 Treatment of the Sk. vowel  $\bar{u}$  The vowel  $\bar{u}$  is fairly well preserved The following sporadic changes may be noted

- (a) Change  $\bar{u} > u$  before a consonant cluster

Amar II	Sk. <i>ūrdhvā-</i> > <i>udha-</i> EI 15 275 57 <sup>3</sup> L 1243-
S Ind Ins.	Sk. <i>pārva-</i> > <i>puva-</i> L 1202 <sup>5</sup> , L 1340 <sup>1</sup> , also Nāgār (EI 20 22 F8 etc.) and Cop Pl (cf <i>puvva-</i> L 1200 <sup>12</sup> )

- (b) Change  $\bar{u} > u$  occurs sometimes irregularly

Bhaṭṭ.	Sk. <i>mañjūsā</i> <sup>23</sup> > <i>majusa-</i> L 1329, L 1330, but cf <i>majūsā</i> L 1338
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20 Cf WACKERNAGEL *Alt Gr II*, § 56, p 134 for similar forms in Sk. and § 167c supra.

21 In a 2nd cent. AD inscription from Ceylon  $u-$  is initially lost in the following instance. Sk. *udaka-* > *daka-* EZ III 116<sup>5</sup>

22 As noticed above in similar change of  $i > e$ , these forms could be derived from \**Kaubja* and \**puḍgala-* cf fn 18 supra

23 Sk. *mañjūsā* is also given by lexicographers, though it is not attested in literature.

Amar I	Sk <i>sūci-</i> (or <i>sūci-</i> ) > <i>suci-</i> EI 16 264 13, but cf <i>sūci-</i> EI 15 265 16
Amar II	Sk <i>bhūṭā-</i> > <i>-bhuta-</i> L 1264 Sk <i>mūṭa-</i> > <i>-mūṭa-</i> L 1243 <sup>1</sup> , also cf <i>suci</i> L 1247 <sup>2</sup> , L 1254 <sup>3</sup>
S Ind Ins	Sk <i>Mūṭāśrī</i> > <i>Mūṭa-śrī</i> L 1243 <sup>1</sup> Sk <i>rajnūka</i> (or <i>rajju-ka</i> ) > <i>rajjuka-</i> L 1195

§ 223 Treatment of the Sk vowel *e* The vowel is well preserved In Bhat<sup>1</sup> inscriptions Sk *Kubera* > *Kubira-* L 1338 and *Khubira-* L 1335 probably in mistake The form *atavāsi-* which occurs in Amar II (L 1295) is probably to be derived from Sk *antar-vāsin-*

§ 224 Treatment of the Sk vowel *o* It is also well preserved The vowel *o* which is the result of sandhi between *a* + *u* is represented as *u* cf Amar II Sk *satvottama-* > *satutama-* L 1234, L 1239

## II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

§ 225 As in other Prakrit inscriptions the consonants in their initial position are almost rigidly preserved In their intervocalic position, however, they undergo a few changes of partial application

### § 226 Gutturals

(a) The change of intervocalic surds to sonants is observed in the following instances

(i) Change *-k-* > *-g-* is found since earliest times But the instances multiply only after the beginning of the Christian era

Bhatt	Sk <i>sphaṭika-</i> > <i>phāḥga-</i> L 1330, L 1335
Amar II	Sk <i>lokā-</i> > <i>loga-</i> L 1271 <sup>1</sup> Sk <i>Mukunda-</i> > <i>Muguda-</i> L 1232 <sup>1</sup> Sk <i>sa-mātr-lā-</i> > <i>sa-mātu-gā-</i> EI 15 269 35
S Ind Ins	Sk <i>mlāyā-</i> > <i>mgāya-</i> EI 24 259 <sup>2</sup>
Nāgār	cf <i>mgaya-</i> EI 20 20 C2 <sup>10</sup> Similarly for <i>Pūṣyānam</i> , EI 20 20 C5 <sup>2</sup> we get <i>Pūṣyānam</i> EI 20 21 E <sup>1</sup>

(ii) Change *-ḥ-* > *-gh-* is observed in later inscriptions

Amar II	Sk <i>mukha-</i> > <i>-muḥga-</i> L 1206 Sk <i>lakhala-</i> > <i>leglaka-</i> L 1291 Sk <i>śhḥara-</i> > <i>-siglata-</i> EI 15 273 50
Nāgār	cf <i>Huḥga-</i> EI 20 25 K <sup>1</sup> But <i>subha-</i> occurs very often

(b) The reverse change of a sonant into a surd<sup>11</sup> is observed in the following instances which are mostly proper names

(i) Change *-g-* > *-k-*

Amar II	Sk <i>Nāgaśrī</i> > <i>Nakaśrī</i> EI 15 273 52 <sup>2</sup> , also cf <i>Nakā</i> EI L 1248 <sup>3</sup> Sk <i>Mṛgabuddha-</i> > <i>Makha</i> <i>idhi-</i> L 1254
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<sup>11</sup> Similar tendency is observed in the 2nd cent. AD inscriptions from Ceylon of Sk *vaṭṭa* > *vaṭṭa* EI 1 623 Sk *raṭṭa* > *raṭṭa* EI III 116<sup>1</sup> (cf *vaṭṭa* > *vaṭṭa* in 4th cent. AD inscription EI III 122)

- S Ind Ins Sk *Nāgaçandra* > *Nākacānda*- L 1202<sup>2</sup>,  
also cf *Nākabudhanika*- L 1202<sup>4</sup>  
Sk. *Skandanāga*- > *Khamdanāka*- EI 14 p 155<sup>5</sup>  
Sk *tadāga* <sup>25</sup> > *taḷāka*- EI 14 p 155<sup>3</sup>
- Nāgār Sk. *bhaginī* > *bak[ɪ]n[ɪ]* EI 20 37 Sculpture inscription  
Sk *koṣṭhāgāra* > *koṭh[ā]kāra*- EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup>  
Also cf *taḷāka*- EI 20 22.F<sup>3</sup> and proper names with  
*Nākā*- EI 20 25 K<sup>1</sup>
- Cop Pl cf *-talāka*- L 1327<sup>5</sup>

(c) Change of a guttural to *y* is observed only in the case of *-k*-

(1) Change *-k* > *-y*- takes place only in the suffixes

- Amar II Sk *Buddhaśrāvīkā* > *Budhasāvīyā*- EI 15.274 55<sup>1</sup>  
Sk *Samudrikā*- > *Samudīyā*- L 1286

Cop Pl Sk *ardhika* > *addhiya*- L 1194<sup>11</sup>

(d) Change *k*- and *-k*- > *kh*- and *-kh*- occurs rarely

- Bhaṭṭ Sk *Kuberaka* > *Khubiraka*- L 1335, but  
cf *Kubiraka*- L 1338

S Ind Ins Sk *Iṣvāku* > *Ikhāku*- L 1202<sup>1</sup>,  
but cf *Ikhāku*- L 1204<sup>1</sup>

(e) Change *-kh* > *-k*- by loss of aspiration is equally rare<sup>20</sup>

S Ind Ins Sk *pakṣā* > \**pakkha* > *pakka*- L 1195

(f) Change *-gh* > *-h*- by loss of occlusion occurs in a doubtful instance

Bhaṭṭ Sk *Māgha* > *Māha*- L 1337<sup>5</sup>

(g) The loss of intervocal *-k*- occurs once in a suffix

Amar II Sk *Dharmaśrīkā* > *Dhammasirīā*- L 1284

## § 227 Palatals

(a) The change of *-c* > *-j*- is observed in a few cases<sup>27</sup>

Amar II Sk *sūci* > [sū]j<sup>28</sup> L 1241<sup>2</sup>

Nāgār Sk. *ācāryā* > *-ajariya*- EI 12 62 G3<sup>11</sup>

(b) Change *j*- and *-j* > *c* and *-c*- occurs in a very few cases

Bhaṭṭ Sk *Jaghanya putra* > *Cagha[nā]-puta*- (?) L 1336

Amar II Sk. *pravrapitā* > *pavacitā*- L 1270<sup>2</sup>, EI 15.275 58

(c) Change of a palatal into *y* is found both with *c* and *j*

(1) Change *c*- and *-c* > *y*- and *-y*-

Amar II Sk *sūci* > *suyi*- L 1247<sup>2</sup>

S Ind Ins Sk *ca* > *ya* L 1202<sup>5</sup>

25 But Sk *-ga* is itself MI-A development from PI-A *-ka*-

26 This change forms one of the principal traits of the Ceylonese Prakrit. The instances come from the 2nd cent. B.C. and 2nd cent. A.D. inscriptions of the following

Sk. *Dharmarakṣita* > \**Dhamarakṣita* > *Damarakṣita*- EZ I 18 1<sup>1</sup>

Sk. *bhikṣu* > \**bhiku* > *bhiku*- EZ I 62.3 (Also cf EZ III 162<sup>2</sup>)

Sk. *√khan* > *√kana*- EZ I 211<sup>5</sup>

Similarly we also get the change *-gh* > *-g*-

Sk. *sangha* > *saga*-EZ I 18 1<sup>2</sup> (2nd cent. B.C.) and EZ I 62.3 (2nd cent. A.D.) It is however preserved in a 1st or 2nd cent. B.C. inscription cf *śagha*- EZ I 147 IIIa

27 The Ceylon inscriptions give one such instance cf Sk. *prācīna* > *paṇina*- EZ III 250<sup>1</sup>

28 Cf Dravidian *sūṇi*-

- Cop Pl cf *ja* L 1191<sup>12</sup>  
 Sk *racanā-* > *rayana-* L 1194<sup>13</sup>
- (ii) Change -j- > -y-  
 Amar II Sk *rāṇjā-* > *rāṇya-* L 1229<sup>1</sup>, L 1230<sup>1</sup> etc  
 Sk *Rājasaṭṭa-* > *Rāyasṭa-* L 1280<sup>1</sup>  
 S Ind Ins Sk *dhvajā-* > *-dhaya-* EI 24 259<sup>1</sup>, L 1205  
 Cop Pl Sk *Bhāradvāja-* > *Bhāradāya-* L 1205<sup>1</sup>, L 1328<sup>16</sup>
- (d) The loss of intervocal -j- is rare.  
 Amar II Sk *pravrajita-* > *paravāta-* L 1244
- (e) -c- is replaced by -d- obviously in mistake.  
 Nāgār Sk *mahācāṭṭya-* > *mahādāṭṭya-* EI 20 20 C4<sup>1</sup>,  
 EI 20 20 C5<sup>1</sup>

## § 228 Cerebrals

- (a) The change of surd into sonant occurs both with -t- and -ṭh-.
- (i) Change -t- > -d- occurs since early times<sup>20</sup>.
- Amar I Sk *Dhāṇyakataka-* > *Dhamṇakadaka-* EI 15 263.5  
 Amar II Sk *ghaṭa-* > *ghada-* L 1273<sup>2</sup>  
 S Ind Ins cf *Dhāṇakada-* EI 24 259<sup>6</sup>  
 Cop Pl Sk *bhaṭa* > *-bhada-* L 1200<sup>10</sup>, L 1205<sup>17</sup>  
 Sk *koti-* > *kodī-* L 1200<sup>10</sup>, also *-komdi-* L 1200<sup>10</sup>,  
 also cf *Dhamṇakada-* L 1205<sup>1</sup>
- (ii) Change -ṭh- > -dh-<sup>21</sup> occurs rather later  
 S Ind Ins Sk *Māṭharīputra-* > *Mādhariputa-* L 1202<sup>1</sup>  
 Nāgār cf *Mādhariputa-* EI 20 16 C3<sup>1</sup> etc, but cf forms with  
 -ṭh- EI 20.21 E<sup>1</sup>, 24 H<sup>1</sup>, 22 F<sup>1</sup>  
 Cop Pl cf *Mādhara-* L 1200<sup>11</sup>
- (b) The loss of cerebralisation is found with *th*.
- (i) Change -ṭh- > -th-  
 Nāgār Sk *pratiṭhāpita-* > *patithapita-* EI 20 16 C3<sup>12</sup> and  
 cf *mitṭhapita-* EI 20 17 C1<sup>1</sup> The cerebral occurs in  
*patiṭṭhapita-* EI 20 20 C4<sup>1</sup> etc
- (c) The change of -t- and -d- > -l- or -ḷ-.
- Bhṛṣṭ Sk *plāṭika* > *plāḷga-* L 1330, L 1335  
 Amar II Sk *Diatida* > *Danila-* L 1247  
 S Ind Ins Sk *taṭṭga* > *taḷḷa-* EI 14 155<sup>1</sup>  
 Nāgār cf *taṭṭa-* EI 20 22 F<sup>1</sup>  
 Cop Pl Sk *pāḍā-* > *pḷḷa-* L 1200<sup>1</sup>, L 1205  
 Sk *ṣṭāda* > *ṣṭā* L 1200<sup>1</sup>, also *-taḷḷa-* L 1327

<sup>20</sup> Similar cases from Ceylon are extremely rare cf S *ṭaṭṭa* > *\*ṭaṭṭa* > *ṭaṭṭa* EI 11 163<sup>1</sup>

<sup>21</sup> Like the change of *h* > *h* and *ṭh* > *ṭh* in the Ceylonese inscriptions

Sk *ṭaṭṭa* > *\*ṭaṭṭa* > *ṭaṭṭa* EI 11 163<sup>1</sup>

Sk *ṭaṭṭa* > *\*ṭaṭṭa* > *ṭaṭṭa*

Sk *ṭaṭṭa*

(d) Treatment of the cerebral *n* In the early inscriptions at Bhaṭṭ. *-n-* is preserved cf Sk. *śramaṇā-* > *samana-* L 1332<sup>5</sup>, L 1337<sup>7</sup>, Sk. *vāruna-* > *V[a]runa-* L 1332<sup>9</sup> etc. But in later inscriptions we find a tendency to change *-n-* > *-ṇ-*<sup>33</sup> The change, however, has in no way a sweeping application

Amar I	Sk. <i>usnīṣa-</i> > <i>ūṇisa-</i> EI 15.271 44 , also cf <i>samana-</i> EI 15 264 11
Amar II	In a majority of cases <i>-n-</i> > <i>-ṇ-</i> , cf Sk. <i>dakṣiṇa</i> (also <i>ná-</i> ) > <i>dakṣiṇa-</i> L 1229 <sup>3</sup> , L 1255 <sup>3</sup> Sk. <i>cārana-</i> > <i>carana-</i> L 1272 , etc
Nāgār	Sk. <i>vaṇṇ-</i> > <i>vaṇṇaka-</i> EI 20 16 C3 <sup>8</sup> (but <i>vaṇṇa-</i> EI 20 16 (footnote 13) A3 <sup>6</sup> , A4 <sup>7</sup> , B3 <sup>6</sup> , C1 <sup>7</sup> etc ), also cf <i>samana-</i> EI 20.21.E <sup>2</sup> But in a majority of cases <i>-n-</i> is preserved cf <i>samana-</i> EI 20 16 C3 <sup>8</sup> , <i>taruna-</i> EI 20 22F <sup>1</sup> , <i>kavana-</i> (< <i>kṛpana-</i> ) EI 20 10C3 <sup>8</sup> etc
Cop P <sup>1</sup>	Sk. <i>brāhmaṇā-</i> > <i>baṇṇhana-</i> L 1328 <sup>10</sup> Sk. <i>lavanā-</i> > <i>-lona-</i> L 1205 <sup>13</sup> , L 1328 <sup>32</sup> (cf however, <i>-lona-</i> L 1200 <sup>12</sup> , <i>pesana-</i> L 1200 <sup>6</sup> )

## § 229 Dentals

(a) Change of surd to sonant affects both *-t-* and *-th-*

(i) Change *-t-* > *-d-* occurs from early times

Bhaṭṭ	Sk. <i>Bharata-</i> > <i>Bharada-</i> L 1332
Amar II	Sk. <i>sa-dhātu-ka-</i> > <i>sa-dhādu-ka-</i> L 1229 <sup>4</sup> Sk. <i>catīya-</i> > <i>*cetīya-</i> > <i>cedīya-</i> L 1276
Nāgār	Sk. <i>jñāti-</i> > <i>ṇādi-</i> EI 20 25 K <sup>1</sup>
Cop P <sup>1</sup>	Sk. <i>khātaka-</i> > <i>-khādaka-</i> L 1205 <sup>13</sup> , L 1328 <sup>3</sup> Sk. <i>kṛtā-</i> > <i>kada-</i> L 1200 <sup>11</sup>

(ii) Change *-th-* > *-dh-* also occurs from early times

Amar I	Sk. <i>-kathika-</i> > <i>-kadhika-</i> EI 15 270 40 <sup>3</sup>
Amar II	Sk. <i>Nāthaśrī</i> > <i>Nādhasrī-</i> L 1233 , cf <i>-kadhika-</i> EI 15 268.31
Nāgār	Sk. <i>hastin-</i> > <i>hadhi-</i> EI 20 19B5 <sup>4</sup> Sk. <i>arthanā-</i> > <i>adhanā-</i> EI 20 19B5 <sup>4</sup> Sk. <i>Vāsīsthīputra-</i> > <i>*Vāsīdhīputra-</i> > <i>Vāsīdhīputra-</i> EI 20 16 (footnote 6) D4 <sup>1,5</sup> , 16 C3 <sup>7</sup> , also cf <i>patidhapamta-</i> EI 20 18 B2 <sup>8</sup> for Sk. <i>pratisthāputa</i>

(b) The hardening of *-d-* > *-t-* is found in

Amar I	Sk. <i>vedikā-</i> > <i>vet[ī]ka-</i> EI 15.268 29
Amar II	Sk. <i>pādukā-</i> > <i>pātukā-</i> L 1219 Sk. <i>lokādītya-</i> > <i>logāḍīca-</i> L 1271 <sup>1</sup> , cf <i>vetikā-</i> L 1269, EI 15 271 46
Cop P <sup>1</sup>	Sk. <i>maryādā-</i> > <i>majātā-</i> L 1200 <sup>15</sup>

(c) The softening of *-d-* > *-y-* is observed only in the usual example

Amar II	Sk. <i>bhadanta-</i> > <i>bhayata-</i> L 1223 etc
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(d) Change *-d-* > *-dh-* occurs due to anticipation

33 It may be noted that *-n-* is preserved in all Ceylonese inscriptions

- Amar II Sk. *duhutr-* > *dhutu-ka-* L 1230<sup>o</sup>, L 1241<sup>o</sup> etc.  
(but cf *dulu-ka-* L 1309)  
Nāgār cf *dhūtu-* EI 20 21 H<sup>o</sup>

(e) Change *-th-* > *-t-* and *-dh-* > *-d-* occur very rarely<sup>34</sup>

- Cop Pl Sk. *-pāltha-* > *Amdhā-pāṭiya-gāma-* L 1205<sup>o</sup>  
Amar II Sk. *deya-dharma-* > *deya-dama-* EI 15 273 53

(f) The change *-n-* > *-r-* is found once at a late date.

- Cop Pl Sk. *jananī-* > *-janatī-* L 1327<sup>o</sup>

### § 230 Labials

(a) The labials are better preserved than any other class as a whole. The only important change that is noticed is that of a labial > *v*

(i) Change *-p-* > *-v-* occurs from very early times

- Bhaṭṭ Sk. *vjāghrapād* > *Vaghavā* L 1332<sup>o</sup>  
Amar II Sk. *upāsikā-* > *uvāsikā-* L 1206, L 1268 etc.  
Sk. *dīpa-* > *diva-* L 1244<sup>o</sup>  
Sk. *mandapa-* > *ma[d]ita-* L 1230<sup>10</sup>  
Sk. *\*gopālī-* > *govālī-* EI 15 270 41  
Matṭep Sk. *Kāśyapa-* > *Kassata-* EI 17 329<sup>11</sup>  
Nāgār Sk. *sthāpita-* > *thavita* EI 20 22 F<sup>o</sup>  
Sk. *upari-* > *uvan-* EI 20 22 F<sup>o</sup>  
Sk. *kṛpana-* > *karana-* EI 20 16 C3<sup>o</sup>, also cf *uvāsikā-*  
EI 20 22 F<sup>o</sup>, *mandata-* EI 20 22 F<sup>o</sup>, *manṭata-*  
EI 20 21 E- etc  
Cop Pl Sk. *api-* > *vi* L 1200<sup>o, 1</sup>, (also *api* L 1200<sup>o</sup>); also  
cf *Kassata-* L 1200<sup>12</sup>, *gotallata-* L 1200<sup>o</sup>

(ii) Change *-b-* > *-v-* occurs in a proper name

- Matṭep Sk. *Sabara* (+ *ārjya-*) > *Satara-jja-* EI 17 329<sup>o</sup>

(b) Change *bh-* > *b-* by loss of aspiration<sup>35</sup>

- Nāgār Sk. *bhagnā-* > *baṭ[t|n|t]-* EI 20 37, Sculpture  
Inscription

(c) Change *bh-* > *k-* by loss of occlusion

- Nāgār Sk. *blatatu* > *lotu* EI 20 21 E<sup>o</sup>

[(d) A curious change of  $m > b$  occurs in a Ceylonese inscription, cf S' *ācāma-*  
> *a cba-* EZ III 116<sup>o</sup> (2nd cent. AD)]

<sup>34</sup> But this is to be found in all Ceylonese inscriptions.

Sk. *stha na-* > *thra-* > *tata-* EZ I 181<sup>o</sup> (2nd cent. BC), also cf EZ I 144 4a.

Sk. *Dhamachāṭa-* > *\*Dhamachāṭa-* > *Damachāṭa-* EZ I 181<sup>o</sup> (2nd cent. BC).

Sk. *\*ācā-* > *\*ācā-* EZ I 211<sup>o</sup> (2nd cent. AD).

<sup>35</sup> This is also found in such instances from the Ceylonese inscriptions, e.g. *stha na-* (< *stha na-*) EZ I 211<sup>o</sup> (2nd cent. AD), *\*stha na-* (< *stha na-*) EZ I 211<sup>o</sup> (2nd cent. AD) and *stha na-* (< *stha na-*) EZ III 251.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. the following from the Ceylonese Pāli inscription:

Sk. *bhāṭa-* > *baṭa-* EZ I 181<sup>o</sup> (2nd cent. BC).

Sk. *bhāṭa-* > *baṭa-* EZ I 123, EZ I 145, 2nd cent. AD. It is also found in the Pāli inscription, EZ I 145, 2nd cent. AD.

Sk. *bhāṭa-* > *baṭa-* EZ I 145, 2nd cent. AD.

Sk. *bhāṭa-* > *baṭa-* EZ I 211<sup>o</sup> (2nd cent. AD).

§ 231 Semivowels As with stops, the semivowels are initially well preserved. It is only the semivowel *y* which sometimes becomes *j* even initially. In their medial position too they are well preserved, except for a few changes.

(a) The semivowel *y* is either preserved or in some cases becomes *j* or *v* or is totally dropped.

(i) Change *y-* and *-y-* > *-j* and *-j-* appears in later inscriptions

Nāgār Sk. *Yakṣá-* > *Jakha-* EI 21 68.N<sup>3</sup>

Cop Pl Sk. *yah* > *jo* L 1200<sup>14</sup>, L 1205<sup>21</sup>

S Ind Ins Sk. *déya-* > *dejja-* L 1195, L 1196

Nāgār Sk. *vājapeya-* > *vājaveja-* EI 20 24 H<sup>1</sup> The change seems to have been also due to assimilation. We get however, *vājapeya-* more often cf. EI 20 16 (footnote 4) A2<sup>3</sup> etc

Sk. *bhadanta-* > \**bhayamta-* > *bhajamta*

EI 20 17 C1<sup>12</sup>

Cop Pl Sk. *sāmyukta-* > *-samjuṭta-* L 1200<sup>17</sup>, also cf. the term in *kāravejja-* L 1200<sup>10</sup>

(ii) Change *-y-* > *-v-*

Amar I Sk. *dyardha-* > \**dīyadha-* > *divadha-* EI 15 267 24

Amar II cf. *divaḍha-* L 1328<sup>17</sup>

(iii) Intervocally *-y-* is lost (only in some cases at a later date).

Amar II Sk. *cātya-* > *cetīya-* > *cetia-* L 1263<sup>1</sup>

, Sk. *ārya-* > \**ayīra-* > *āira-* I 1276

Nāgār In the gen. sg. term cf. *mahālalavari-a* (< *-ya*) EI 20 19.B5<sup>6</sup>

(b) The semivowel *r* is generally preserved in all its positions. There are, however, a few stray cases where *-r-* > *-l-*

Bhaṭṭ Sk. *Udāra-* > *Oda* (or *dā*)*la-* (?) L 1332<sup>12</sup>

Sk. *Udgāra-* > *V[|u]gāḷaka-* (?) L 1332<sup>3</sup>

Amar II Sk. *Kumāra-* > *Kumaḷā-* (fem.) (?) L 1218<sup>2</sup>

Nāgār Sk. *Kirāta-* > *Cilāta-*<sup>37</sup> EI 20 22 F<sup>1</sup>

(c) The semi-vowel *v* is also well preserved cf. however, the following few changes

(i) Change *v-* and *-v-* > *p-* and *-p-*

Bhaṭṭ Sk. *Vigraha-* > *Pigaha-* L 1331<sup>1</sup>

Amar II Sk. *bhagavat-* > *bhagapata-* L 1271<sup>1</sup>

Cop Pl Sk. *apṛāvesya-* > *apāpesa-* L 1205<sup>13</sup>, L 1328<sup>31</sup>

Sk. *√avayava-* (denominative) > *√oyapa-* L 1328<sup>27</sup>

(ii) Change *v* > *m* may be observed in Sk. *Dravida-* > *Damila-* L 1243<sup>1</sup>. But as the Sk. word itself is of Dravidian origin this may not be a proper instance.

§ 232 Sibilants In this group all the three sibilants are reduced to the single dental one with a few exceptions. In Bhaṭṭ we get all the three sibilants *ś*, *ṣ* and *s* of which *ṣ* and *s* appear in the first nine inscriptions and *ś* and *s* in the tenth. There is also some confusion in their treatment which finds its best parallel in the Aśokan

37 For this word and some others in which *-r-* > *-l-* in Mahārāṣṭri cf. H I 254

inscriptions at Kālsi.<sup>22</sup> As at Kālsi this confusion has been attributed to the ignorance of the scribe.

(a) The palatal sibilant *ś*

(1) Preservation of  $\delta^3$

Bhaṭṭ	Sk <i>śramanā-</i> > <i>śamana-</i> L 1339 <sup>2</sup> , but <i>saṃana-</i> L 1332 <sup>1</sup>
	Sk <i>uddeśa-</i> > <i>-uddeśa-</i> L 1339 <sup>3</sup>
S Ind Ins	Sk. <i>bhūmivēśa-</i> > <i>[bhū]mivēśa-</i> L 1341 <sup>5</sup>
	Sk <i>Śivaskandavarman-</i> > <i>Śiva[khada]rman-</i> L 1196

(11) Change -ś- > -ṣ-

Bhatt. Sk *Kauśika*- > *Koṣaka*- L 1332<sup>7</sup>.

(iii) Change  $\delta > s$

Bhaṭṭ.	Sk <i>śarīra-</i> > <i>śarīra-</i> L 1334
	Sk <i>śiva-</i> > <i>śiva-</i> L 1330
Amar II	Sk <i>śaila-</i> > <i>śaila-</i> L 1280 <sup>1</sup>
	Sk <i>śikhara-</i> > <i>śikhara-</i> EI 15 273 50- etc
S Ind Ins	Sk <i>śātakarm-</i> > <i>śātakarm-</i> L 1340 <sup>2</sup> , also cf <i>śaila-</i> L 1196
Nāgār	Sk <i>śāśi-</i> > <i>-śāśi-</i> EI 20 22 F <sup>1</sup> etc
	Sk <i>disā</i> > <i>disā</i> EI 20.22 F <sup>2</sup>
Cop Pl	Sk <i>śatā-</i> > <i>sata-</i> L 1200 <sup>10, 14</sup>
	Sk <i>śāsana-</i> > <i>sāsana-</i> L 1205 <sup>21</sup> etc

(b) The cerebral sibilant *s*

(1) Preservation of -s-

Bhāṭṭ.	Sk	<i>tēsām</i> > <i>teṣam</i> L 1335
Amar II	Sk	<i>Harṣa</i> > <i>Haṣa</i> - EI 15 275 57 <sup>1</sup>
S Ind Ins	Sk	<i>toṣa</i> > <i>toṣa</i> - L 1195
Cop Pl	Sk	<i>Paṇṣa</i> > <i>Paṇṣa</i> - L 1194 <sup>1,5</sup>

(11) Change -ſ- > -s-

Bhaṭṭ	Sk. <i>pāṣāṇa-</i> > <i>pāṣāṇa-</i> L 1335
	Sk. <i>mañjūṣā-</i> > <i>mañjūṣā-</i> L 1328, L 1329 etc.
Amar I	Sk. <i>uṣṇīṣa-</i> > <i>uṣṇīṣa-</i> EI 15 271 42, 41
Amar II	Sk. <i>īṣabha-</i> > <i>īṣabha-</i> L 1239 , cf <i>uṣṇīṣa-</i> L 1231 etc.
S Ind Ins	Sk. <i>pūṣa-</i> > <i>pūṣa-</i> L 1202
Nāgār	Sk. <i>doṣa-</i> > <i>doṣa-</i> EI 20 22 F. , also cf <i>īṣabha-</i> EI 20 16 C3; etc
Cor Pl	Sk. <i>īṣaya-</i> > <i>īṣaya-</i> L 1200 , Sk. <i>pūṣa-</i> > <i>pūṣa-</i> L 1200

(iii) Change  $-5 \rightarrow -1$  . .

Amar II      St. 5000 > 5000. 5000 - L 1202  
N5000      of 5000 L 1202 F- and 5000 - L 1202

38 C. Hutton 18 Dec 1914

39 This is also preserved in the Colburn manuscript of 1801: E7 I 104 (2nd cent. BC), and the P. O. of E7 I 105 (1st cent. AD). The same is found in E7 I 104 (2nd cent. BC), and in E7 I 105 (1st cent. AD).



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(i) Change *y-* and *-y-* > *-j* and *-j-* appears in later inscriptions.

Nāgār Sk. *Yakṣā-* > *Jakha-* EI 21 68 N<sup>3</sup>

Cop Pl Sk. *yāh* > *jo* L 1200<sup>11</sup>, L 1205<sup>21</sup>

S Ind Ins Sk. *deya-* > *dejja-* L 1195, L 1196

Nāgār Sk. *vājapeya-* > *vājaveja-* EI 20 24 H<sup>1</sup> The change seems to have been also due to assimilation. We get however, *vājapeya-* more often cf EI 20 16 (footnote 4) A2<sup>3</sup> etc

Sk. *bhadanta-* > \**bhayamta-* > *bhajamta*  
EI 20 17 C1<sup>12</sup>

Cop Pl Sk. *sāmyukta-* > *-saṃjutta-* L 1200<sup>17</sup>, also cf the term in *kāraṇeja-* L 1200<sup>10</sup>

(ii) Change *-y-* > *-v-*

Amar I Sk. *dvyaṛdha-* > \**diyaḍha-* > *diwadha-* EI 15 267 24

Amar II cf *diwadha-* L 1328<sup>17</sup>

(iii) Intervocally *-y-* is lost/only in some cases at a later date.

Amar II Sk. *cattya-* > *cetīya-* > *cetia-* L 1263<sup>1</sup>

Sk. *ārya-* > \**ayira-* > *aira-* I 1276

Nāgār In the gen sg term cf *mahātālavārī-a* (<-*ya*)  
EI 20 19 B5<sup>8</sup>

(b) The semivowel *r* is generally preserved in all its positions. There are, however, a few stray cases where *-r-* > *-l-*.

Bhaṭṭ Sk. *Udāra-* > *Oda* (or *dā*)*la-* (?) L 1332<sup>12</sup>

Sk. *Udgāra-* > *V[|u]gāḷaka-* (?) L 1332<sup>3</sup>

Amar II Sk. *Kumāra-* > *Kumaḷā-* (fem) (?) L 1218<sup>2</sup>

Nāgār Sk. *Kirāta-* > *Cilāta-*<sup>37</sup> EI 20 22 F<sup>1</sup>

(c) The semi-vowel *v* is also well preserved cf however, the following few changes.

(i) Change *v-* and *-v-* > *p-* and *-p-*

Bhaṭṭ Sk. *Vīgraha-* > *Pīgaha-* L 1331

Amar II Sk. *bhagavat-* > *bhagapata-* L 1271<sup>1</sup>

Cop Pl Sk. *apṛavesya-* > *apāpesa-* L 1205<sup>16</sup>, L 1328<sup>31</sup>

Sk. *√avayava-* (denominative) > *√oyapa-* L 1328<sup>27</sup>

(ii) Change *v* > *m* may be observed in Sk. *Draviḍa-* > *Damila-* L 1243<sup>1</sup>. But as the Sk word itself is of Dravidian origin this may not be a proper instance.

§ 232 Sibilants In this group all the three sibilants are reduced to the single dental one with a few exceptions. In Bhaṭṭ we get all the three sibilants *s*, *ṣ* and *ś* of which *ṣ* and *s* appear in the first nine inscriptions and *ś* and *s* in the tenth. There is also some confusion in their treatment which finds its best parallel in the Aśokan

37 For this word and some others in which *-r-* > *-l-* in Mahārāṣṭri cf H I 254

inscriptions at Kālsī<sup>38</sup> As at Kālsī this confusion has been attributed to the ignorance of the scribe.

(a) The palatal sibilant ś

(i) Preservation of ś<sup>39</sup>

- Bhaṭṭ. Sk *śramanā-* > *śamana-* L 1339<sup>3</sup>, but *samana-* L 1332<sup>5</sup>  
 Sk *uddeśa-* > *-udeśa-* L 1339<sup>3</sup>  
 S Ind Ins Sk. *bhūmiveśa-* > [*bhū*]*miveśa-* L 1341<sup>5</sup>  
 Sk *Śivaskandavarman-* > *Śiva[khada]varman-* L 1196

(ii) Change -ś- > -ṣ-

- Bhaṭṭ. . Sk. *Kauśika-* > *Koṣaka-* L 1332<sup>9</sup>.

(iii) Change ś > s

- Bhaṭṭ. Sk *śārira-* > *sarira-* L 1334.  
 Sk. *Śiva-* > *Siva-* L 1330  
 Amar II Sk *śaila-* > *sela-* L 1280<sup>1</sup>  
 Sk. *śikhara-* > *sighara-* EI 15 273 50<sup>2</sup> etc  
 S Ind Ins Sk *Śātakarṇi-* > *Sātakarṇi-* L 1340<sup>2</sup>, also  
 cf *saila-* L 1196  
 Nāgār Sk *śāśi-* > *-sasi-* EI 20 22 F<sup>1</sup> etc  
 Sk. *dīśā-* > *dīsā* EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup>.  
 Cop Pl Sk *śatā-* > *sata-* L 1200<sup>10, 48</sup>  
 Sk. *śāsana-* > *sāsana-* L 1205<sup>21</sup> etc

(b) The cerebral sibilant ṣ

(i) Preservation of -ṣ-

- Bhaṭṭ. Sk *tēṣām* > *teṣam* L 1335  
 Amar II Sk *Harṣa-* > *Haṣa-* EI 15 275 57<sup>1</sup>  
 S Ind Ins Sk *toṣa-* > *toṣa-* L 1195  
 Cop. Pl . Sk *Pauṣa-* > *Pauṣa-* L 1194<sup>15</sup>

(ii) Change -ṣ- > -s-

- Bhaṭṭ. . Sk *pāṣāna-* > *pāsāna-* L 1335  
 Sk. *mañjūṣā-* > *'majjāsā-* L 1328, L 1329 etc  
 Amar I Sk. *uṣṇīṣa-* > *ūnsa-* EI 15 271 42, 44  
 Amar II Sk. *vṛṣabhā-* > *vasabha-* L 1239 ;  
 cf *unsa-* L 1231 etc.  
 S Ind. Ins Sk *pūruṣa-* > *-purisa-* L 1202<sup>1</sup>  
 Nāgār Sk. *doṣa-* > *dosa-* EI 20 22 F<sup>1</sup>, also  
 cf *vasabha-* EI 20 16 C3<sup>2</sup> etc  
 Cop Pl Sk *viṣaya-* > *visaya-* L 1200<sup>3, 35</sup>  
 Sk. *preṣana-* > *-pesana-* L 1200<sup>6</sup>

(iii) Change -ṣ- > -h-

- Amar II Sk. *śnuṣā* > *\*sunhā-* > *sunhā-* L 1232<sup>2</sup>  
 Nāgār . cf *'sumnhā* EI 20 22 F<sup>3</sup> and *sun(hā)-* EI 20 24 5

38. Cf HULTZSCH, *As Ins* p lxxii

39. This is also preserved in the Ceylonese inscriptions cf *catudīśa* EZ I 18 1<sup>2</sup> (2nd cent B.C.), *Śivaguta-* and *Puṣaguta-* EZ I 145 6, 7 (1st or 2nd cent. B.C.), but also cf *catudīśa* EZ I 19 4 (2nd cent. B.C.), *viṣṭi* (< *vimśati*) EZ I 62.3 (2nd cent. A.D.)

(c) The dental sibilant *s* is, of course, preserved everywhere. In Bhaṭṭ inscriptions it is sometimes changed to *ś*, and sometimes to *h* in other inscriptions<sup>40</sup>

(i) Change *s* > *ś* in all positions

Bhaṭṭ. Sk. *dāsā* > *-dāśa*- L 1337<sup>a</sup>  
 Sk. *Samudra* > *Śamuda*- L 1332<sup>a</sup>  
 Sk. the gen. sg. term *-sya* > *-śa* etc. etc

(ii) Change *s*- > *h*-

Amar II Sk. *Saṅghā* > *Hamghā*- L 1201<sup>1</sup>, L 1271 etc  
 (But *Samgha*- occurs in L 1283 etc.)  
 Nāgār Sk. *Sukha* > *Hugha*- (?) EI 20 25 K<sup>1</sup>  
 Sk. *saṅgha* > *-kagha*- EI 20 20 C2<sup>10</sup> and  
*hamgha*- EI 20 17 C1<sup>11</sup>

§ 233 Palatalisation In some instances the dentals or the guttural *k* as palatalised under the influence of the palatal vowel *i* or the semivowel *y*

(a) Palatalisation of the guttural *k*

(i) Change *k* > *c*- due to the presence of *i*

Nāgār Sk. *Kīrāta* > *Cīrāta*-<sup>41</sup> EI 20 22 F<sup>1</sup>

(ii) Change *kṣ* > *cc* or *ch*

S Ind. Ins Sk. *rakṣā* > *-raccā*- L 1195 (cf the loss of aspiration with similar tendency in the Ceylonese inscriptions)

Nāgār PI-A \**kṣaṭ* (> Sk. *śaṭ*) > *chaṭha*- EI 20 21 E<sup>2</sup>, 22 F<sup>1</sup>,

Cop PI Sk. *kṣetra* > *chetta*- L 1327<sup>1</sup>

Sk. *kṣobha* > *-cchobha*- L 1200<sup>32</sup>, also  
 cf *chaṭha*- L 1205<sup>26</sup>

(b) Palatalisation of the dental *t*

(i) Change *-ty* > *-c*-

Amar II Sk. *lokāditya* > *logatica*- L 1239, L 1271<sup>1</sup>

Sk. *kṛtya* > *-kica*- L 1261<sup>1</sup>

S Ind Ins Sk. *amātya* > *amaca*- L 1341<sup>5</sup>, EI 24 259<sup>5</sup>

Nāgār Sk. *atyanta* > *acamta*- EI 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>

Cop PI cf *amacca*- L 1200<sup>5</sup>

(ii) Change *-ts* > *-ch*- or *-cch*-

Bhaṭṭ. Sk. *vaṭsa* > *vacha*- L 1337<sup>2</sup>

Amar I Sk. *saṃvaṭsarā* > *savachara*- L 1248<sup>1</sup>

S Ind Ins. cf *saṃvachara*- L 1202<sup>1</sup>, L 1340<sup>2</sup>, also

cf *saṃmacchara*- L 1195 and *savvacchara*- L 1196

40 In the Ceylonese inscriptions *s* is either preserved or sometimes changed to *ś* and *h* cf Sk. *upāśikā* > [u] *paśika*- EZ I 181<sup>3</sup> (2nd cent. B.C.)  
 Sk. *saṅgha* > *śaga* EZ I 19.2b<sup>2</sup> etc. (2nd cent. B.C.)

Thus change also occurs in the gen. sg. term cf *sagaśa* EZ I 181<sup>3</sup>, *teraśa* EZ I 144 4a etc.  
 The change *s* (< *ś*) > *h* is found in,

Sk. *śāṭikā* > \**sāṭikā* > *hāṭika*- EZ I 62 4 (2nd cent. A.D.)

The usual gen. sg. term *-sa* also appears as *-ha*, cf *Devaha* EZ I 193, *kulaha* EZ I 207, etc.

41 For similar palatalisation cf V 2.33 and H. 1.183

- Nāgār                      Sk. *vatsalā* > *vachalā*- EI 20 16 C3<sup>9</sup>, also  
cf. *saṃvachara*- EI 20.21.E<sup>3</sup>
- Cop Pl                      cf. *saṃvavacchara*- L 1194<sup>14</sup>, L 1327<sup>1</sup>
- (c) Palatalisation of the dental *dh*<sup>42</sup> .
- (i) Change *-dhy-* > *-jḥ-*, *-jḥh-*
- Nāgār                      Sk. *Madhyama* > *Maḥḥima*- EI 20 17 C1<sup>11</sup>
- Cop Pl                      Sk. *anudhyāta* > *-anujḥāta*- L 1194<sup>2</sup>
- (d) Palatalisation of the nasals *n* and *ṇ*
- (i) Change *-ny-* > *-ñ-* or *-mñ-* since the earliest times
- Bhaṭṭ                      Sk. *huraṇya* > *huraña*- L 1332<sup>2</sup>
- Nāgār                      cf. *huraṇṇaka*- EI 20 18.B4<sup>4</sup>.
- (ii) Change *-ny-* > *-mñ-*
- Amar I                      Sk. *Dhāṇyakaṭaka* > *Dhamña*- EI 15 262 4
- The same form occurs in Amarāvati II (L 1271<sup>1</sup>) and Copper Plates (L 1205<sup>3</sup>)
- (e) Change *-ry-* > *-j-* occurs very late.
- Maṭṭep                      . Sk. *Rudrārya* > *Ruddajja*- EI 17 329<sup>3</sup>
- Nāgār                      Sk. *sabhārya* > *sabhaja*- EI 20.25 J<sup>1</sup>
- Cop Pl                      . Sk. *ārya* > suffix *-ja* cf. *Agisama-ja* L 1200<sup>13</sup> etc etc.
- Sk. *maryādā* > *maḥjādā*- L 1205<sup>17</sup>, *maḥjātā*- L 1200<sup>45</sup>

§ 234 Cerebralisation As in other Prakrit inscriptions the dentals are sometimes cerebralised both initially and medially in the presence of *r* and *s*. Such cerebralisation is met with usually in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D.

(a) Cerebralisation of the dental *t*

(i) Change *-rt-* > *-t-* (or *-ṭh-*)

- Nāgār                      Sk. *varṭamāna* > *vaṭamāna*- EI 20 16 C3<sup>10</sup>,  
EI 21 65.M1<sup>4</sup> etc
- Cop Pl                      cf. *√vaṭṭa*- L 1200<sup>46</sup> and *√vaṭṭha*- (< Sk. *√vart*-)  
L 1200<sup>46</sup>

(ii) Change *-r-t-* > *-ṭ-* (> *-ḍ-*)

- Amar II                      Sk. *prati* > *paṭi*- EI 15 274 55<sup>4</sup>
- Nāgār                      cf. *paṭibhaga*- EI 20 16 C3<sup>8</sup>
- S Ind Ins                      . Sk. *pratiṣṭhāpita* > *\*paṭiṭhapita* > *paṭiṭhapita*-<sup>43</sup>  
EI 24 259<sup>8</sup>

(iii) Change *-tr-* > *-ṭ-* or *-ṭṭ-*

- Cop Pl                      Sk. *patrikā* > *paṭikā*- L 1328<sup>40</sup>, *paṭṭikā*- L 1200<sup>48</sup>,  
L 1205<sup>28</sup>

(iv) Change *-st-* > *-ṭh-*

- Amar II                      Sk. *vāstavyā* > *vathava*- EI 15 272 48<sup>1</sup>, but we get  
*vathava*- also

(b) Cerebralisation of the dental *th*

(i) Change *-rth-* > *-ṭh-*<sup>44</sup> :

42 The usual Prakrit form *dhitā* appears as *jḥita*- in a 2nd B.C. Ceylonese inscription Cf. EZ I 19.2b<sup>2</sup>

43 *paṭidīna*- occurs in the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. inscription from Ceylon. cf. EZ III 165<sup>4</sup> Also cf. Sk. *kṛtvā kaṭu* EZ I 62 4 (2nd cent. A.D.) and Sk. *√pat-* > *√pada*- EZ III 116<sup>2</sup> (2nd cent. A.D.)

44 For the change *rth* > *th* and then to *ṭ* cf. above fn 30,

- For initial cerebralisation of  $\eta$  in southern Aśokan cf. above p. 19, § 38.5.

Cop Pl	Sk. <i>vacanā-</i> > <i>vayana-</i> L 1194 <sup>7</sup>
	Sk. <i>śāsana-</i> > <i>-sāsana-</i> L 1200 <sup>10</sup>
	Sk. <i>idānīm</i> > <i>dām</i> L 1200 <sup>7</sup> , etc. etc

Thus it will be noticed that the tendency to cerebralise *n* has a very limited application. It is only in the copper plate inscriptions that we find sufficient instances to justify the presumption of a tendency towards cerebralisation. In the numerous inscriptions at Nāgār the dental *n* is generally preserved. It is cerebralised in suffixes as *Cāmtisīrīmkā-* EI 20 16 C3<sup>8</sup>, *Hammasīrīmkā-* EI 20 19 C2<sup>6</sup> etc

(11) Cerebralisation of *-n-* in terminations after *r* or *s*. In early inscriptions this *n* is not cerebralised cf

Bhaṭṭ	Sk. <i>śarīrānām</i> > <i>śarīrānam</i> L 1330
	Sk. <i>putrānām</i> > <i>-putānam</i> L 1335

But in the inscriptions of the following centres this *n* is cerebralised cf

Amar I	Sk. <i>trīn</i> > <i>tim</i> EI 15 265 18, also cf <i>bhukhuno</i> EI 15 262 3
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Gurzāla cf *apano* EI 26 125<sup>1</sup>. It also occurs in Amar II and S Ind Ins. Thus here *-n-* > *-ṇ-* though Sk. does not require it, also cf *kadambānam* and *parityakthēna* at Maḷavallī (L 1196) and *-lkhutena* (L 1200<sup>51</sup>) in copper plates,

Cop Pl	Sk. <i>mānuṣānām</i> > <i>manusāna</i> L 1200 <sup>6</sup>
	Sk. <i>samvatsarām</i> > <i>samvaccarām</i> L 1194 <sup>14</sup>

But in the inscriptions at Dharanikoṭa this original *n* is preserved (cf *putena* EI 24 259<sup>5</sup>), and so also in a large number of instances from Nāgār cf

Sk. <i>sthavirena</i> > <i>therena</i> EI 20 22 F <sup>3</sup>
Sk. <i>ācāryena</i> > <i>acarīyena</i> EI 20 24 H <sup>13</sup>
Sk. <i>putrānām</i> > <i>putānam</i> EI 20 22 F <sup>3</sup>

It is cerebralised only in stray cases as Sk. *trīn* > *tim* EI 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>

(f) Cerebralisation of nasal clusters. Sometimes the palatal *ñ* is cerebralised to *n*

(1) Change *-ñ-* > *-n-* is met with only in later centuries

S Ind Ins	Sk. <i>ā-√ñāp-</i> > <i>ā-√nāpa-</i> L 1195
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Cop Pl	Sk. <i>āñāpti-</i> > <i>ānatti-</i> L 1327 <sup>10</sup> , also cf <i>samānatta-</i> L 1194 <sup>13</sup> , <i>-āṇata-</i> L 1200 <sup>49</sup> . But we get the dental also in <i>ānatī</i> L 1205 <sup>27</sup> , <i>ānata-</i> L 1328 <sup>38</sup> etc
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### III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 235 As usual the clusters are assimilated to the stronger of the two consonants coming together. As in other groups only the treatment of important clusters is detailed below

§ 236 Consonant Clusters with Stops. The normal instances of assimilation of clusters with stops being excluded, the following discussion takes into account only those which are formed with sibilants and semivowels.

(a) Clusters with sibilant + guttural. The unaspirated guttural is aspirated

(i) Change *sk-* > *kh-*

- Amar II Sk. *Skanda-* > *Khada-* L 1244<sup>2</sup>  
 Sk. *skambha-* > *khambha-* L 1229<sup>4</sup> L 1244<sup>5</sup> etc  
 S Ind Ins cf *khambha-* L 1202<sup>5</sup>  
 Nāgār cf *khambha-* EI 20 22 F<sup>3</sup> etc  
 Cop Pl Sk. *skandhāvāra-* > *khandhāvāra-* L 1328<sup>1</sup>, etc

(ii) Change *sk-* > *k-* occurs rarely

- Nāgār Sk. *Skandaśrī-* > *Kandaśrī-* EI 20 16 C3<sup>7</sup> etc

## (b) Clusters with sibilant + cerebral The unaspirated cerebral is aspirated

(i) Change *-ṣṭh-* > *-ṭh-*

- Amar II Sk. *aṣṭā-* > *aṭha-* L 1264  
 Sk. *rāṣṭrā-* > *raṭha-* L 1251  
 S Ind Ins cf. *raṭha-* L 1202<sup>2</sup>  
 Nāgār Sk. *agnisṭomā-* > *agiṭhoma-* EI 20 16 (footnote 4 A2<sup>8</sup> etc.  
 Sk. *aṣṭānga-* > *aṭha[m]ga-* EI 20 22 F<sup>1</sup>  
 Cop Pl Sk. *ḍṛṣṭa-* > *ḍiṭha-* L 1200, L 1205, also  
 cf *agḡiṭṭhoma-* L 1200<sup>1</sup>

(ii) Change *-ṣṭh-* > *-ṭh-*

- Bhaṭṭ Sk. *kaṁṣṭhā-* > *kāṁṭha-* L 1331 etc.  
 Amar II Sk. *adhṛṣṭhāna-* > *adhṛṭhāna-* L 1281  
 S Ind Ins Sk. *pratiṣṭhāpita-* > *paṭiṭhapita-* L 1202<sup>7</sup>  
 Nāgār cf *paṭiṭh[ā]pita-* EI 20 19.B5<sup>4</sup> etc.  
 Cop Pl Sk. *ṣaṣṭhā chaṭha-* L 1205<sup>26</sup>  
 Sk. *kāṣṭha-* > *kaṭṭha-* L 1200<sup>33</sup>

(iii) Change *-ṣṭh-* > *-ṭ-* by loss of aspiration<sup>40</sup> in a probable example

- Bhaṭṭ. Sk. *Śreṣṭha-* > *Seṭa-* L 1337<sup>1</sup>, BÜHLER proposes to  
 derive it from *Svattra*<sup>50</sup>

## (c) Clusters with sibilants + dentals The unaspirated dental is generally aspirated For cerebralisation of dentals see above § 234

(i) Change *st* > *th* in all positions

- Amar I Sk. *stambha-* > *thambha-* EI 15 262 3  
 Amar II Sk. *svastika-* > *soṭhika-* L 1287<sup>3</sup>, but cf *soṭhika-* (ac-  
 cording to Chanda's reading EI 15.272 47<sup>3</sup>)  
 Sk. *hāsta-* > *hatha-* L 1269, etc etc.  
 S Ind Ins Sk. *vāstavyā-* > *vathava-* L 1203<sup>2</sup>  
 Nāgār Sk. *saṁstara-* > *saṁthara-* EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup>, also cf  
*thambha-* EI 20 19 C2<sup>8</sup> and *-vathava-* EI 20 17 C1<sup>11</sup>  
 Cop Pl cf *vatthava-* L 1200<sup>8</sup> etc

(ii) Change *st* > *t* without the addition of aspiration occurs only in a few cases

- Amar II Sk. *vāstavyā-* > *vatava-* EI 15 273 52<sup>1</sup>

49 For a similar change in the 2nd cent B.C. Ceylonese inscription cf Sk. *ṛṣeṣṭha-* > *ṛeṭa-* EZ III 154<sup>2</sup>

50 cf EI 2 328, fn 8

S Ind Ins Sk. *stambha-* > *tambha-* L 1196

(Ma|ava||i)

(iii) Change *sth* > *th*

Bhaṭṭ Sk. *Sthaurāśīrṣin-* > *Thorasī-* L 1332<sup>4</sup>

Amar II Sk. *sthāvira-* > *thera-* L 1223 etc

Sk. *dharmasthāna-* > *dhammathāna-* L 1244<sup>6</sup>

S Ind Ins Sk. *sthāpita-* > *thāpita-* L 1341<sup>6</sup>

Nāgār . cf *thera-* EI 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>

(d) Clusters with semivowel *r* + dentals The semivowel is assimilated to the dental This treatment may be contrasted with cerebralisation of dentals §234 above.

(i) Change *-rth-* > *-th-* (or *-tth-*)

Amar II Sk. *Siddhārtha-* > *Sidhatha-* L 1235<sup>1</sup>

S Ind Ins Sk. *caturtha-* > *catutha-* L 1340<sup>3</sup>

Nāgār Sk. *sarvārtha-* > *savatha-* EI 20 16 C3<sup>5</sup> etc

Cop Pl Sk. *abhi + √arth-* > *√abbhattha-* L 1200<sup>44</sup>.

(ii) Change *-rd-* > *-d-* (or *-dd-*)

Nāgār Sk. *cāturdisa-* > *cātudisa-* EI 20 24 H<sup>12</sup>

Cop Pl Sk. *balivarda-* > *balivadda-* L 1200<sup>33</sup>

(iii) Change *-rdh-* > *-dr-* (or *-ddh-*)

S Ind Ins Sk. *√vardh-* > *√vaddha-* L 1195, L 1196

Cop Pl Sk. *vardhanika-* > *vadhanika-* L 1200<sup>9</sup> etc

Sk. *ardhika-* > *addhika-* L 1200<sup>30</sup> etc

(e) Clusters with sibilant + labials The labial, if unaspirated, is aspirated

(i) Change *-sp-* or *-ṣp-* > *-ph-*

Amar II Sk. *samspṛṣṭa-* > *sapha[ṭha]-* L 1283<sup>3</sup>.

Nāgār Sk. *Puṣpagiri-* > *Puphagiri-* EI 20.22 F<sup>2</sup>

Cop Pl cf *-puṣha-* L 1200<sup>34</sup>

§ 237. Consonant clusters with the semivowel *y* The cluster is either assimilated or is dissolved by svarabhakti The palatalisation of the dentals clustered with *y* has been already dealt with<sup>51</sup>

(a) Clusters with stop + *y*

(i) Change *-ty-* > *-tīy-*

Amar I Sk. *cātya-* > *ce[ṭi]ya-* EI 15 268 29, also cf Amar II (L 1223 etc), S Ind Ins (L 1202<sup>6</sup>) and Nāgār (EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup> etc.)

(ii) Change *-ty-* > *-tāy-*

Amar II . Sk. *cātya-* > *ce[ṭā]ya-* EI 15 272 48<sup>3</sup>

(iii) The cluster *ty* is once preserved at Ma|ava||i cf *parityaktha-* L 1196

(iv) Change *dy-* > *\*dīy-* > *div-*

Amar II Sk. *dyardha-* > *\*dīyadha-* > *divadha-* EI 15 267 24

Cop Pl . cf *divadha-* L 1328<sup>17</sup>

(b) Clusters with the semivowel *r* + *y*

(i) Change *-ry-* > *-y-* This phenomenon occurs since the earliest times

Bhaṭṭ Sk. *ārya-* > *aya-* L 1339<sup>4</sup> The same word occurs at Amar I (EI 15 270 40<sup>3</sup>), Amar II (L 1237<sup>1</sup>, L 1270<sup>1</sup>)

51 cf § 233 above.



(b) Clusters with the semivowel  $r + v$  The cluster is always assimilated to  $v$  cf Sk. *sārva* > *sava*, at Nāgār EI 20 16 C3<sup>2</sup> etc etc As it does not show any peculiarity it has not been exemplified here in details

(c) Clusters with the sibilants +  $v$  The cluster is usually assimilated to  $s$

(i) Change *śv* or *sv* >  $s$  in all positions

Bhaṭṭ Sk. *Viśvaka* > *Viśaka* L 1332<sup>1</sup>

Amar II Sk. *svastika* > *sothika* L 1287<sup>3</sup>

S Ind Ins Sk. *svāmi* > *sāmi* L 1341<sup>3</sup>,

also cf *viśava* L 1126

Nāgār Sk. *svargā* > *saga* EI 21 64 L<sup>3</sup>

Sk. *aśvamedhā* > *asamedha* EI 20 16 (footnote 4)  
A2<sup>3-4</sup> etc

Cop Pl cf *sāmi* L 1194<sup>2</sup>, *assamedha* L 1200<sup>1</sup>

(ii) The cluster *-śv-* is preserved in a Maḷavallī inscription cf *Viśvakarmā* > *Viśvakammā* L 1196 It is also preserved in a copper plate inscription where it appears to be a loanword cf *maheśvara* L 1328<sup>3</sup>

#### § 241 Consonant clusters with the sibilants

(a) Treatment of the cluster *kṣ* This cluster is either assimilated to the guttural *kh* or is palatalised to *ch* The latter treatment is already discussed under palatalisation<sup>54</sup>

(i) Change *kṣ* > *kh* initially and medially<sup>55</sup>

Bhaṭṭ Sk. *m-kṣip-* > *mkkhetu* L 1320

Amar I Sk. *bhikṣu* > *bhikkhu* EI 15 262.3

Amar II Sk. *dākṣinā* > [*da*] *khina* L 1255<sup>3</sup> etc

S Ind Ins. Sk. *pakṣā* > *pakha* L 1202<sup>1</sup>, L 1340<sup>3</sup>,  
also cf *pakkha* L 1196 and *pakka* by loss of aspiration at L 1195

Gurzala Sk. *kṣētra* > *kheta* EI 26 125<sup>2</sup>

Nāgār Sk. *lakṣana* > *lakhana* EI 20 22 F<sup>1</sup>

Cop Pl Sk. *rakṣana* > *rakkhana* L 1194<sup>12</sup>

(b) Treatment of the clusters *ṛṣ* and *ṛś* The cluster is either assimilated to the sibilant or dissolved by svarabhakti

(i) Change *-ṛṣ-* > *-ṣ-*<sup>56</sup>

Bhaṭṭ Sk. *Sthaurāṣṛṣm-* > *Thorasīsi-* L 1332<sup>4</sup>

S Ind Ins Sk. *varṣā* > *vasa* L 1340<sup>2</sup>

Cop Pl cf *vāsa* L 1200<sup>48</sup> etc

(ii) Change *-ṛś-* and *-ṛṣ-* > *-ṛis-*

Nāgār Sk. *harṣa* > *harisa* EI 20 22 F<sup>1</sup>

Sk. *tarṣa* > *tarisa* EI 10 22 F<sup>1</sup>

Sk. *dārṣana* > *darisana* EI 20 22 F<sup>1</sup>

Cop Pl Sk. *varṣā* > *varisa* L 1200<sup>12</sup>

<sup>54</sup> cf above § 233

<sup>55</sup> This *kh* further becomes *k* in the Ceylonese inscriptions cf *bhiku* EZ III 162<sup>2</sup> and *manikeva* EZ III 251<sup>3</sup> This is available at least in one instance (*pakka*) in the Maḷavallī inscription (L 1195) cf above

<sup>56</sup> *ṛṣ* > *h* in the Ceylonese inscription cf *kahāvana* EZ I 211<sup>4</sup> (2nd cent. A.D.), cf similar treatment in the western group above

(c) The cluster *-ts*<sup>57</sup> is preserved once in a copper plate cf *vatsa*- L 1200<sup>22</sup>.

§ 242 Clusters with *h* The cluster *-rh-* > *-rah-*

Bhaṭṭ. . Sk. *Arhat-* > *Araha-* L 1338.

§ 243 Consonant Clusters with Nasals As in other Prakrit inscriptions the nasal is usually turned into an anusvāra which, however, is not necessarily represented in writing. In the following discussion only the important clusters are dealt with

(a) Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

1 Treatment of the cluster *jñ* The cluster is assimilated to the nasal *ñ* or *n*. In some of the later inscriptions it is cerebralised to *n*

(i) Change *-jñ-* > *-ñ-*

The words *rañā* and *rañño* (< Sk. *rājñāh*) occur in Amar II (L 1279), S Ind Ins (L 1202<sup>1</sup> etc.) and Nāgār (*EI* 20 16 C3<sup>6</sup>). Also cf

S Ind Ins Sk. *yaññā-* > *-yañña-* L 1340<sup>2</sup>

Nāgār Sk. *sarvajñu-* > *savamñu-* *EI* 20 16 C3<sup>1</sup>, B4<sup>1</sup> etc.

(ii) Change *jñ-* > *n-*

Amar II Sk. *jñātī-* > *nāti-* L 1230<sup>9</sup> etc. The word is also found in S Ind Ins (L 1202<sup>5</sup>) and Nāgār (*EI* 20 25 K<sup>1</sup>) where *-t-* > *-d-* and we get *-nādī-*

(iii) Change *jñ* > *n* See under cerebralisation § 234 f(1)

2 Treatment of the cluster *ñc* Generally it is assimilated to *c*

(i) Change *-ñc-* > *-mc-*

Nāgār Sk. *pañcamā-* > *paṃcama-* *EI* 20 17 C1<sup>11</sup>, 21 E<sup>2</sup>.

Cop Pl cf *paṃcamu* L 1205<sup>20</sup>

(ii) It is once preserved in a copper plate probably as a loan word cf *pañca* L 1200<sup>47</sup>

(iii) Change *-ñc-* > *-mḍ-* (< *-mḍ-* ?) The change is rather curious. It occurs only in the numeral "5"

Nāgār Sk. *pañcan* > *paṃda*<sup>58</sup> *EI* 20 19 C2<sup>9</sup>

(iv) Change *-ñc-* > *-n-* (?) In the Dharanikoṭa inscription we get the word *pana*[*trisa-* ?] *EI* 24 259<sup>2</sup> (< Sk. *pañcatrīmśā-*)

3 Treatment of the cluster *-ñj-* : It is represented as *-j-*

Bhaṭṭ Sk. *mañjñā-* > *maḥusa-* L 1330 etc

(b) Clusters with the nasal *n* :

1 Treatment of the cluster *-ṛṇ-* It is assimilated to *-ṇ-* ; but very rarely it also becomes the dental *n*

(i) Change *-ṛṇ-* > *-ṇ-* or *-mn-*

S Ind Ins Sk. *śātakarnu-* > *-śātakam-* L 1340<sup>2</sup>,  
we also get *śātakanni-* L 1195

Nāgār Sk. *varṇita-* > *vamṇ[ta]-* *EI* 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>  
Sk. *Parnagrāma-* > *Pamṇagāma-* *EI* 20 17.C1<sup>11</sup>.

(ii) Change *-ṛṇ-* > *-n-*

Amar II . Sk. *pūrnā-* > *puna-* L 1273<sup>2</sup>

2 Treatment of the cluster *ṣṇ* . It is assimilated to *-nh-* or *-nh-* .

57 For palatalisation cf above §233

58. But we are asked to read *-paṃca-*.

- (1) Change
- ṣn-*
- >
- nh-*
- or
- mnh-*

Amar II Sk. *Kṛṣṇa-* > *Kanha-* L 1243<sup>1</sup>Cop Pl Sk. *Kārṣṇāyana-* > *Kaṁṇhāyana-* L 1328<sup>17</sup>

- (11) Change
- ṣn-*
- >
- nh-*

Amar II Sk. *Kṛṣṇa-* > *Kanha-* L 1291S Ind Ins Sk. *Vṛṣṇu-* > *Vinhu-* L 1195Nāgār cf *Vinhu-siri-* EI 20.21 C5<sup>3</sup>

- (111) But in a few words the aspiration is dropped and we get only the nasal
- n*
- .

Amar II Sk. *uṣṇīṣa-* > *uṁsa-* L 1231 etc.Nāgār cf *uṁsa-* EI 20.25 J<sup>1</sup>3 Treatment of the cluster *ṇd* The cluster is generally assimilated to *d*

- (1) Change
- ṇd-*
- >
- mḍ-*
- or
- ḍ-*

Amar II Sk. *\*paṇḍa-* > *peṇḍa-* L 1272<sup>2</sup>S Ind Ins Sk. *Caṇḍa-* > *Caḍa-* L 1341<sup>3</sup>Cop Pl Sk. *daṇḍā-* > *daṁḍa-* L 1328<sup>13</sup>Sk. *Kaṇḍīmya-* > *Koḍīna-* L 1328<sup>14</sup>

- (11) In a few cases the cluster
- ṇd-*
- is preserved

S Ind Ins Sk. *Kaṇḍīmya-* > *Koṇḍīmya-* L 1195Maṭṭep cf *Koṇḍīma-* EI 17.329<sup>5</sup>

- (111) Once the cluster is assimilated to
- n*
- cf

S Ind Ins Sk. *Kaṇḍīmya-* > *Koṇṇīmya-* L 1196

(Maḷavallī)

4 Treatment of the cluster *ny* It is assimilated either to the nasal *n*, *ñ* or *n*

- (1) Change
- ny-*
- >
- n-*
- or
- mn-*

Bhaṭṭ Sk. *hīranya-* > *hīrana-* L 1333<sup>2</sup>Amar II cf *heranika-* L 1239S Ind Ins Sk. *śāranya-* > *saranna-* L 1196Nāgār cf *hīrana-* EI 20.16 C3<sup>4</sup> etc ,  
*hīramna-* EI 20.16 (footnote 5) A2<sup>4</sup> etc.

- (11) Change
- ny-*
- >
- ñ-*
- or
- mñ-*
- See under palatalisation above §233 (d)

- (111) Change
- ny-*
- >
- n-*

Amar II Sk. *havyanyaka-* > *heranika-* L 1247<sup>1</sup>Nāgār cf *hīrana-* EI 20.21 E<sup>1</sup> etc

- (c) Clusters with the nasal
- n*

1 Treatment of the cluster *gn* It is assimilated to *g*

- (1) Change
- gn-*
- >
- g-*
- or
- gg-*

Nāgār Sk. *Agnīhotra-* > *Agīhota-* EI 20.16 (footnote 4)  
A2<sup>3,4</sup> etc.Cop Pl cf *Agī-* L 1200<sup>13,14</sup> or *Aggī-* L 1200<sup>1</sup>2 The cluster *tn* is dissolved by svarabhakti

- (1) Change
- tn-*
- >
- tm-*

Nāgār Sk. *pātnī-* > *patīm-* EI 20.16 C3<sup>9</sup>

3 Treatment of the cluster *sn-* is rather varied It is generally dissolved into *sun-* but sometimes the latter *n* is cerebralised and sometimes anusvāra is added to it.

(i) Change *sn-* > *sun-*Amar II Sk. *snuṣā-* > *sunā*<sup>59</sup> L 1244<sup>4</sup>Nāgār cf *sunhā-* EI 20 23 G<sup>2</sup>(ii) Change *sn-* > *sumn-*Nāgār cf *sumnhā-* EI 20.22.F<sup>3</sup>(iii) Change *sn-* > *sun-*Amar II cf *sunhākā-* L 1232<sup>2</sup>Nāgār cf *sunhā-* EI 21 62 G<sup>3</sup>

4 The cluster *-nd-* is usually represented as *-md-* or *-d-* But in a few cases the cluster is preserved

Cop Pl Sk *sundara-* > *sundara-* L 1194<sup>10</sup>Sk. *-skanda-* > *-khandā-* L 1327<sup>1</sup>

5 Treatment of the cluster *ny* It is assimilated either to *n* or to the palatalised *ñ* and rarely to *n̄*

(i) Change *-ny-* > *-mn-* or *-n-*Bhaṭṭ Sk *anyā-* > *amna-* L 1335Amar I Sk *Samyagopa-* > *Senagopa-* L 1266S Ind Ins Sk. *Kanyakā-* > *kammkā-* L 1204<sup>4</sup> and *kanukā-* L 1202<sup>4</sup>.Cop Pl. Sk. *Aupamanyava-* > *Opamanava-* L 1328<sup>10</sup>.Sk. *anyā-* > *ana-* L 1205<sup>17</sup>(ii) Change *-ny-* > *-nn-*Maṭṭep Sk. *Kaṇḍinya-* > *Konḍinna-* EI 17 329<sup>3</sup>.Cop Pl Sk. *anyā-* > *anna-* L 1200<sup>5,43</sup>;  
also cf *Koḍma-* L 1328<sup>10</sup>(iii) Change *-ny-* > *-mñ-* See above Palatalisation § 233 (d)

(iv) The cluster is preserved in a Maṭṭavallī inscription cf Sk *Kaṇḍinya-* > *Konḍunya-* L 1196 and *Konḍinya-* L 1195

(d) Clusters with the nasal *m*

1 Treatment of the cluster *tm* In the word *ātmán-* the cluster in most cases becomes the labial *p*

(i) Change *-tm-* > *-p-* or *-pp-* Sk. *ātmánah-* > *āpano* in Amar II (L 1244<sup>6</sup> etc.), *āpano* in S Ind Ins (L 1202<sup>3,6</sup>), *āpano* in Nāgār (EI 20 16.C3<sup>10</sup>, 18.B2<sup>5</sup>), and *appana* in Cop Pl (L 1200<sup>5</sup>)

(ii) It is also sometimes assimilated to *t*

Nāgār Sk *ātmánah* > *atano* EI 20 18.B2<sup>5</sup>, 16 C3<sup>11</sup> etc.  
*atane* EI 20 19 C2<sup>7</sup>, *atanam* EI 20.20 C4<sup>7</sup>

(iii) It is preserved in a Maṭṭavallī inscription. cf Sk. *ātma-rakṣā-* > *ātma-raccā-* L 1195

2 Treatment of the cluster *dm* It is dissolved by svarabhakti

(i) Change *-dm-* > *-dum-*Amar II Sk *Padmā-* > *Padumā-* L 1271<sup>2</sup>Nāgār cf *Paduma-* EI 20.25 K<sup>1</sup>

<sup>59</sup> This is FRANKE's reading cf ZDMG 50.600

3 Treatment of the clusters *sm* or *ʃm* They are usually represented as *mh* or *ṁmh* and rarely as *hm*

- (1) Change *-sm-* or *-ʃm-* > *-mh-* or *-ṁmh-*

Nāgār Sk. *grīṣmā* > [*gīmha-*] EI 20 24 G<sup>10</sup>

Cop Pl Sk. *asmad-* > *amha-* L 1200<sup>3,6</sup> etc etc

*ammha-* L 1328<sup>8</sup> Also cf *gīmha-* L 1205<sup>25</sup>

- (11) Change *-ʃm-* > *-hm-*

S Ind Ins Sk. *grīṣmā* > *gīmha-* L 1195

(Maḷavalli)

4 Treatment of the cluster *hm* The cluster is usually represented as *mh* or *ṁmh* and sometimes as *hm*<sup>60</sup>.

- (1) Change *-hm-* > *-mh-* or *-ṁmh-*

S Ind Ins Sk. *brāhmanā-* > *bamhana-* L 1196

Cop Pl cf *bamhana-* L 1205<sup>7</sup> etc or *bammhana-* L 1328<sup>10</sup>,  
L 1328<sup>20</sup>

- (11) The cluster *-hm-* is preserved

S Ind Ins Sk. *brāhma-* > *bahma-* L 1196 and

Cop Pl cf *bahmaṇa-* L 1200<sup>38</sup>

- 5 The cluster *-mr-* > *-mb-* or *-b-*

Bhatt. Sk. *Āmra-* > *Āba-* L 1332<sup>14</sup>

Nāgār Sk. *Tāmrāparṇ-* > *Tambaparn-* EI 20 22 F<sup>1</sup>

6 The cluster *-mv-* is represented in two ways, as *-mm-* and *-vv-* in the Maḷavalli inscriptions cf Sk. *sahvatsarā* > *sammaccara-* L 1195 and *-savacchara-* L 1196

## MORPHOLOGY

### A DECLENSION

#### § 244 Bases ending in *-a* and *-ā*

##### (a) Masculine and Neuter nouns in *-a*

Nom. sg Mas (1) *-o*<sup>61</sup>

Bhatt. *Utao* L 1331

Amar I *paṭo* EI 15.262.2

Amar II *hatho* EI 15.267.24

S Ind Ins *puto* L 1202<sup>3</sup>,

*devo* L 1195, L 1196

Nāgār *viḥāro* EI 20 24 G<sup>8</sup>

Cop Pl *gāmo* L 1194<sup>8</sup>

Nom. pl Mas (1) *-ā*

Bhatt. *Negamā* L 1337<sup>1</sup>

Amar I *navakamkā*

EI 15.270.40<sup>2</sup>

Amar II *hathā* L 1269

S Ind Ins *gāmā* L 1196

Nāgār *Khaṁbhā*

EI 20.24 G<sup>13</sup>.

Cop Pl *gāmeyikā* L 1327<sup>10</sup>.

60. It is assimilated to simple *m* in the Ceylonese inscription. cf *bamana-* EZ I 145 6 (1st or 2nd cent B.C.).

61. In the Ceylonese inscriptions the term is *-e*, cf *pute* EZ I 20 7 (2nd cent B.C.), *maharaje* EZ I 62.2 (2nd cent. A.D.), etc.

(11) -a Once in a Nāgār inscription we get *paṭa*<sup>62</sup> (EI 20 25 k<sup>1</sup>) There the word is probably used without termination

Acc. sg Mas -am, the anusvāra being sometimes not represented .

S Ind. Ins -*ṣamugam* L 1330

Bhatt. *bālakam* L 1202<sup>3</sup>

*rajjukam* L 1195

Nāgār *Khambham*

*EI* 20 18.B2<sup>5</sup>

Cop. Pl . *gāmam* L 1328<sup>23</sup> ;

*gāma* L 1328<sup>25</sup>

Nom sg Neut -am, the anusvāra is sometimes dropped

Bhatt. *dānam* L 1339<sup>6</sup>

Amar I *dānam* *EI* 15 269 33

*īnusa* *EI* 15.271.44

Amar II -*cakam* L 1248<sup>2</sup>

*dāna* L 1231<sup>1</sup> etc

S Ind Ins *ṭhānam* L 1195

Nāgār -*gharam* *EI* 20.22 F<sup>2</sup>,

-*unisa* *EI* 20 24.G<sup>12</sup>

Cop Pl : *gharaṭṭhānam*

L 1194<sup>11</sup>,

Acc sg Neut. (1) -am

Nāgār *kulam* *EI* 20 18 B2<sup>5</sup>

Cop Pl *sāsanam* L 1205 etc

(11) -e<sup>64</sup>

Cop. Pl *yasovadhamke*

L 1200<sup>9</sup>

Inst sg (1) -na

Amar II *putena* L 1255<sup>2</sup>

S Ind Ins *vagena* L 1202<sup>5</sup>

Nāgār *therena* *EI* 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>

Cop Pl. . *vayanena* L 1194<sup>7</sup>

(11) -na

S Ind Ins *parihārena* L 1195,

L 1196 ;

*parityakthēna* L 1196

Cop Pl . *-likhitena* L 1200<sup>31</sup>

Dat sg (1) -ya

Acc. pl Mas (1) -ā .

S Ind Ins *bālakā* L 1202<sup>4</sup>.

(11) -e

S. Ind Ins *Khambhe* L 1202<sup>6</sup>

Cop Pl *amace* L 1200<sup>5</sup>.

Nom pl Neut. (1) -m .

Bhatt *saṭṭrām* L 1334

Nāgār *paṭām* *EI* 20 25 K<sup>1</sup>.

Cop Pl . *nyattanām* L 1194<sup>19</sup>

(11) -m

Cop Pl : *samuvaccharani*

L 1194<sup>14</sup>

(111) -ā .

Amar II *paricakā*<sup>63</sup> L 1254<sup>5</sup>.

Cop Pl. . *nyattanā*<sup>63</sup> L 1327<sup>9</sup>.

Inst pl (1) -hi .

Amar II . *putehi* L 1239

Nāgār . *ka[m]mukehi*

*EI* 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>

Cop Pl *parihārehi* L 1194<sup>13</sup>.

etc.

62 H SASTRI reads it as *paṭām* cf *EI* 20.25 footnote 2 , we get *paṭo* also cf *EI* 20.25 J<sup>1</sup>.

63 The words are perhaps used as masculine nouns.

64 This is the term in the Ceylonese Prakrit. cf *leṇe* *EZ* I 181<sup>3</sup> (2nd cent B.C.) etc The ending -i is obtained in *dm* *EZ* I 21, Rock B No 1 But this seems to be old Sinhalese trait cf *maharaj* *EZ* I 691 (1st cent A.D.), *puti*, *maharaj*, *EZ* I 211<sup>2</sup>, (2nd cent A.D.).

Amar II	<i>sa[m*]ghāya</i>
	<i>EI</i> 15 267 26
S Ind Ins	<i>-sukhāya</i> L 1202 <sup>7</sup> , <i>mātulāya</i> L 1196
Nāgār	<i>sukhāya</i> <i>EI</i> 20 22 F <sup>2</sup> etc.
Cop Pl	<i>-sahassāya</i> L 1200 <sup>18</sup>

(ii) *-e*

Nāgār	<i>-sarpādake</i> <sup>60</sup> <i>EI</i> 20 19 1C2 <sup>7</sup> , also cf <i>vejayike</i> <i>EI</i> 20 21 E <sup>1</sup>
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Abl sg (i) *-ā*

Bhaṭṭ	<i>Suvanamāhā</i> L 1339 <sup>2</sup>
Amar I	<i>madhā</i> (< Sk <i>madhyāt</i> ?) <i>EI</i> 15.268.29
Amar II	<i>Nāgapavatā</i> <i>EI</i> 15 274 55 <sup>2</sup>
Nāgār	<i>Ujanikā</i> <sup>66</sup> <i>EI</i> 20 19.B5 <sup>3</sup>
Cop Pl	<i>nagarā</i> L 1328 <sup>2</sup>

(ii) *-āto*, of less frequency

Amar I	<i>Pāḷaḷiputāto</i> <i>EI</i> 15 262 3 (reading doubtful)
Cop Pl	[ <i>Kam</i> ]cīpurāto L 1205 <sup>1</sup>

Gen sg (i) *-(a)sa*<sup>67</sup> (or *-(a)ssa*)Gen pl (i) *-nam*

Bhaṭṭ	<i>Māugāmasa</i> L 1339 <sup>1</sup> , <i>kuraṣa</i> <sup>68</sup> L 1329 etc.	Bhaṭṭ	<i>-sarirānam</i> L 1330 etc.
Amar II	<i>therasa</i> L 1223	Amar I	<i>Paḍṭipudī[un]yānam</i> <i>EI</i> 15 264 10
S Ind Ins.	<i>putasa</i> L 1202 <sup>1</sup>	Amar II	<i>ceṭikīyānam</i> L 1248 <sup>2</sup> etc
Nāgār	<i>lokasa</i> <i>EI</i> 20.22 F <sup>3</sup>	S Ind Ins	<i>hematānam</i> L 1340 <sup>3</sup>
Cop Pl	<i>jāmātukasa</i> L 1200 <sup>14</sup> <i>gharassa-</i> L 1200 <sup>35</sup>	Nāgār	<i>ācariyānam</i> <i>EI</i> 20 17 C1 <sup>10</sup>
		Cop Pl	<i>Palavānam</i> L 1205 <sup>2</sup> etc.
(ii) <i>-(ā)sa</i>		(ii) <i>-na</i>	
Amar I	<i>Gopīyāsa</i> <i>EI</i> 15 262 1.	Amar I	<i>putāna</i> <i>EI</i> 15.265 14
		Amar II	<i>-janāna</i> L 1269 etc
(iii) <i>-(e)sa</i>		(iii) <i>-nam</i>	
Bhaṭṭ	<i>Gīlānakeresā</i> <sup>69</sup> L 1339 <sup>1</sup>	S Ind Ins	<i>kadam̐bānam</i> L 1196
		Cop Pl	<i>Pal[l]avānam</i> L 1327 <sup>2</sup> etc

65 The meaning is 'for the attainment of', perhaps it qualifies *sela-thambham*

66 It may be also nom sg fem

67 Besides *-sa*, we get *-śa* and *-ha* in the Ceylonese Prakrit. Of these *-ha* mostly prevails in later inscriptions. cf *sagaśa* *EZ* I 18 1<sup>2</sup> (2nd cent. B.C.), *terasā* *EZ* I 144 4a (1st or 2nd cent. B.C.), *Devaha* *EZ* I 19 3 and *Kulaha* *EZ* I 20 7 (both 2nd cent. B.C.) *teraha* *EZ* I 144 4b (1st or 2nd B.C.), *sagaha* *EZ* I 62.3 etc. (2nd cent. A.D.)

68 For cerebral *-ṣ-* cf above the treatment of sibilants.

69 This may also be honorific plural (*-sa* > *-eṣām*)

(iv) -sā or -ssā	(iv) -ṇa
Amar II . <i>tukasā</i> (?) L 1265 <sup>2</sup> .	Cop Pl <i>manusāna</i> L 1200 <sup>6</sup>
Cop Pl <i>devakulassā</i> L 1327 <sup>7</sup>	etc.
Loc. sg (1) -e	Loc pl (1) -su .
Amar I <i>Oḍḍiparivenene</i> L 1207	S Ind Ins <i>kadambesu</i> L 1196
Amar II . <i>-dāre</i> L 1248 <sup>2</sup> etc	Nāgār <i>savathesu</i>
S Ind. Ins <i>gāme</i> L 1202 <sup>2</sup> etc	<i>EI</i> 20 16 C3 <sup>5</sup> .
Nāgār <i>Siri-pavate</i>	(This term is more frequent here).
<i>EI</i> 20 22 F <sup>2</sup>	
Cop Pl <i>Elūre</i> L 1194 <sup>7</sup> etc	
(ii) -mhi <sup>70</sup>	
Nāgār . <i>mahācetiyaṃhi</i>	
<i>EI</i> 20 20 C4 <sup>2</sup> , 20 C5 <sup>1</sup> .	
Cop Pl <i>padesaṃhi</i> L 1194 <sup>10</sup>	
(b) Feminine Nouns ending in -ā	
nom sg (1) -ā	Nom dual (1) -e (?)
Bhaṭṭ . <i>maññisā</i> (also -sa)	Amar II <i>patuke</i> L 1219
L 1329, L 1338	
Amar II <i>bālīkā</i> <i>EI</i> 15.274 56 <sup>1</sup>	
Nāgār <i>bharyā</i> <i>EI</i> 20 16 C3 <sup>8</sup> etc	
Cop Pl <i>paṭṭikā</i> L 1200 <sup>18</sup> etc	
Acc. sg (1) -ām which sometimes is represented as ā	
S Ind Ins <i>bālīkam</i> L 1202 <sup>4</sup> etc	
Cop Pl <i>pīlā</i> L 1200 <sup>40</sup> , L 1205 <sup>22</sup>	
<i>bādhā</i> L 1200 <sup>40</sup> , L 1205 <sup>22</sup>	
Inst sg (1) -ya The examples are	Inst pl (1) -hi .
not many	Bhaṭṭ. <i>[Nam]dapurāhi</i>
Nāgār <i>uvāsikāya</i>	L 1339 <sup>1</sup>
<i>EI</i> 20 22 F <sup>2</sup>	Nāgār <i>Cāmtisūmīkāhi</i>
Cop Pl <i>-majādāya</i> L 1205 <sup>17</sup>	<i>EI</i> 20 19 B5 <sup>5</sup>
(ii) -ye, used rarely	<i>sahodarāhi</i>
Cop Pl <i>-majātāye</i> L 1200 <sup>15</sup>	<i>EI</i> 21 64 L <sup>6</sup>
Dat. sg (1) -ya	
S Ind Ins <i>ātma-raccāya</i> L 1195	
Gen sg The term -yā and -ya are	Gen pl (1) -nam .
more frequent than -ye	Nāgār <i>sumnānam</i>
	<i>EI</i> 20.22 F <sup>2</sup>

(1) -yā . This is not as frequent as -ya

Amar I *jāyāyā* *EI* 15 264 12<sup>2</sup>

Amar II *pavācitāyā* *EI* 15 275 58 etc

(ii) -ya

Amar II . *Saghāya* L 1218- ; *duhutāya* L 1264 etc.

S Ind Ins. *vasasatāya* L 1340<sup>2</sup>

70 The term in the Ceylonese Prakrit is -hi cf *viharahi* *EZ* I 62 3, *EZ* III 116 4, *vibajakahi* *EZ* I 211<sup>3-1</sup> (all of the 2nd cent. AD)



Nāgār                      *bharityāya EI 20 18 B1<sup>5</sup>*  
                                  *Padumāya EI 20 25 K<sup>1</sup>*

(iii) -ye

Amar II                      *sabhātukāye L 1252*  
                                  *sabāl[ī][kā]ye EI 15 272 49*

(iv) -sa<sup>2</sup>

Amar II                      *sabhatukāsa L 1244<sup>3</sup>* , but we are asked to read  
                                  *sabhatukāya*

Loc. sg (1) -ya

S Ind Ins                      *puvāya L 1340<sup>4</sup>*

(ii) -yam

Nāgār                      *Paṭilāyam EI 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>* , *vimsayam EI 21 64 L<sup>3</sup>*

§ 245 Bases ending in *i* and *ī*

(a) Masculine nouns in -i

Nom sg (1) -i	Nom pl (1) -yo
S Ind Ins. <i>āvesam L 1202<sup>2</sup></i>	Cop Pl <i>amsiyo or asiyo</i>
Cop Pl <i>ānatī L 1327<sup>16</sup></i>	<i>L 1328<sup>13, 22</sup></i>
(ii) -ī	
S Ind Ins <i>Sātakanṇī L 1195</i>	
Cop Pl <i>ānatī L 1205<sup>27</sup></i>	
Acc. sg (1) -m which is at times dropped	Acc pl (1) -e
S Ind Ins <i>Mūlasarīm L 1202<sup>3</sup></i>	Cop Pl <i>vasudhādhūpataye</i>
<i>Caṃḍasiri L 1202<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>L 1200<sup>14</sup></i>
Inst. sg (1) -nā	
Amar II <i>Budhinā L 1239</i>	
S Ind Ins <i>-patinā L 1196</i>	

Gen sg (1) -sa, or -ssa This termination is found in earlier inscriptions and is more frequent than the others

Amar I                      *gahapa[tī]sa EI 15 267 25<sup>1</sup>*  
 Amar II                      *gahapatīsa L 1201 etc etc.*  
 S Ind Ins                      *āvesamisa L 1203<sup>2</sup>, L 1204<sup>2</sup>*  
 Nāgār                      *senāpatīsa EI 20 16 C3<sup>7</sup> etc* , *gahapatīsa EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup>*  
 Cop Pl                      *Bhaṭīsa L 1200<sup>19</sup> etc* , *Sattīsa L 1200<sup>17</sup>*

(ii) -no In Amar II, -sa and -no have almost equal frequency

Amar II                      *gahapatīno L 1252 etc* , *Budhīno L 1223 etc.*

(iii) -no

Amar II                      *Budhīno L 1276*

Loc. sg (1) -yam

Nāgār                      *Devagrīyam EI 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>* ,  
                                  *Dhammagrīyam EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup>, 22 F<sup>3</sup>*

## (b) Feminine nouns in -i

Nom sg -i :

Amar I *suci* EI 15 264 13Amar II *suyi* L 1247<sup>2</sup> etc.

Nom pl (1) -yo

Amar I *sucīyo* EI 15 265 18  
etc

(11) -ya

Amar II *sucīya* L 1254<sup>3</sup>

Inst pl -hi

Amar II *-natīhi* L 1244<sup>4</sup>

## (c) Feminine nouns in -ī

Nom sg (1) -ī .

Bhaṭṭ *goṭhi* L 1332<sup>1</sup>Amar II *kumārī* EI 15 268 28<sup>2</sup>Nāgār *bhagīni* EI 20 16 C<sup>30</sup> , *mahādevī* EI 20 19 B5<sup>1</sup>

(11) -ī

Cop Pl *devī* L 1327<sup>3</sup> , *janavī* L 1327<sup>4</sup> etc

Acc sg -ī

S Ind Ins *-gharanīm* L 1202<sup>3</sup> , *sahalāṭavīm* L 1195

Inst sg (1) -ya .

Inst pl -hi

Amar II *-vanīya* L 1285Nāgār *mahātalavarīhi*Nāgār *-Bodhisīya*  
EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup> etcEI 20 19 B5<sup>1</sup>

(11) -yā .

Amar II *Hamgīyā* L 1240<sup>2</sup>

(111) -a occurs only once.

Nāgār *mahātalavarī-a* EI 20 19 B5<sup>0</sup>Gen sg (1) -yā This and the next Gen pl -nām .  
term -ya have almost equal frequencyNāgār *bhagīnām*  
EI 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>Bhaṭṭ *goṭhīyā* L 1335, L 1338Amar I *Relīyā* EI 15 263 6Amar II *bhagīnyā* L 1223 etcNāgār *bhagīnyā* EI 20 24 H<sup>10</sup>

(11) -ya .

Bhaṭṭ *[Sa]ṭhīya* L 1339<sup>5</sup> etcAmar II *gharanīya* L 1252 etcNāgār *bhagīnyā* EI 20 19 C2<sup>5</sup> etc

(111) -sa (?)

Amar II *Nādhastīsa* L 1233

(iv) -na This is perhaps a plural term

Amar II *Gotamīna* EI 15 270 39 , *bhikkhu[m]na* L 1250<sup>4</sup>

(v) -vu :

Amar II *mahā-govalīvu* EI 15 270 41

Loc sg -yam .

S Ind Ins *Velagīriyam* L 1202<sup>5</sup> , *Rohīmyam* L 1196Cop Pl *Apīṭṭīyam* L 1200<sup>5</sup>

§ 246 Bases ending in -u

(a) Masculine nouns in -u :

Gen sg (1) *-no* or *-no* appears to be less frequent than *-sa*

Amar I *bhikhuno* (doubtful),  
EI 15.262 3  
Nāgār *savaññuno*  
EI 21 16 C3<sup>1</sup>

Gen pl (1) *-nam*

S Ind Ins *Ikhākhunam* L 1202<sup>1</sup>,  
(11) *-nam*  
Nāgār *-sādhūnam*  
EI 20 21 E<sup>2</sup>

(11) *-sa*

Amar II *bhikhusa* L 1295, *Punavasusa* L 1286  
Nāgār *Ikhākusa* EI 20 19 C2<sup>4</sup>, 16 C3<sup>5</sup>, 25 C4<sup>4</sup>, 18 B2<sup>2</sup>

§ 247 Bases ending in *-ṛ*

(a) Masculine nouns in *-ṛ*

Gen sg *-no*<sup>71</sup>

Bhaṭṭ *-pituno* L 1330  
Amar II *bhātuno* L 1263<sup>2</sup>  
Nāgār *pituno* EI 20 22.F<sup>2</sup>  
*bhātuno* EI 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>

Gen pl (1) *-nam*

Amar II *bhātunam* L 1293<sup>1</sup>  
(11) *-nam*  
Nāgār *bhātunam*  
EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup>

(b) Feminine nouns in *-ṛ*

Nom sg *-ā*

Nāgār *mātā* EI 20 16 C3<sup>9</sup> etc, *duhutā* EI 20 18.B2<sup>3</sup>

Acc sg *-aṃ*

S Ind Ins *mātaraṃ* L 1202<sup>3</sup> etc.  
Nāgār *mātaram* EI 20 19 C2<sup>7</sup>, 20 C4<sup>7</sup>

Inst pl *-hi*

*mātaḥi* EI 21 64 L<sup>6</sup>

Gen sg (1) *-u* occurs in early inscriptions

Bhaṭṭ *mā[t]u* L 1330  
Amar I *mātu* EI 15 264-5 13, 16  
Amar II *paṃātu*<sup>72</sup> EI 15 266 22<sup>2</sup>

(11) *-yā* or *-ya*

Amar I *mātuyā* EI 15 270 40, L 1219, *duhutuya* L 1206  
Nāgār *dhūtuya* EI 20 24 H<sup>9</sup>, 22 F<sup>3</sup>,  
*mātuya* EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup>, 24 G<sup>7</sup>

§ 248 Bases ending in consonants

(a) Masculine nouns in *-at*

Gen sg *-o*

Amar II *bhagavato* L 1230<sup>1</sup> etc. The word is also found in  
S Ind Ins (L 1202<sup>5</sup> etc.), Nāgār (EI 20 16 C3<sup>1</sup>  
etc), and Cop Pl (L 1194<sup>1</sup>)

(b) Masculine nouns ending in *-an*

Nom sg (1) *-ā*

Bhaṭṭ *rājā* L 1335 etc  
S Ind Ins *rājā* L 1196, *Vīśvakammā* L 1196

71 In Ceylonese Prakrit we get *-ha*, cf *pitaha* EZ I 18 1<sup>3</sup> (2nd cent. B C)

72 It means 'an image'

Cop Pl	<i>rājā</i> <sup>73</sup> L 1328 <sup>5</sup>
(11) -o	
Cop Pl	<i>Jayavammo</i> L 1328 <sup>5</sup> etc
Inst. sg (1): -nā	
S Ind Ins	<i>Śiva(khāda)vammanā</i> L 1196
(11) -na	
Cop Pl	<i>-vammēna</i> L 1328 <sup>44</sup>
Gen sg (1). -o :	
Amar II	<i>raño</i> L 1248 <sup>1</sup> , <i>apāno</i> L 1244 <sup>6</sup> , <i>apāno</i> EI 15 267.27 <sup>3</sup>
S Ind Ins	<i>raño</i> L 1202 <sup>1</sup> etc, <i>apāno</i> L 1203, <i>āpāno</i> L 1203 <sup>3</sup> etc
Nāgār	<i>ramño</i> EI 20 16 C3 <sup>6</sup> , <i>apāno</i> <sup>74</sup> EI 20 16 C3 <sup>10</sup> etc
	<i>apāno</i> EI 21 65 66, M1 <sup>6,8</sup>
(11) -sa or -ssa	
Nāgār	<i>Bodhisammasa</i> EI 20 22 F <sup>2</sup>
Cop Pl	<i>Kālasamassa</i> L 1200 <sup>15</sup> , <i>Ganasamassa</i> L 1194 <sup>9</sup> etc
(c) Neuter Nouns ending in -an	
Nom sg (1) -a :	
Bhaṭṭ	<i>kama</i> L 1338
(11) -am	
Nāgār	<i>kammam</i> EI 20 22 F <sup>1</sup> etc
(d) Neuter nouns ending in -as	
Inst sg -ā	
S Ind Ins.	<i>manasā</i> L 1196
(e) Masculine nouns ending in -in	
Nom sg (1) -i :	
Bhaṭṭ	<i>Thorasī</i> L 1232 <sup>4</sup>
Amar I	<i>-mvāsī</i> EI 15 269 36
(11) -ī	
Cop Pl	<i>-assamedhayāṇī</i> L 1200 <sup>1</sup>
Inst. sg -nā	Inst. pl -hi .
S Ind Ins . -yāṇmā	L 1340 <sup>5</sup> Cop Pl <i>visayavāsīhi</i>
	L 1200 <sup>35</sup> etc.
Gen sg (1) -no	
Amar II	<i>-mvāsīno</i> L 1280 <sup>1</sup>
Nāgār	<i>-bodhīno</i> EI 20 16 C3 <sup>1</sup>
Cop Pl	<i>-yāṇmo</i> L 1194 <sup>5</sup> etc
(11) -sa	
Nāgār	<i>-yāṇsa</i> EI 20 18 B2 <sup>1</sup> etc. <i>-hadhisa</i> EI 20 19 B5 <sup>2</sup> and <i>-hathisa</i> EI 20 16 C3 <sup>2</sup>
(f) Masculine nouns ending in -d	
Nom sg -ā	
Bhaṭṭ	<i>Hiraṇavaghavā</i> L 1332 <sup>2</sup>

73 The word *rājan* is declined like -a base when at the end of a compound, cf *rajādhi-* *rājo* L 1200<sup>1</sup>, also cf [mahārājasa] in Nāgār EI 20 17 B1<sup>1</sup>

74 Once we get *atane* EI 20 19 C2<sup>1</sup> and once *atanam* EI 20 20 C4<sup>1</sup>.

## PRONOUNS

## § 249 Demonstrative Pronouns

(a) The pronominal base *idam*

Nom sg Mas or Neut

Amar II *ima* L 1235<sup>2</sup>, *imahi* L 1240<sup>2</sup>

Nom sg Mas

Nāgār *ayam* EI 21 62 G3<sup>10</sup>, *iyam* EI 21 64 L<sup>3</sup>

Nom Acc. sg Neut

Nāgār *imahi* EI 20 17 C1<sup>10</sup>, 22 F3<sup>3</sup> etc, 18 B2<sup>5</sup>, 16 C3<sup>12</sup>

Gen. sg

Nāgār *imasa* EI 20 19 B5<sup>5</sup>

Loc sg

Nāgār *imamhi* and *imamhi* EI 20 16 (footnote 3) A4<sup>3</sup> etc(b) The pronominal base *etad*

Nom Acc. sg Neut.

Nom pl Mas

Nāgār *etam* EI 20.22 F<sup>3</sup>S Ind Ins *ete* L 1196Cop Pl *etam* L 1200<sup>10</sup>,L 1328<sup>36</sup>

Inst pl

Cop Pl *etehi* L 1205<sup>10</sup>

Gen sg

Cop Pl *etasa* L 1205<sup>11</sup> etc, *etassa* L 1194<sup>8</sup>

Loc sg

Cop Pl *etahsi* L 1328<sup>25</sup>, *etesi*<sup>75</sup> L 1200<sup>27</sup>

Loc sg fem

S Ind Ins *etiya* L 1340<sup>3</sup>

## § 250 Relative Pronouns

(a) The pronominal base *yad*

Nom Sg Mas

Cop Pl *yo* L 1200<sup>10</sup>, *jo* L 1200<sup>14</sup> etc

Inst sg

Bhaṭṭ *yena* L 1338

## § 251 Interrogative Pronoun

(a) The pronominal base *kim*

Nom sg Mas .

Cop Pl *ko* L 1200<sup>10</sup>

## § 252 Personal Pronouns

(a) The First Personal Pronoun

Nom Pl

Cop Pl *amhe* L 1200<sup>11</sup>, *ammhe* L 1328<sup>7</sup>, *amho* L 1205<sup>23</sup>

Inst Pl

Cop Pl *amhehi* L 1200<sup>20</sup>, *amhehin* L 1327<sup>9</sup>

Gen. Pl

Cop Pl *amham* L 1200<sup>3</sup> etc , *no* (?) L 1200<sup>43</sup>.

(b) The Second Personal Pronoun .

Gen Pl

Cop Pl *vo* L 1200<sup>45</sup>(c) The base *tad*

Nom sg Mas

S Ind Ins *se* (?) L 1196Cop Pl *sa* L 1200<sup>47</sup>.

Acc sg Mas

Cop Pl *tam* L 1328<sup>25</sup>

Inst sg

Bhaṭṭ *tana* L 1338

Gen sg

Gen pl

S Ind Ins . *tasa* L 1202<sup>4</sup>Bhaṭṭ *teṣam* L 1335Nāgār *se, sa* EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup>Cop Pl *tasa* L 1200<sup>41</sup>,  
L 1205<sup>23</sup>

§ 253 Some other bases

(a) The base *sarva*Nom sg Neut *-am*Nāgār *savam* EI 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>Gen sg *-sa*Nāgār *sava[sa]* EI 20 22.F<sup>3</sup>(b) The base *anya*Nom sg Neut. *-am*Bhaṭṭ. *amnam* L 1335Inst. pl *-hi*Cop Pl *anehi* L 1205<sup>17</sup>

## NUMERALS

§ 254 Cardinals

(i) ONE AND A HALF

Cop Pl *divadha* L 1328<sup>17</sup>

(ii) Two

Amar II *bc* L 1254<sup>3</sup> , 'of two' *donam* Amar II L 1223Nāgār *bc* EI 20 25 K<sup>1</sup>Cop Pl *bc* L 1200<sup>14</sup> etc.

(iii) THREE

Amar I *tin* (Nom. pl Neut.) EI 15 265 18 etcNāgār . *tinmi* (Nom pl Neut.) EI 20.22.F<sup>3</sup>*tinhi* (Inst pl ) EI 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>Amar II *tina* (Gen pl ) L 1206

- (iv) FOUR  
 Amar I *catārī* (Nom Pl Neut.) L 1282<sup>3</sup>  
 Cop Pl *cāltārī* L 1200<sup>8</sup> etc  
*catunham* (Gen pl.) L 1200<sup>18</sup>
- (v) FIVE  
 Nāgār *-pamḍa-* EI 20 19 C<sup>0</sup>  
 Cop Pl *pañca-* L 1200<sup>17</sup>
- (vi) SIX  
 Amar I *cha* L 1269 etc
- (vii) SEVEN  
 Nāgār *sata* EI 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>
- {viii} THIRTEEN  
 Nāgār *teram* EI 20 22 F<sup>1</sup>  
 Cop Pl *terasa* L 1194<sup>15</sup>
- (ix) EIGHTEEN  
 Nāgār *aṭhāra* EI 20 21 E<sup>2</sup>
- (x) TWENTY  
 Cop Pl *visam*<sup>70</sup> L 1194<sup>11</sup>
- (xi) HUNDRED AND SEVENTY  
 Nāgār *satarī-satam* EI 20 19 B5<sup>6</sup>
- § 255 Ordinals
- (i) FIRST  
 Nāgār *prathama-* EI 21 64 L<sup>3</sup>, also Dharanikoṭṭa  
 cf EI 24 259<sup>5</sup>  
 Maḷavallī *paḍama-* L 1195, L 1196
- (ii) SECOND  
 S Ind Ins *būṭiya-* L 1196  
 Nāgār *būṭiya-* EI 21 62 G2<sup>8</sup>, etc.
- (iii) FOURTH  
 S Ind Ins *catutha-* L 1340<sup>3</sup>
- (iv) FIFTH  
 Nāgār *pamcama-* EI 20 21 E<sup>2</sup>  
 Cop Pl *pamcamī* L 1205<sup>26</sup>
- (v) SIXTH  
 Nāgār *chaṭṭha-* EI 20 21 B<sup>2</sup>  
 Cop Pl *chaṭṭha-* L 1205<sup>26</sup>
- (vi) TENTH  
 Nāgār *dasama-* EI 21 62 G2<sup>8</sup> etc.  
 Cop Pl *dasama-* L 1205<sup>25</sup>, *dasamī-* L 1194<sup>15</sup>
- (vii) TWENTIETH  
 Nāgār *vimsā-* EI 21 64 L<sup>3</sup>
- (viii) TWENTY-SEVENTH  
 S Ind. Ins *sata[vi]mam* L 1246<sup>2</sup>

76 *visam* is the form obtained in one of the Ceylonese inscriptions, cf EZ I 62.3 (2nd cent. AD)

## B CONJUGATION

## § 256 Present Indicative Active

First pers sg -*mi*First pers pl -*ma*Cop Pl *abhatthemī* L 1200<sup>14</sup>Cop Pl *da[d]āma* L 1328<sup>21</sup>,  
*vitārāma* L 1200<sup>7</sup> etcThird pers sg (1) -*ti*S Ind. Ins. *ānapayati* L 1195, *vaddhati* L 1196Cop Pl *ānapayati* L 1205<sup>4</sup> etc(11) -*ve-ti* (causal)Cop Pl *anuvattihāveti* L 1200<sup>15</sup>

## § 257 Imperative Mood

Second pers sg (1) -*hi*Second pers pl (1) -*tha*Cop Pl *oyapāpehi* L 1328<sup>27</sup>.Cop Pl *pariharatha* L 1205<sup>20</sup>  
etc.(11) -*pe-hi* (causal)(11) -*pe-tha* (causal)Cop Pl *cyapāpehi* L 1328<sup>27</sup>  
*mbamdhāpehi* L 1328<sup>38</sup>Cop Pl *pariharāpetha*  
L 1205<sup>20</sup> etc.Third pers sg -*ttu* or -*tu*.Third pl -*antu*S Ind Ins. *visasattu* L 1196S Ind Ins *nandantu* L 1196  
(a loan word)Nāgār *hotu* EI 20 21 E<sup>2</sup>

## § 258 Potential Mood

Third pers sg (1) -*yya*First pers pl -*yyāma*, -*jāmo*Cop Pl *kareyya* L 1200<sup>10</sup>Cop Pl *kareyyāma* L 1200<sup>11</sup>,  
*karejāmo* L 1205<sup>21</sup>(11) -*ja* or *jjā*Cop Pl *hoja* L 1200<sup>18</sup> *vaṭṭeja* L 1200<sup>10</sup>, *karejjā* L 1205<sup>22</sup>(111) -*pe-jjā* or -*ve-jjā* (causal)Cop Pl *kārāpejjā* L 1205<sup>23</sup>, *karavejjā* L 1200<sup>10</sup>

## PARTICIPLES

§ 259 Present Participle Middle (1) -*māna*Nāgār *samuthapīyamāna* EI 20 19 B5<sup>6</sup>§ 260 Past Passive Participle (1) -*na* The termination disappears in later inscriptions <sup>77</sup>.Bhaṭṭ. *Araha-dma-* L 1338Amar II *Dhama-dmā-* L 1260<sup>5</sup>S Ind Ins *dinna-* L 1196.(11) -*ta*<sup>78</sup>Amar II *ṭhāpita-* L 1238 etc etcS Ind Ins *paṭiṭhapita-* L 1202<sup>7</sup>, *datta-* L 1196

<sup>77</sup> But this together with its cerebralised form appears in 2nd cent. A.D. Ceylonese inscriptions. cf *dma-* EZ I 624, and *dma-* EZ I 21 Rock B No 1

<sup>78</sup> This is found even in the 1st or 2nd cent. B.C. Ceylonese inscription. cf *paṭiṭhita-* EZ I 145 10a



Nāgār                      *thavita-* EI 20 22 F<sup>3</sup>, *kārta-* EI 20 22 F<sup>2</sup>, F<sup>3</sup>  
 Cop Pl                      *data-* L 1328<sup>40</sup>, *vāpata* L 1205<sup>4</sup> etc etc

§ 261 Potential Passive Participles

- (i) *-jja*  
       S Ind Ins.            *dejja-* L 1195, L 1196
- (ii) *-tava* or *-tavva*  
       Cop Pl                *parihantava-* L 1200<sup>36</sup>, *bhāmtavva-* L 1194<sup>8</sup> etc.
- (iii) *-pe-tavva* (causal)  
       Cop Pl                *parihape-tavva-* L 1200<sup>37</sup>

§ 262 Infinitive.

- (i) *-tu*  
       Bhaṭṭ.                *mukhetu* L 1330

§ 263 Absolutes<sup>79</sup>

- (i) *-tūna* or *-tūnam*  
       S Ind Ins            *kātūnam*, L 1202<sup>3</sup>, L 1203<sup>3</sup>  
       Nāgār                *parināmetunam* EI 20 16 C3<sup>10</sup>, 21 E<sup>2</sup>  
                                  *parināmatūna* EI 20 16 (footnote 21) A3<sup>8</sup>  
       Cop Pl                *kātūna* L 1328<sup>28, 30</sup>
- (ii) *-tūnam* or *-tūna*  
       Cop Pl                *nātūnam* L 1200<sup>38</sup>,  
                                  *kātūnam* L 1200<sup>10, 29</sup>, *nātūna* L 1327<sup>10</sup> etc.

(iii) In a Maṭṭavallī inscription (L 1196) we get a form *solvena* Is it to be derived from <Sk *śrutvā*?

79 The Ceylonese Prakrit terminations are *-tu* and *-ya* cf *kaṭu* EZ I 62 4 (2nd cent A.D.), *darīya* (<√*dhṛ*-) and *kanavaya* (<√*khan*-) EZ I 211<sup>6</sup> (2nd cent. A.D.), also cf *paḍavaya* (<√*pat*-) EZ III. 116.5

## CHAPTER IV

### HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS OF THE CENTRAL GROUP

#### Prakrit Inscriptions of Central India.

##### § 264 INTRODUCTORY

The Prakrit inscriptions included in this chapter are scattered between Muttra Dist. in the United Provinces and Akolā<sup>1</sup> and Bhaṇḍārā districts in the Central Provinces. They even once peep in the Allahabad Dist. in U P. Yet a very large number of inscriptions comes almost from the centre, round about the Bhopal State. The conspectus given in the following article will point out that the inscriptions are not proportionately distributed in different centuries, as a bulk of them dates in the 2nd and 1st Centuries B C. There is again a wide gap between these dates and the Bāsim plates of the 4th cent. A D. The following paragraphs, as usual, will describe these inscriptions in a chronological order.

1 Mathurā I Jaina Inscriptions (L 92, L 92a, L 93, L 97, L 100-L 104) The Prakrit inscriptions at Mathurā (Math) in the United Provinces have been divided into two groups according as they date prior or posterior to the beginning of the Christian era. This group styled as Mathurā I deals with the former. Even in this group the inscriptions slightly vary in date but there is not much linguistic difficulty in putting them together. The general date of the group is taken to be slightly earlier than that of the inscriptions at Sāñci.

L 92 The characters of the inscription are as old as Aśokan.

L 92a The whereabouts of this inscription are not definitely known. It was found without any label in the Jaina Section of the Lucknow Museum. The technique of the sculpture on which it is engraved is decidedly that of the Mathurā school. The characters are very early and probably belong to the same period as the earliest inscription at Mathurā.

L 93 The characters are exceedingly archaic and do not much differ from those found in Aśokan edicts.

L 97, L 100-L 104<sup>1</sup> The characters are archaic enough to justify their being assigned to a period anterior to that of Kaniṣka.

2 Inscriptions from Central Group. Most of the Prakrit inscriptions comprising this group (Centr Gr.) are slightly earlier than those found at Sāñci. Most of them come from places round about Bhilsā, a district place in the Gwalior State, and have been included together for the sake of convenience. The inscriptions which make up the present group are as follows: Satdhāra Stūpa II inscriptions (L 152-L 153), Sonārī Stūpa I and II inscriptions (L 154-L 160), Parkham<sup>2</sup> image ins-

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1 103 has been reedited by LÜDERS, "Inscription on a sculptured stone-slab from Mathurā" *EI* 24.205-6, No IV.

2. This is, however, situated in the Mathura Dt., U.P.

scription (L 150), Besnagar inscriptions<sup>3</sup> (L 669-L 675), Bhojapur Stūpa inscriptions (L 676-L 678), Andher Stūpa inscriptions (L 679-L 684), and Kevatī Kuṇḍa cave inscription<sup>4</sup> (L 907). Most of the inscriptions are donative in character and hence yield scanty material.

3 **Sāñci Inscriptions** This division includes the largest number of Prakrit inscriptions found at any single place. It comprises all the numerous inscriptions from Stūpa I, II and III, as well as a few box inscriptions at Sāñci in the Bhopal State. LUDERS has included in his list a little over five hundred inscriptions (L 162-L 668) from this place, most of which were published by BÜHLER in the second volume of *Epigraphia Indica*. A recent publication on "*The Monuments of Sāñci*," by Sir John MARSHALL and Alfred FOUCHER includes the texts, translations and annotations of all inscriptions at Sāñci by N G MAJUMDAR. The work contains some 827 early inscriptions at Sāñci (excluding those of Kushana, Gupta and later period) and thus outnumbers the collection made by LUDERS by about 320 inscriptions. MAJUMDAR divides the Sāñci inscriptions in three different chronological groups on palaeographic grounds

1 The edict of Aśoka

2 Stūpa I Inscriptions on the pavement slabs and balustrades, including the ground, the beam, stairway and harmikā-balustrades

Stūpa III Inscriptions on relic boxes, beam and stairway balustrades  
Inscription on temple 40

Stūpa II Inscriptions on relic boxes, relic caskets and balustrades

3 Stūpa I Inscriptions on gate ways and balustrade extension.

Stūpa III Inscriptions on ground balustrade

The following discussion leaves out the edict of Aśoka as it has been already dealt with in Ch. I, and centres round the second and the third division. Though these two divisions have been treated together there is some slight difference in time *inter se*. The general date of these inscriptions can be regarded as the second century B.C. The inscriptions which are not to be found in the LUDERS' list and have been lately edited by Majumdar have been indicated by the short form Mj instead of the usual L.

BÜHLER offers the following remarks on the language represented by these inscriptions: "The language of the inscriptions differs very little from the literary Pāli and still less from the dialects of Aśoka's edicts, and it shows all the peculiarities of the Bharaut inscriptions—the word forms are in general of the type of Pāli and of Aśoka's Girnar edicts"<sup>5</sup>

4 **Bharaut Inscriptions (L 687-L 903)** This division includes all the inscriptions at Bharaut (Bhar) in the Nāgod State in Bāgelkhand in Central India. As regards the date of these inscriptions HULTZSCH observes, "The age of these inscriptions is approximately fixed by the inscription No. 1 (L 687) which records that the east gateway of the Stūpa was built during the reign of the Sungas i.e. in the 2nd or 1st cent. B.C. by Vātsīputra Dhanabhūti"<sup>6</sup>. The inscriptions either record the various

3 The two column inscriptions from Besnagar (L 669 L 670) belong to the second century B.C.

4 Situated in the Rewah State, Central India,

5 EI 2 89-90

6 IA 21 225

gifts or they serve as labels mentioning the jāṭaka story represented in sculptures All these inscriptions have been lately reedited by BARUA and SIMHA<sup>7</sup>

5 Kosam Inscriptions<sup>8</sup> These inscriptions, which have not been included in the LUDERS' list, were found on a stone slab in the vicinity of Kosam in the Allahabad Dist of the United Provinces The language of the records is pure Prakrit and they have been incised in characters which closely resemble the alphabet used in the inscriptions of Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāṣa Their date, therefore, falls in the 1st cent B C

6 Pauni Stone Inscription<sup>9</sup> Pauni is an old town, thirty two miles south of Bhaṇḍārā, the head-quarters of a district place in C P The inscription is found on a massive slab in early Brāhmī alphabet of about the beginning of the Christian era The inscription is not included by LUDERS in his list.

7 Mathurā Inscriptions II (L 117, L 125 a, L 125 f, L 125 g, L 125 i and L 125 j) These six inscriptions from Mathurā (Math) comprise the second division of the Mathurā inscriptions which date later than the beginning of the Christian era All these belong to the Kushana period and the date of the whole group can be assigned to the first century A D

8 Silaharā Cave Inscriptions<sup>10</sup> Silaharā (Silah) caves are situated in the Rewah State in Central India Some of the inscriptions are in the Brāhmī script and some in the "Shell" characters For our present study we are concerned only with those in the Brāhmī script These are in all seven inscriptions and palaeographically most of them belong to the first century A D Those in the Sitāmāḍi cave (Nos 6 and 7) are slightly later in date.

9 Bithā Coping Stone Inscription (L 908) Bithā is situated some ten miles south south-west of Allahabad The characters of the inscription belong to the 1st cent. A D The inscription is fragmentary and yields quite unimportant material

10 Bāsim Plates of Vākāṭaka Vindhyaśakti II<sup>11</sup> Bāsim is the head quarters of the Bāsim tāluk in the Akolā Dist of Berar The language of the plates is partly Sanskrit (lines 1-5 consisting of the genealogical portion) and partly Prakrit (lines 5 to the end consisting of the formal portion) Like the Hīrahaḍagallī plates, the present inscription closes with a benedictory sentence in Sanskrit. The inscription shows several instances of double consonants by the side of single ones In Prakrit as well as in Sanskrit portion the class nasal is used in place of anusvāra.

The characters are of a box-headed variety of the South Indian alphabet, resembling those of the copper plate inscriptions of Pravarasena II The plates are dated in the 37th year evidently of the reign of Vindhyaśakti II As his reign came to a close by about 400 A D his plates are taken to belong to the end of the fourth century A D

§265 Note The table given below is indicative of the distribution of the inscriptions in their time sequence

7 *Barhut Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1926

8 "Three Brāhmī inscriptions from Kosam" *EI* 18 158-9

9 V V MIRASHI, "Pauni Stone Inscription of the Bharz King Bhagadatta" *EI* 24 11-4

10 D R. BHANDARKAR, *EI* 22.30 ff, they are not included by LUDERS in his list.

11 V V MIRASHI and D B MAHAJAN *EI* 26 137-55, not included in LUDERS' list

Period	Inscription	No
End of 3rd cent. B C	L 92, L 92 a, L 93, L 97, L 100-L 104	9
2nd cent B C	L 150, L 152-L 153, L 154-L 160, L 162-L 668, L 669-L 675, L 676-L 678, L 679-L 684, L 907, + 320 additions	854
1st cent B C	L 687-L 903, plus 3 additions	220
1st cent. A D	L 117, L 125 a. L 125 f, L 125 g, L 125 i, L 125 j, L 908, plus 8 additions	15
4th cent. A D	Bāsim Plates	1

## PHONOLOGY

## I VOWELS

§266 Treatment of the Sk. vowel  $\gamma$ . The vowel  $\gamma$  becomes  $a$  or  $i$  in a majority of instances. It becomes  $u$  (besides  $i$ ) only in a few words which are expressive of human relationship or where it is combined with a labial

(a) Change  $\gamma > a$  This is the principal treatment

Centr Gr	Sk. <i>kṛtā</i> > <i>kata</i> - L 150
Sāñci	Sk. <i>gṛhā</i> > <i>gaha</i> - L 193 etc.
	Sk. <i>vṛddhā</i> > <i>vaḍha</i> - L 208
	Sk. <i>jāmātṛ</i> > <i>jamata</i> - L 166

The last two examples show that  $\gamma > a$  also in combination with  $v$  and in words of relationship

Bhar	Sk. <i>gṛhītā</i> > <i>gahuta</i> - L 694
	Sk. <i>sāmvṛta</i> > <i>savata</i> - L 741
Kosam	Sk. <i>gṛhapati</i> > <i>gahapati</i> - EI 98 159 <sup>1</sup>
Silah.	Sk. <i>śilāgṛha</i> > <i>śilāgaha</i> - EI 22 36 2 <sup>3</sup> , 4 <sup>1</sup>

(b) Change  $\gamma > i$  The examples cited below are mostly stock-examples like *isi-* or *miga-* There are a few words expressive of human relationship too

Sāñci	Sk. <i>ṛṣi</i> > <i>isi</i> - L 215 etc.
	Sk. <i>bhartṛka</i> > <i>bha[ti]ka</i> - Mj 425
	Sk. <i>samātṛka</i> > <i>samātika</i> - (?) L 543
Bhar	Sk. <i>mṛgā</i> > <i>miga</i> - L 698, L 730 etc
	Sk. <i>śṛgāla</i> > <i>sigāla</i> - L 697
Math. II	Sk. <i>pṛtibhik</i> > <i>-pṛitih</i> L 125 a <sup>2</sup>
Silah.	Sk. <i>pranaptṛka</i> > <i>-panatika</i> - EI 22 36 1 <sup>1</sup>
Basim	Sk. <i>Bhartṛdeva</i> > <i>Bhaṭṭi deva</i> - (?) EI 26 152 <sup>11</sup>

(c) Change  $\gamma > u$

Centr Gr	Sk. <i>amṛta</i> > <i>amuta</i> - L 670 <sup>1</sup>
Sāñci	Sk. <i>bhrdṛ</i> > <i>bhātu</i> - L 450 etc
Math II	Sk. <i>Rṣabha</i> > <i>Usabha</i> - L 117
Basim	Sk. <i>Pṛṭṛ-ārya</i> > <i>Pṛṭu-ja</i> - EI 26 152 13-14

267 Treatment of the Sk. diphthongs *ai* and *au* Sk *ai* and *au* become *e* and *o* regularly in these inscriptions

(a) Change *ai* > *e* :

Math I	Sk. <i>Naigameśa-</i> > <i>Nemesa-</i> (?) L 101
Centr Gr	Sk. <i>Haimavanta-</i> > <i>Hemavata-</i> L 156
Sāñci	Sk. <i>Kaikaṭeyaka-</i> > <i>Kekaṭeyaka-</i> L 162
	Sk. <i>Vaiśramana-</i> > <i>Vesamana-</i> L 201
Bhar	Sk. <i>Vaidīśa-</i> > <i>Vedīśa-</i> L 780 etc
	Sk. <i>cāitya-</i> > <i>cetaya</i> <sup>12</sup> L 699

(b) Change *ai* > *i* occurs in a doubtful instance.

Sāñci	Sk. <i>Śaṅkṣā-</i> > <i>Śiṅhā-</i> L 516 (This is a proper name of a house-wife)
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(c) Change *au* > *o*

Math I	Sk. <i>sauvarṇika-</i> > <i>sovan[ika]-</i> L 92 a.
Centr Gr	Sk. <i>Maudgalāyana-</i> > <i>Mogalāna-</i> L 153
	Sk. <i>Gaupī-</i> > <i>Gotī-</i> L 156
Sāñci	Sk. <i>Gautamī-</i> > <i>Gotamī-</i> L 623.
	Sk. <i>sautrika-</i> > <i>sotika-</i> L 331
Bhar.	Sk. <i>Kauśāmbī-</i> > <i>Kosamba-</i> L 732 ;
	Also cf <i>Gotī-</i> L 687

(d) The diphthong *au* is once preserved

Bhar	Sk. <i>pautra-</i> > <i>pauta-</i> L 687
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§ 268 Treatment of Sk *aya*, *ayi* and *avi* All these three become *e* in these inscriptions.

(a) Change *aya*, *ayi* > *e* .

Sāñci	Sk. <i>Jayanta-</i> > <i>Jeta-</i> L 394
	Sk. <i>Ujjayinī-</i> > <i>Ujenī-</i> L 172

(b) Sk. *aya* is once preserved

Bhar	Sk. <i>Vaijayanta-</i> > <i>Vejayamta-</i> L 776
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(c) Change *avi* > *e*

Sāñci	Sk. <i>sthāvira-</i> > <i>thera-</i> L 451
Bhar	cf <i>thera-</i> L 858

§ 269 Treatment of Sk *ava* It becomes *o*(a) Change *ava* > *o*

Centr Gr	Sk. <i>yavana-</i> > <i>yona-</i> L 669 <sup>1</sup>
Sāñci	cf <i>yona-</i> L 547
Bhar	Sk. <i>avakṛta-</i> > <i>vokata</i> <sup>13</sup> L 777
	Sk. <i>Śravanā-</i> > <i>Sonā-</i> L 758

§ 270 Treatment of the Sk. vowel *a* : The vowel *a* is preserved generally in all positions There are, however, a few changes which take place only occasionally

(a) Change *a* > *ā* in a metrically long syllable .

Math. I	Sk. <i>antevāsini-</i> > <i>āntevāsī-</i> L 93
	Sk. <i>śrāvakasya</i> > <i>sāvakāsa</i> <sup>14</sup> L 93
Sāñci	Sk. <i>anyā-</i> > <i>āna-</i> L 340

<sup>12</sup> *cāitya-* L 693 is apparently a mistake for *cetīya-*

<sup>13</sup> With the addition of initial *v-*

<sup>14</sup> But cf *Vaśīṣṭputrasa* L 93

	Sk. <i>rajjūka</i> > <i>rājuka</i> - L 281
	Sk. <i>Nandottarā</i> > <i>Nādutarā</i> - Mj 670, etc
Bhar	Sk. <i>Angāradyut</i> > <i>Āgaraju</i> - <sup>15</sup> L 687
	Sk. <i>Punarvasu</i> > <i>Punāvasu</i> - L 831
	Sk. <i>Gargamitra</i> > <i>Gāgamita</i> - L 832
Bāsim	Sk. <i>sārva</i> > <i>sāvva</i> - EI 26 151 <sup>6</sup>
	Sk. <i>saṃvatsarā</i> > <i>sāvaccchara</i> - EI 26 153 <sup>28</sup>
	Sk. <i>dharmasthāna</i> > <i>dhāmmatthāna</i> - EI 26 152 <sup>9</sup>

(b) 'Change *a* > *ɪ* occurs either due to the presence of *y* or due to assimilation. It also occurs due to confusion between the suffixes *-aka* *-ika*-

Centr Gr	Sk. <i>madhyamā</i> > <i>maḥuma</i> - L 157
Sāñci	Sk. <i>Dhanyakā</i> > <i>Dhañkā</i> L 296 , also cf <i>maḥuma</i> - L 270
	Sk. <i>Māhīṣmaṭi</i> > <i>Māḥisiti</i> L 274
	Sk. <i>Aviṣannā</i> > <i>Aviṣinā</i> - L 319, L 352

The change occurs due to assimilation in the latter two examples

	Sk. <i>kathaka</i> > <i>-kathuka</i> - L 347 due to confusion in suffixes
Bhar	Sk. <i>nyagrōdha</i> > <i>niḡoha</i> - L 755
	Sk. <i>śāṭaka</i> - <sup>16</sup> > <i>sāḍika</i> - L 743
	Sk. <i>Śyāmaka</i> > <i>Samika</i> - <sup>17</sup> L 767, L 858 These two examples exemplify confusion in suffixes

(c) Change *a* > *u* due to the labial *m*

Bhar	Sk. <i>smaśāna</i> > <i>susāna</i> - <sup>18</sup> L 697
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(d) Change *a* > *ā* occurs irregularly

Sāñci	Sk. <i>Rkṣavali</i> > <i>Achāvālī</i> - L 430
	Sk. <i>Navagrāma</i> > <i>Nāvagāma</i> - L 182
	Sk. <i>Pratiṣṭhāna</i> > <i>[Pā]ṭiṭhāna</i> - L 474

The final *ā* in *dāmā* (L 281, L 284 etc.) is probably due to the loss of final consonant.

Bhar	Sk. <i>Bharanīdeva</i> > <i>Bhāranīdeva</i> - L 874
Math. II	Sk. <i>saha</i> > <i>sāhā</i> L 125 a <sup>2</sup>

§ 271 Treatment of the Sk. vowel *ā* The vowel *ā* is generally preserved. Yet in a fairly large number of instances it is shortened to *a*.

(a) Change *ā* > *a* before a consonant cluster. The change occurs since the earliest times.

Math. I	Sk. <i>Vātsi</i> > <i>Vachī</i> - L 93
	Sk. <i>bhāryā</i> > <i>bhayā</i> L 97 <sup>1</sup> , L 200 <sup>2</sup> , L 103
Centr Gr	Sk. <i>ācāryā</i> > <i>ācariya</i> - L 158
	Sk. <i>Ārya</i> > <i>Aya</i> - L 154

15 But cf *Agaraju*- L 688

16 Bharata explains it as *nāṭaka-bheda* cf BÖHT ROTH s.v

17 But we get *Samaka*- in L 768.

18 Hemacandra on 286 records *susāna*- or *sīāna*- as used in Ārṣa language i.e. Ardha-Māgadhī. Otherwise the general Prakrit form is *maśāna*- cf H 286, also V 36

Sāñci	Sk. <i>pānthaka-</i> > <i>panthaka-</i> L 473 Sk. <i>Siddhārtha-</i> > <i>Sidhatha-</i> L 326 Sk. <i>Phālgunā-</i> > <i>Phaguna-</i> L 294 etc.
Bhar	Sk. <i>rājyā-</i> > <i>raja-</i> L 687 Sk. <i>rājñah</i> > <i>rañho</i> <sup>19</sup> L 687 , also cf <i>Aya-</i> L 690 etc , <i>bhayā-</i> L 882 etc
Silah	Sk. <i>amātya-</i> > <i>amaca-</i> EI 22 36 2 <sup>3</sup> , 4 <sup>1</sup>
Bāsim	Sk. <i>mārga-</i> > <i>magga-</i> EI 26 151 <sup>5</sup>

(b) Change *-ā* > *-a* before terminations occurs since the earliest times , but it seems to have fallen into disuse from about first century B C

Math I Sk. *Amogharakṣitā-* > *Amogharakhita-ye* L 92

In other inscriptions from Math which, though for the sake of convenience have been grouped with L 92 but date about a century later than that. the vowel *-ā* is preserved

	Sk. <i>bhāryā-</i> > <i>bhayā-ye</i> L 97 <sup>1</sup> , L 100 <sup>2a</sup> , L 103. Sk. <i>Aśvā-</i> > <i>Asā-ye</i> L 97 <sup>2</sup> Sk. <i>Jīvanandā-</i> > <i>Jivanadā-ye</i> L 104.
Sāñci	Sk. <i>Acalā-</i> > <i>Acala-ya</i> L 175 Sk. <i>Nāgapālītā-</i> > <i>Nāgapālita-ya</i> L 585 etc.
Bhar	Sk. <i>Purikā-</i> > <i>Purika-yā</i> <sup>20</sup> L 837 Sk. <i>bhāryā-</i> > <i>bhārya-ya</i> L 799

But in a majority of cases the long vowel *-ā* is preserved cf *Sāmā-ya* L 839 ; *bhāryā-ya* L 854, *Sīrīmā-ya* L 878, etc. etc

The nom sg of fem. nouns in *-ā* and of mas nouns in *-an* at times ends in *-a*.

Sk. <i>devātā</i> > <i>devata</i> L 770, L 811 etc.
Sk. <i>Sudarśanā</i> > <i>Sudasana</i> L 790.
Sk. <i>rājā</i> > <i>rāja</i> L 811

(c) In a few instances change *ā* > *a* occurs at the end of the first member in a compound

Sāñci	Sk. <i>Acalā-bhukṣuñ-</i> > <i>Acala-bhuchum-</i> L 462 <sup>1</sup> ; also cf <i>Dupasaha-bhuchum-</i> L 328
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(d) Change *ā* > *a* in mistake.

Centr Gr	Sk. <i>antevāsīn-</i> > <i>alevasī-</i> L 154
Sāñci	Sk. <i>Svāmikā-</i> > <i>Samikā-</i> L 382 Sk. <i>upāsikā-</i> > <i>upasikā-</i> L 199 etc. Sk. <i>prajāvatī-</i> > <i>pajavati-</i> L 270 , etc.
Bhar	Sk. <i>jātaka-</i> > <i>jataka-</i> L 691, L 694 etc. Sk. <i>bhānaka-</i> > <i>bhanaka-</i> L 762, L 789. Sk. <i>bīdāla-</i> > <i>bīdala-</i> L 695 , etc.

§ 272 Treatment of the Sk vowel i The short vowel i is fairly well preserved. The following changes, however, may be noted.

(a) Change i > ī in a metrically long syllable.

Sāñci	Sk. <i>Indra-</i> > <i>Īda-</i> L 250, L 419 etc.
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<sup>19</sup> But cf *rāñho* L 882

<sup>20</sup> But cf *Purikā-yā* L 835.



Sk. *Simha* > *Siha*<sup>21</sup>. L 186 etc The change is, however, by no means of universal application.

Bhar The vowel *ī* is lengthened only exceptionally

Sk. *Bimbikānandīkṣita* > *Bībikanadīkaṣa*<sup>22</sup> L 728

(b) Change *ī* > *ī̄* in mistake in a few cases

Sāñci . Sk. *Buddhapālita* > *Budhapālita* L 341 ,  
also cf *Isipālita* L 336

(c) Change *ī* > *e* in a metrically long syllable.

Bhar Sk. *Viśvabhū* > *Vesabhū*<sup>23</sup> L 714

Sk. *Anāthapīṇḍika* > *Anādhapēdika* L 731

Bāsim . Sk. *Viṣṇu-ārya* > *Venhu-ṣa* EI 26 152<sup>12</sup>

The change *ī* > *e* takes place in a few cases even without a consonant cluster following it.

Sāñci Sk. *bhikṣunū* > \**bhikṣunū-yā* > *Bhikhune-yā* L 341.

Sk. *vānījā* > *vāneja* Mj 61<sup>1</sup>

Bhar Sk. *śrī* > \**siri* > *seri* L 874

(d) Change *ī* > *a* either through the process of assimilation or dissimilation cf, however, the note by HULTZSCH quoted below

Sāñci Sk. *Rohunū* > *Rohanū* L 216 etc

Sk. *Dharmarakṣitā* > *Dhamarakhatā* L 312

Sk. *Māhīmatī* > *Māhasatī* L 497

Bhar Sk. *cetīya* > \**ceṭīya* > *cetaya* L 699

On *cetaya*- HULTZSCH says, "It remains doubtful whether vowel *a* in the second syllable of this word is due to a clerical omission of the sign for *ī* or if it is the expression of an indistinct pronunciation of the vowel *ī*"<sup>24</sup>

(e) Change *-i* > *-u* due to assimilation

Bhar Sk. *Śisupāla* > *Susupāla* L 756

§ 273 Treatment of the Sk. vowel *ī* The long vowel *ī*, though fairly well preserved, undergoes the following changes

(a) Change *ī* > *ī̄* before consonant cluster

Sāñci Sk. *vyudīrṇa* > *vudina* L 199

Sk. *Kīrti* > *Kīṭi* Mj 316

Sk. *Nandīśvara* > *Nadīśara* Mj 442. This may be due to peculiar Prakrit sandhi

Bhar Sk. *śīrṣā* > *śisa* L 741

Sk. *Dirgha* > *Digha* L 692

(b) Change *ī* > *ī̄* before terminations

Sāñci Sk. *Māhīmatī* > *Māhīsatī-ya* Mj 253 etc.

Bhar Sk. *bhikṣunū* > *bhikṣunū-ya* L 718 etc.

Math II Sk. *śīṣyīnī* > *śīṣīnī-e* L 117<sup>B</sup> ,  
also cf *Amohā-āsi-ye* L 125a<sup>1</sup>

21 cf however *Simha* L 228 , *Sihā* L 398 etc.

22 But cf *Bīb[ī]k[ā]nādīkaṣa* L 725

23 Perhaps these forms at Bhar together with *vesadata* from Sāñci (L 778<sup>1</sup>) are to be derived from the vrddhi forms such as *Vaiśvabhū*- *Vaiśvadatta* etc.

24 cf IA 21.228 footnote 18

- (c) Change  $\bar{i} > i^{25}$  at the end of the first member of a compound  
 Math I Sk. *Gaupfī-putra-* > *Goti-puta-* L 92a  
 Sk. *Maudgalī-putra-* > *Mogali-puta-* L 97<sup>1</sup>.

But the long vowel is preserved in—

- Sk. *Vātsī-putra-* > *Vachī-puta-* L 93  
 Centr Gr Sk. *Kauśikī-putra-* > *Kosiki-puta-* L 159  
 But cf *Hārītī-puta-* L 683  
 Sāñci Sk. *Revatī-mitra-* > *Revali-mita-* L 503  
 Sk. *Aditī-gupta-* > *Aditi-guta-* L 264 ; etc  
 Bhar cf *Goti-puta-* L 687 , *Revati-mita-* L 712 etc But note  
 its preservation in *Gāgī-puta-* L 687  
 (d) Change  $\bar{i} > i$  occurs sometimes in mistake.  
 Math I Sk. *Mahāvīra-* > *Mahāvira-* L 103  
 Sāñci Sk. *kanīyasī-* > *kanīyasī-* L 246  
 Sk. *Jīva-* > *Jiva-* Mj 395  
 Bhar Sk. *Īśāna-* > *Isāna-* L 826  
 Sk. *devī-* > *devi*<sup>26</sup> L 709  
 Sk. *Śrīṣapadra-* > *Srisapada-* L 859

The change occurs in suffixes probably because of confusion between Sk. *-īya-* and Pkt *-iya-* (< Sk *-ika-*)

- Sk. *Bhogavardhaniya-* > *Bhogavadhaniya-* L 797.  
 Sk. *yavamadhyakīya-* > *yavamaḥhakiya-* L 769  
 (e) Change  $\bar{i} > a$  occurs in the following cases<sup>27</sup>  
 Sāñci Sk. *Rohinī-devā-* > *Rohana-devā-* L 467, but  
 cf *Rohani-mitā-* Mj 805  
 Sk. *bhukṣunī-* > *bhichuna-yā* L 383, L 536  
 Sk. *prajāvalī-* > *paḥāvata-yā* L 507

The last two examples are morphological forms and the change has occurred before the termination. It is, therefore, possible to say that the Pkt. forms here do not follow their own decensional system but come directly from their full Sk. equivalents. Thus Sk. *bhukṣunyāh* > *\*bhukṣunayā* > *bhichuna-yā*

- Bhar Sk. *Kauśāmbī-kutī-* > *Kosamba-kutī-* L 732  
 (f) Change  $\bar{i} > u$   
 Bhar Sk. *grhīta-* > *gahuta-* L 694  
 (g) Change  $\bar{i} > e$   
 Bhar Sk. *kṛīta-* > *keta-* L 731

The changes noted in (e), (f) and (g) are similar to those noted in the treatment of the vowel  $\bar{i}$  above. It would, therefore, be right to assume that before the long vowel  $\bar{i}$  became *a*, *u* or *e* it passed through the intermediate stage in which  $\bar{i} > i$

§ 274 Treatment of the Sk. vowel *u* This short vowel is generally preserved. We may note, however, the following changes

- (a) Change  $u > \bar{u}$  in a metrically long syllable. The change takes place rather rarely

25 cf above § 167(c)

26 This is, however, a morphological form

27 cf above the change  $\bar{i} > a$  § 272(d).

- Math I Sk. *Uttara* > *Ūtara*<sup>28</sup> L 92a  
 Sāñci Sk. *Buddhapāḥita* > *Būdhapāḥita* L 473
- (b) Change *u* > *o* in a metrically long syllable.  
 Sāñci Sk. *Tumbavanikā* > *Tomḃavanikā* L 520  
 Sk. *Udraka*<sup>29</sup> > *Oḍaka* L 511
- It becomes *o* even without a cluster following it.  
 Sk. *Upendra* > *Opeda* L 223, L 407
- Bhar Sk. *Arbuda* > *Aboda* L 693
- (c) Change *u* > *i*<sup>30</sup> due to assimilation  
 Sāñci Sk. *duhit-* > *dihitu-* Mj 667, Mj 734<sup>1</sup>
- (d) Change *u* > *a*  
 Sāñci Sk. *bhikṣunī* > *bhichanī* L 439  
 Sk. *putra* > *-pata* L 408
- Bhar Sk. *Subhadṛā* > *Sabhadā* L 745  
 Sk. *Ajātasatru* > *Ajātasata* L 774

This change is noticed either because of the writer's negligence to indicate the vowel *u* mark or as pointed out by HULTZSCH (cf. change *i* > *a* above) due to indistinct pronunciation of the short vowel *u*

§ 275 Treatment of the Sk vowel *ū* The long vowel *ū* is generally preserved. It is, however, shortened to *u* in the following circumstances

- (a) Change *ū* > *u* before a consonant cluster  
 Sāñci Sk. *Sūtrāntika* > *Sutāṅka* L 635  
 Sk. *Sūryā* > *Suryā* L 545
- Bhar Sk. *Pūrnakiya* > *Punakaya* L 786  
 Sk. *Dhūrta* > *Dhuta* L 845  
 Sk. *tūrya* > *tura* L 743
- (b) Change *ū* > *u* occurs also in mistake.  
 Math. I Sk. *pūjā* > *-pujā* L 100<sup>2b</sup>
- Sāñci Sk. *Bhūtarakṣita* > *Bhutarakṣita* L 513  
 Sk. *rūpakarma* > *rupakamma* L 345  
 Sk. *rajjūka* > *rājuka* L 281
- Bhar Sk. *sūci* > *suci* L 823 etc.  
 Sk. *Stūpadāsa* > *Thupadāsa* L 798,  
 also cf. *Bhuta* L 713 etc., *rupa* L 857

§ 276 Treatment of the Sk vowel *e* The vowel *e* only exceptionally becomes *i* in the following cases

- (a) Change *e* > *i* (or *ī*) before a consonant cluster  
 Sāñci Sk. *Mahendra* > *Mahida* L 373  
 Sk. *Upendra* > *Upida* L 251
- Bhar cf. *Mahāsena* L 818

In all these cases where *e* > *i*, the Sk vowel is only the result of sandhi between *ā* + *i*

28 But cf. *utara* L 93

29 LÜDERS derives it from Sk. *Ādraka*

30 We get *purisa* L 158, L 308 etc. which come from *\*pūrṣ-* and compares with Sk. *pārṣa-*

Once the vowel *e* > *i* even without a cluster following it

Bhar

Sk *Kubera* > *Kupira* L 794

§ 277 Treatment of the Sk. vowel *o* But for a few cases where *o* > *u* (or *a*), the vowel *o* is usually preserved

(a) Change *o* > *u*, before a consonant cluster

Sāñci

Sk. *Nandottarā* > *Nam[du]tarā* L 468, Mj 430

Sk. *Dharmottarā* > *Dhamu[tarā]* L 461

Bhar

Sk. *Citrotpāta* > *Citupāda* L 710,

also cf *Nadutarā* L 826

As in the case of *e*, in all these instances the vowel *o* which is changed to *u* is due to sandhi between *a* + *u*

(b) Change *o* > *a* due to clerical error Here also the vowel *o* is due to sandhi

Sāñci

Sk. *Svarnottarā* > *Sonaturā* Mj 405

## II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

§ 278 As in other groups, the initial simple consonants are here well preserved. In their medial position also we do not meet with very important changes in the inscriptions prior to the first century B C. The Barh inscriptions, however, mark a definite, though slow, linguistic development over the earlier stage represented in the inscriptions at Sāñci. As usual, in the following discussion only the phonetic changes have been exemplified. In most cases where the changes occur they are of partial and not universal application

### § 279 Gutturals

(a) The change of intervocal surd to sonant is first noticed in the 1st cent B C. and A D

(i) Change *-k-* > *-g-*

Pauni

Sk. *pādukā* > *pājugā* EI 24 14

(ii) Change *-kh-* > *-gh-*

Bhar

Sk. *Makhādevī* > *Maghadevi* L 691

(b) The loss of occlusion is equally rarely met with

(i) Change *-kh-* > *-h-*

Sāñci

Sk. *śikhara* > *śhara* Mj 796

(ii) Change *-gh-* > *-h-*

Math. I

Sk. *Māgharakṣita* > *Māharakhita* L 93 It is, however, preserved in *Amogharakhita* L 92

It is interesting to note that this loss of occlusion which is sporadically met with in the earlier inscriptions is not found in later ones

(c) Loss of *-ga-* is perhaps instanced in—

Math. I

Sk. *Naigameśa* > *Nemesa*<sup>30a</sup> L 101

### § 280 Palatals

(a) Some of the palatals are only exceptionally softened to *y*. We do not come across changes from surd to sonant.

30a Unless it is < *Naigameśa* . *Nimesa*-, but with unexpected *-c-* < *-ia-*.

- (i) Change *c-* or *-c-* > *y-* or *-y-* It occurs only in later inscriptions  
 Math II Sk. *vācaka-* > *vāyaka-* L 117<sup>B</sup>  
 Bāsim Sk. *ca* > *ya* EI 26 152<sup>7, 10</sup>
- (ii) Change *-r-* > *-y-* This appears even in the 1st cent. B C  
 Bhar Sk. *mahāsāmāyika-* > *mahāsāmāyika-* L 777  
 Pauni Sk. *rāja-* > *-rāya-* EI 24 14  
 Bāsim cf. *-rāya-* EI 26 152<sup>10</sup>

## § 281 Cerebrals

- (a) Change of a surd to sonant appears even in early inscriptions

- (i) Change *-ṭ-* > *-ḍ-*  
 Sāñci Sk. *Subhaṭadatta-* > *Suḥaḍadatta-* Mj 825  
 Sk. *Maṇḍalākṣikṛtika-* > *\*-kaṭika-* > *-kaḍika-*  
 Mj 341<sup>2</sup> etc  
 Bhar Sk. *śaṭaka-* > *sāḍika-* L 743  
 Bāsim Sk. *bhaṭa-* > *bhaḍa-* EI 26 151<sup>7</sup>, 153<sup>22</sup>
- (ii) Change *\*-ṭh-* > *-dh-* occurs very late.  
 Bāsim Sk. *prathama-* > *\*paṭhama-*<sup>31</sup> > *padhama-*  
 EI 26 153<sup>28</sup>

- (b) The loss of cerebralisation is noticed in the following cases

- (i) Change *-ṭh-* > *-th-*  
 Sāñci Sk. *śreṣṭhin-* > *sethi-* L 255,  
 but cf. *seṭhi-* L 423  
 Sk. *Māṭhara-* > *Māthara-* Mj 279
- (ii) Change *-ḍ-* > *-d-*  
 Centr Gr Sk. *Kaundinī-* > *Kodinī-* L 157
- (c) The loss of aspiration is noticed in the case of *-dh-*
- (i) Change *-ḍh-* > *-ḍ-*  
 Sāñci Sk. *Aṣāḍha-* > *Asāḍa-* L 306, L 396  
 Bhar Sk. *Vīrūḍhaka-* > *Vīruḍaka-* L 736,  
 also cf. *Asadā-* L 697
- (ii) Change *-dh-* > *-ḍr-*  
 Sāñci Sk. *Aṣāḍha-* > *Asāḍra-* Mj 336
- (d) The change of *-d-* > *-ḷ-* is noticed in a proper name  
 Math. I *Kālavāḍa-* > *Kālavāḷa-* EI 24 205
- (e) Conversely *-ḷ-* > *-ḍ-*  
 Bhar Sk. *Veḷuka-* > *Veḍuka-* L 707, L 756
- (f) The nasal cerebral *ṇ* is generally preserved Yet the tendency of decerebralisation is noticed from very early times
- (i) Change *-ṇ-* > *-n-*  
 Math I Sk. *śramanā-* > *samana-* L 93  
 Sk. *torana-* > *-torana-* L 93 It is, however, preserved  
 in Sk. *sauvarṇika-* > *sovan[ika]-* L 92 a.  
 Centr Gr Sk. *puṣkarṇī-* > *pukharṇī-* L 907

31 The word in the earlier stage of *pathama-* occurs at Bhar (cf. L 712).

Sāñci	It is both preserved <sup>32</sup> and turned into <i>n</i> Sk <i>Avisanna</i> > <i>Avisina</i> - L 319, L 352 (change - <i>nn</i> - > - <i>n</i> -) Sk. <i>bhikṣunī</i> - > <i>bhikkhunī</i> - L 163, L 168 <sup>1</sup> etc. Sk <i>vanija</i> - > <i>vanija</i> - Mj 462 etc Sk <i>vajrū</i> - > <i>Vajrī</i> - L 504, L 543 etc.
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In most cases where -*n*- > -*n*- the cerebral belongs to the suffix, perhaps enabling us to say that Sk *n* does not become *n* after *r* and *ṣ* in these cases

Bhar.	In almost all cases - <i>n</i> - > - <i>n</i> - : Sk <i>bhānaka</i> - > <i>bhānaka</i> - L 738 etc. Sk. <i>dakṣmā</i> - > <i>dakhina</i> - L 742 Sk <i>yakṣmī</i> - > <i>yakhmī</i> - L 790
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It is only in a few inscriptions that -*n*- is preserved.

	Sk <i>torana</i> - > <i>torana</i> - L 687, L 688 <sup>3</sup> (probably also L 689 <sup>3</sup> )
Kosam	Sk <i>Māmbhadra</i> - > <i>Māmbhada</i> - EI 18 159 <sup>3</sup>
Math II	- <i>n</i> - is preserved in gana- L 117 <sup>A</sup> But it is changed to - <i>n</i> - in the suffix. Sk. <i>śiṣyīnā</i> - > <i>sīsunī</i> - L 117 <sup>B</sup>
Bāsim	In these plates of 4th cent. A.D. - <i>n</i> - is always preserved. cf <i>-lavana</i> - EI 26 152 <sup>20</sup> , <i>-carana</i> - EI 26 152 <sup>9-10</sup> , etc.

### § 282 Dentals .

(a) The change of a surd to sonant occurs only from the first century B.C.

(i) Change -*t*- > -*d*-

Bhar	Sk <i>Citrotpāta</i> - > <i>Citupāda</i> - L 710.
(ii) Change - <i>th</i> - > - <i>dh</i> - .	
Bhar	Sk. <i>Anātha</i> - > <i>Anādha</i> - L 731
Bāsim	Sk <i>Ātharvanka</i> - > <i>Ādhavanka</i> - EI 26 152 <sup>9</sup> . Also cf <i>rakkhadha</i> etc EI 26 152 <sup>20</sup>

(b) The stops are even sporadically weakened to *y* from early times

(i) Change -*t*- > -*y*-

Sāñci	Sk. <i>prātiṣṭhuta</i> - > <i>paṭiṣṭhiya</i> - L 201, L 202
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(ii) Change -*d*- > -*y*- :

Bhar	Sk. <i>avādesi</i> > <i>avayesi</i> L 810
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(c) The loss of aspiration has occurred in an uncertain example.

(i) Change -*ddh*- > -*d*-

Sāñci	Sk <i>Siddhaka</i> - > <i>Si[d]aka</i> - Mj 707
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(d) The change of sonant to surd occurs rarely

(i) Change (-*dh*- >) -*\*d*- > -*t*- .

Bhar	Sk. <i>Vidhura</i> - > <i>*Vidura</i> - > <i>Vitura</i> - L 786
Bāsim	Sk. <i>maryādā</i> - > <i>-majjātā</i> - EI 26 152 <sup>12</sup> .

(e) The loss of intervocal stop occurs very late.

(i) Loss of intervocal -*t*-

Bāsim	Sk. <i>caturthā</i> - > <i>cauttha</i> - EI 26 152 <sup>14</sup> .
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32 It is preserved in such cases as *bhānaka*- L 602, Mj 529<sup>1</sup>, *samara*- L 326 etc., *caruṣa*- L 508, *vanija*- L 355 etc., etc.

## § 283 Labials

(a) The change of unaspirate to aspirate occurs due to anticipation

(1) Change *b-* > *bh-* .

Bhar Sk. *bisaharanīya-* > *bhisaharanīya-* L 706

(b) The change of sonant to surd occurs seldom

(1) Change *-b-* > *-p-* .

Bhar Sk. *Kubera-* > *Kupīra-* L 794

(c) The loss of occlusion occurs in *bh*

(1) Change *-bh-* > *-h-* .

Sāñci Sk. *Gobhula-* > *Gohula-* L 238  
Sk. *Subhaṭadatta-* > *Suhaṭadatta-* Mj 825

(d) The loss of aspiration is also met with in a few cases

(1) Change *-bh-* > *-h-*

Sāñci Sk. *Rebhula-* > *Rebula-* L 502.  
Sk. *Subhāṣita-* > *Subāhuta-* (?) L 270 etc.

## § 284 Semivowels :

(a) The semivowel *y* is usually preserved Rarely, however, it undergoes a few changes

(1) Change *y-* > *j-* occurs in the 4th cent. A.D

Bāsim Sk. *yāthā-* > *jaṭhā* EI 26 152<sup>20</sup>  
Sk. *yātaḥ* > *jato* EI 26 153<sup>21</sup>

(ii) Change *-y-* > *\*-v-* > *-p-*

Bhar Sk. *Vijayin-* > *\*Vijavin-* > *\*Vijapin-* L 749

(iii) *-ya-* is probably lost by haplology

Centr Gr Sk. *Maudgaḷyāyana-* > *Mogalāna-* L 153

(iv) *-y-* is lost in terminations in later inscriptions

Math II Sk. *\*śiṣyini-* > *śiṣini-e* (< *-ye*) L 117<sup>B</sup>,  
also cf *Sādītā-e* L 117<sup>B</sup>

(b) In the Central division *ṛ* is always preserved and never changed to *l* except once in the very late plates of Vindhyaśakti II

(1) Change *-ṛ-* > *-l-* :

Bāsim Sk. *angāraka-* > *-angālaka-*<sup>33</sup> EI 26 153<sup>22</sup>

(c) The semi-vowel *v* undergoes the following changes in certain cases

(1) Change *-v-* > *-b-* .

Sāñci Sk. *madhuvana-* > *Madhubana-* L 168 ,  
but cf *Madhuvana-* L 191

(ii) Change *-v-* > *-p-*

Bhar Sk. *Aṛāvata-* > *Eṛapata-* L 752, L 753  
Sk. *Kubera-* > *Kupīra-* L 794

(iii) Change *-v-* > *-m-*<sup>34</sup>

Sāñci Sk. *Vaṣṭavana-* > *Vesamana-* L 201

(iv) *-v-* is lost in fourth century A.D

Bāsim Sk. *Deva-ārya-* > *Dea-ṛṇa-* EI 26 152<sup>12</sup>

<sup>33</sup> It is, however, preserved in all other cases cf *-carana-* EI 26 152<sup>9-10</sup> etc.

<sup>34</sup> For similar change in the Niya Prakrit and the Dhammapada cf BURROW, §50.

§ 285 Sibilants All the three sibilants are as a rule reduced to the single dental sibilant *s*.

(a) The palatal sibilant *ś*

(i) Change *ś* > *s* in all positions

Math I	Sk. <i>śramanā-</i> > <i>samana-</i> L 93
	Sk. <i>śrāvaka-</i> > <i>sāvaka-</i> L 93
Centr Gr	Sk. <i>Kauśīkī-</i> > <i>Kosīkī-</i> L 159
	Sk. <i>Dharmaśiva-</i> > <i>Dhamasiva-</i> L 679
Sāñci	Sk. <i>Śakra-</i> > <i>Saka-</i> L 257 etc
	Sk. <i>Yaśopāla-</i> > <i>Yasopāla-</i> L 188 etc
Bhar	Sk. <i>Īśāna-</i> > <i>Isāna-</i> L 826
	Sk. <i>Śīsupāla-</i> > <i>Susupāla-</i> L 756
Math II	Sk. <i>daśa</i> > <i>dasa</i> L 125 g
	Sk. <i>śiṣyini-</i> > <i>sisim-</i> L 117 <sup>B</sup>
Bāsim	Sk. <i>śeṣa-</i> > <i>sesa-</i> EI 26 151 <sup>r</sup>

(ii) In a few instances, however, *ś* is preserved

Math I	The inscription belongs to about the first cent. B C
	Sk. <i>Śivayaśā-</i> > <i>sivayaśā-</i> L 100 <sup>2a</sup> , also cf <i>Phaguyaśā-</i> L 100 <sup>1a</sup>
Kosam	Sk. <i>aśmīkā-</i> > <i>aśīkā-</i> EI 18 159 <sup>12</sup>
Bāsim	Sk. <i>śāsana-</i> > <i>śāsana-</i> EI 26 153 <sup>25, 20</sup>

(b) The cerebral sibilant *ṣ*

(i) Change *ṣ* > *s* in all positions

Centr Gr	Sk. <i>pūruṣa-</i> (< PI-A * <i>pūrṣa-</i> ) <i>purisa-</i> L 160 etc.
Sāñci	Sk. <i>Rṣī-</i> > <i>Isi-</i> L 215 etc.
	Sk. <i>snuṣā-</i> > <i>nusā-</i> L 307
Bhar	Sk. <i>Aṣāḍhā-</i> > <i>Asaḍā-</i> L 697, also cf <i>Iṣi-</i> L 698 etc
Math II	Sk. <i>Rṣabha-</i> > <i>Usabha-</i> L 117 <sup>A</sup>
Bāsim	Sk. <i>śeṣa-</i> > <i>sesa-</i> EI 26 151 <sup>r</sup>

(ii) Change *-ṣ-* > *-h-* (?)

Sāñci	Sk. <i>Subhāṣita-</i> > <i>Subāhita-</i> (?) L 270
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§ 286 Palatalisation We get the following instances of palatalisation where mostly the dentals and sometimes the guttural *k* and the cluster *ry* are palatalised. This process of palatalisation, though not of general application, has started from very early times

(a) Palatalisation of the guttural *k* :

(i) Change *k-* > *c-* due to *ṛ*

Sāñci	Sk. <i>Kīrālī-</i> > <i>Cīrālī-</i> L 239, L 388 cf above § 233a(1)
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(ii) Change *kṣ* > *ch*

Sāñci	Sk. <i>kṣetra-</i> > <i>cheta-</i> L 227
	Sk. <i>Rkṣavalī-</i> > <i>Achāvalī-</i> L 430
	Sk. <i>Mandalākṣī-</i> > <i>Madalachī-</i> L 318
	Sk. <i>bhikṣu-</i> > <i>bhichu-</i> (and <i>bhichunī-</i> ) passim
Bhar	Sk. <i>kukṣī-</i> > <i>kuchi-</i> L 881 ; also cf <i>bhichunī-</i> L 761, L 800 etc.



- (iii) Change  $kṣ_1 > c$ -  
     Sāñci                      Sk. *Kṣudra* > *Cuda*- or *Cuḍa*- L 301, L 347
- (iv) Change  $-kṣ_1 > -jh^{35}$   
     Sāñci                      Sk. *śaṅkṣa* > *scjha*- L 570, also cf. *Siṅhā*- L 516
- (b) Palatalisation of the dental *t*
- (i) Change  $-ty$ - (or  $ty$ -) >  $-c$ - (or  $c$ -)  
     Centr Gr                  Sk. *tyāgā* > *cāga*- L 670<sup>2</sup>  
     Sāñci                      Sk. *Satyamitra* > *Sacamita*- L 360  
     Silah                      Sk. *amātya* > *amaca*- EI 22 36 2<sup>3</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>  
     Bāsim                      Sk. *ādityā* > *-ādicca*- EI 26 152<sup>18</sup>
- (ii) Change  $-ty$  >  $-c$  >  $-j$ -  
     Sāñci                      Sk. *dākṣmātyi* > *\*dakhunācī* > *dakhunāji*- L 548
- (iii) Change  $-ts$  >  $-ch$ -  
     Math. I                    Sk. *Vātsī-putra* > *Vachī-puta*- L 93  
     Sāñci                      cf. *Vāchīputa*- Mj 809<sup>1</sup>  
     Bhar                      cf. *Vāchīputa*- L 687  
     Silah                      Sk. *Vatsa* > *Vacha*- EI 22 36 1<sup>4</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup>, 4<sup>1</sup>
- (iv) Change  $-tsy$  >  $-ch$ -  
     Sāñci                      Sk. *mātsya* > *macha*- L 494
- (c) Palatalisation of the dental *d*
- (i) Change  $-dy$  >  $-j$ -  
     Sāñci                      Sk. *Vaidya* > *Veja*- Mj 578  
                                     Sk. *Vidyutgupta* > *Vijuguta*- Mj 428  
     Bhar                      Sk. *Āṅgāradhyut* > *Āṅgāraju*- L 687, L 688<sup>2</sup>  
                                     Sk. *Vidyādhara* > *Vijādhara*- L 749  
                                     Sk. *Adyakālaka* > *Ajakālaka*- L 795  
     Bāsim                      Sk. *cāturvedya* > *cātuvveja*- EI 26 152<sup>19</sup>
- (ii) Change  $-d$  >  $-j$ - with and without *ṛ*  
     Sāñci                      Sk. *Aditi* > *Ajiti*- L 264, L 549  
     Pauni                      . Sk. *pādukā* > *pājugā*- EI 24 14
- (d) Palatalisation of the dental *dh*
- (i) Change  $-dhy$  >  $-jh$ -  
     Centr Gr                  Sk. *madhyamā* > *majhima*- L 157  
     Sāñci                      Sk. *Vindhya* > *Vijha*- L 579,  
                                     also cf. *Poḍaviṅhaka*- L 483 and *majhima*- L 270  
     Bhar                      Sk. *madhakīya* > *majhakīya*- L 769
- (e) Palatalisation of the nasals *ṇ* and *n* 1
- (i) Change  $-ny$  >  $-ñ$ -  
     Sāñci                      Sk. *Puṇya* > *Puñā*- L 366, L 403
- (ii) Change  $-ny$  >  $-ñ$ -  
     Centr Gr                  Sk. *Kaundinya* > *Kodñā*- L 881  
     Sāñci                      Sk. *Dhanya* > *Dhañā*- L 450
- (f) Palatalisation of the cluster  $-ps$ -
- (i) Change  $-ps$  >  $-ch$ -  
     Bhar                      Sk. *apsarās*- (also *apsarā*-) > *acharā* L 744, L 745

35 Cf. Sk.  $\sqrt{kṣap}$  >  $\sqrt{jhaṭa}$ , Sk.  $\sqrt{kṣar}$  >  $\sqrt{jhara}$

(g) Change *-ry- > -jj-* occurs in the fourth cent. A D

Bāsīm Sk *maryādā- > -majjātā-* EI 26 152<sup>19</sup>

Sk *ārya- > -jja-* has almost obtained the value of a suffix cf *Jīvu-jja-* EI 25 152<sup>10</sup> etc.

§ 287 Cerebralisation In the following instances mostly the dentals are cerebralised under the influence of *ṛ*, vocalised or unvocalised

(a) Cerebralisation of the dental *t*

(i) Change *-ṛt- > -t-*

Sāñci

Sk. *Kṛtakapñu- > Kaṭakañu-* L 262

Sk *Mandalākṣīrtikā- > -kaṭikā-* L 318 and  
-kadika- Mj 341<sup>2</sup>

Bhar

Sk. *Bhojakṛta- > Bhojakaṭa-* L 723 ;

also cf *Bibikanadikaṭa-* L 728

All these are place names In other cases *-t-* is not cerebralised cf Sk *kṛtā- > kata*<sup>36</sup> at Sāñci (L 345) and Sk. *avakṛta- > vokata-* at Bhar (L 777)

(ii) Change *-ṛt- > -t-*<sup>37</sup> We got only a few examples

Sāñci

Sk *Kīrti- > Kṛti-* Mj 316 (V 3 24 and H 2 30  
exclude Sk *kīrti* from the operation of this law)

Sk *Matsyavarṇa- > Machavaṭa-* L 494

(iii) Change *-ṛt- > -t-*

Sāñci

Sk. *prati- > paṭi-* in *paṭikamakārika-* L 248 and  
*paṭipajeyā* Mj 389

Bhar

Sk *pratisandhi- > paṭisandhi-* L 777

(iv) Change *-ṛt- > -t-* in a probable example

Bāsīm

Sk. *Bhartṛ-deva- > Bhāṭṭi-deva-* EI 26 152<sup>11</sup>

(b) Cerebralisation of the dental *th* Almost exclusively it occurs in the word *artha-*

(i) Change *-ṛth- > -th-*<sup>38</sup>

Sāñci

Sk *Artha- > Aṭha-* L 181

Sk *Anarthika- > Anathika-* Mj 456

Bhar

cf *aṭha-* L 844

(ii) Change *-ṛth- > -th-* or *-dh-*

Bhar

Sk *prathamā- > pathama-* L 712

Bāsīm

Sk *prathamā- > \*paṭhama- > padhama-* EI 26 153<sup>39</sup>

(c) The dental *d* is cerebralised in still fewer cases

(i) Change *-ṛd- > -d-*

Sāñci

Sk *Chardika- > Chadika-* L 380

(ii) Change *-dr- > -d-*

Sāñci

Sk *\*Udraka- > Odaka-* L 511

Sk. *Kṣudra- > Cuda-*<sup>39</sup> L 301, L 349

(d) Cerebralisation of the dental *dh*

(i) Change *-ṛdh- > -dh-*

Sāñci

Sk. *Vṛddha- > Vadha-* L 208

36 Also cf *kata-* in Centr Gr. (L 150)

37 cf however, Sk. *nartaka- > nataka-* Math. I (L 100<sup>39</sup>)

38 The dental is preserved in Sk. *Siddhārtha- > Siddhātṭha-* L 325

39 But cf *cuda-* L 347

(ii) Change *-rdh-* > *-d̐h-*

Sāñci

Sk *Dharmavardhana* > *Dhamavaḍhana*- L 234,  
L 351 etc. Also cf *Bhogavaḍhana*-<sup>40</sup> L 264,  
*Puṇavaḍhana*- L 403

Sk *vardhaki* > *vaḍhaki*- Mj 545

Bhar

cf *Bhogavaḍhana*- L 797

It is very important to note that in very late inscriptions like those at Bāsim *dh* is not cerebralised cf

Sk. *ardhaka* > *āddhaka*- EI 26 152<sup>10</sup>

Sk *vardhamka* > *vaddhamka*- EI 26 151<sup>8</sup>

(e) Cerebralisation of the nasal *n*

The nasal *n* is fairly well preserved in the earlier inscriptions of this division. In the Bāsim plates of the fourth cent. A D, however, the change *n* > *n̐* is almost universal

(i) Change *n-* and *-n-* > *n̐-* and *-n̐-*

Sāñci

Sk *Nāga* > *Nāga*- L 431

Sk. *Gonada* > *Gonada*- Mj 615

Sk. *dānā* > *dāna* (rarely) Mj 759

Bāsim

Sk. *nyukta* > *nyutta*- EI 26 151<sup>6-7</sup>

Sk. *iddānīm* > *dām* EI 26 151<sup>8</sup>

(ii) In terminations the dental *n* is only sometimes cerebralised after *a* as in Sanskrit

Centr Gr  
(Besnāgar)

Sk. *putrena* > *putrena* L 669<sup>3</sup>, also cf *Heliodorena*  
L 669<sup>2</sup>, but cf Sk *varsena* > *vasena* L 669<sup>7</sup> Sk *trīm*  
> *trīm* L 670<sup>1</sup>

Bhar

cf *putena* and *pautena* L 687 But in the same ins-  
cription we also get *Vāchīputena*

Kosam

We get only the dental cf *putena* EI 18.159<sup>9</sup>

Silah.

We get *-putena* EI 22 26 1<sup>8</sup>, 2<sup>2</sup> etc.

Bāsim

We get the cerebral even when not required in Sanskrit  
Sk. *senāpatinā* > *senāpatinā* EI 26 153<sup>29</sup>,  
also cf *etāna* EI 26 152<sup>17</sup> etc. etc

(b) Cerebralisation of the cluster *-ñ-*(i) Change *-ñ-* > *-n̐-* occurs very late.

Bāsim

Sk *ājñapti* > *ānatti*- EI 26 151<sup>7</sup>

## III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 288 The consonant clusters are as usual assimilated to the stronger of the two consonants and are represented orthographically as a single consonant. In the Bāsim plates however, they are represented with a double symbol. Some of the clusters are dissolved by svarabhakti and a few still are preserved. As in other groups the treatment of important clusters alone is exemplified below

## § 289 Consonant clusters with stops

(a) Clusters with sibilant + gutturals The guttural if unaspirated is aspirated due to the sibilant.

<sup>40</sup> But we get *Bhogavadhana* (L 266) and *Adha porika*- L 600.

- (1) Change
- ṣk-*
- >
- kh-*
- .

Centr Gr Sk *puṣkarinī* > *pukharinī* L 907Sāñci Sk. \**Pauṣkara* > *Pokhara* L 337, L 370 etc

- (b) Clusters with sibilant + cerebrals The unaspirated cerebral is usually aspirated

- (1) Change
- ṣṭ-*
- (or
- ṣṭr-*
- ) >
- ṭh-*

Sāñci Sk. \**laṣṭi* > *laṭhi* L 200Bāsim Sk. *rāṣṭrā* > *ṛattha* EI 26 152<sup>20</sup>

- (ii) Change
- ṣṭh-*
- >
- ṭh-*

Centr Gr Sk. *anuṣṭhita* > *anuṭhita* L 670<sup>1</sup>Sāñci Sk. *Vāsiṣṭhī* > *Vāsiṭhi* L 346Sk. *śreṣṭhun* > *sethi* L 148, L 248 etc.Bhar Sk. *Jyeṣṭhabhadra* > *Jethabhadra* L 855 ,  
also cf *Vāsiṭhi* L 885Math II Sk. *pratiṣṭhāpita* > *paṭiṭhāpita* L 125 a<sup>1</sup>Bāsim Sk. *Jyeṣṭha-ārya* > *Jeṭṭha-ṛja* EI 26 152<sup>14-15</sup>

- (iii) Change
- ṣṭh-*
- >
- ṭ-*
- by loss of aspiration

Bhar Sk. *Śreṣṭhaka* > \**Seṭhaka* > *Setaka* L 838

- (iv) Change
- ṣṭh-*
- >
- th-*
- by loss of cerebral character

Sāñci . Sk. *śreṣṭhun* > *sethi* L 206, L 246 etc.

- (c) Clusters with sibilant + dentals The unaspirated dental is aspirated

- (1) Change
- st*
- >
- th*
- in all positions

Sāñci Sk. *stambha* > *thabha* L 338, L 585Bhar Sk. *Stūpadāsa* > *Thupadāsa* L 798Sk. *Bahuhastika* > *Bahuhathika* L 754, L 902

- (ii) Change
- sth*
- >
- th*
- in all positions

Sāñci Sk. *sthāvira* > *thera* L 451Bhar cf *Therā[kū]ṭa* L 858Bāsim Sk. *dharmasthāna* > *dhāmmatthāna* EI 26 152<sup>9</sup>

- (d) Clusters with
- ṛ*
- + dentals
- <sup>41</sup>
- The cluster is assimilated to the dental .

- (1) Change
- ṛt-*
- >
- t-*
- :

Sāñci Sk. *bhartṛka* > *bha[tṛ]ka* Mj 425Bhar Sk. *Dhūṛta* > *Dhuta* L 845

- (ii) Change
- ṛth-*
- >
- th-*

Kosam Sk. *sārthavāha* > *sathavāha* EI 18 159<sup>2</sup>

- (iii) Change
- rdh-*
- >
- dh-*

Centr Gr Sk. *vardhamāna* > *vadhamāna* L 669<sup>7</sup>.

- (e) . Clusters with sibilants + labial : The unaspirated labial is aspirated

- (1) Change
- ṣp-*
- >
- ph-*
- or
- pph-*
- :

Math I Sk. *Puṣpaka* > *Puphaka* L 97<sup>1</sup>Bāsim Sk. *púṣpa* > *-puppha* EI 26 152<sup>21</sup>§ 290 Consonant clusters with the semivowel *y* .

- (a) Clusters with stop +
- y*
- The cluster is mostly assimilated , but sometimes it is also dissolved by svarabhakti For palatalisation of dentals in combination with
- y*
- cf above § 286

41. For cerebralisation cf above § 287, .

(1) Change *iy* > *i*

Sāñci

Sk. *Jyotsnaka* > *Jonhaka*- L 310

Bhar

Sk. *Jyeṣṭhabhadra* > *Jeṭhabhadra*- L 855Sk. *rājyā* > *raja*- L 687(11) Change *-dy-* > *-ḍiy-*

Bhar

Sk. *Kodyāni* > *Koḍiyāni*- L 816In L 756 we get *Kodāya*, where probably we have to read *Koḍiya*-(111) Change *-ty* > *-ṭiy-*

Bhar

Sk. *cātya* > *cetīya*- L 699(b) Clusters with the semivowel *ṛ* + *y* The treatment is rather varied(1) Change *-ry-* > *-y-* by assimilation

Math I

Sk. *bhāryā* > *bhayā*- L 97<sup>1</sup>, L 100<sup>2a</sup>

Centr Gr

Sk. *ārya* > *aya*- L 154, also cf Sāñci (L 174 etc.) and Bhar (L 690 etc also *bhāryā*- L 882)(11) Change *-ry-* > *-ṛiy-* by svarabhakti

Centr Gr

Sk. *ācāryā* > *ācarīya*- L 158

Sāñci

Sk. *Sūryā* > *Surīyā*- L 545, also cf *vācarīya*- L 340

Bhar

Sk. *bhāryā* > *bhāriyā*- L 712 etc(111) Change *-ry-* > *-ṛ-*

Bhar

Sk. *tūrya* > *tura*-<sup>42</sup> L 743(c) Clusters with the semivowel *l* + *y*(1) Change *-ly-* > *-l-*

Centr Gr

Sk. *Maudgalyāyana* > *Mogalāna*- L 153(d) Clusters with the semivowel *v* + *y*(1) Change *vy-* > *v-*

Sāñci

Sk. *vyudīrna* > *vudma*- L 199

(e) Clusters with sibilants + *y* The clusters are usually assimilated to the dental sibilant *s* in all places (for the change of *-sy-* > *-s-* cf the gen sg terminations of the masculine nouns etc.)

(1) Change *śy* and *ṣy* > *s*

Centr Gr

Sk. *Kaśyapa* > *Kasapa*- L 158

Sāñci

Sk. *Puṣyagiri* > *Pusagiri*- L 182 etcSk. *Tiṣya* > *Tisa*- L 447

Bhar

Sk. *Vipaśyin* > *Vīpaśi*- L 779, also cf *Kasapa* L 760, and *Pusā*- L 729 etcSk. *śiṣya* > *śisa*- L 692

Math II

cf *sīśmi*- L 117<sup>b</sup>(11) Change *-ṣy-* > *-h-* is exceptionally met with in the following instance

Sāñci

Sk. *śiṣya* > *śiha*- (?) L 659

§ 291 Consonant clusters with the semivowel *ṛ* Generally the cluster is assimilated to the stop In a few instances, however, the cluster is preserved

(a) Clusters with stop, + *ṛ*(1) Change *-kr-* > *-k-*

Sāñci

Sk. *Śakra* > *Saka*- L 257 etc

<sup>42</sup> cf Hemacandra, 11, 63 and FISCHER'S note thereon It could also be derived from Sk. *tura*-

- Bhar Sk. *cakravākā* > *cakavāka*- L 735 ,  
also cf. *dhamacaka*- L 750, *bodhicaka*- L 861 etc.
- (ii) Cluster *-kr-* is preserved  
Bhar Sk. *avakrānti* > *okramti*- L 801
- (iii) Change *gr* > *g* in all positions  
Sāñci Sk. *grāma* > *gāma*- L 182 etc.  
Bhar . Sk. *nyagródha* > *ngodha*- L 755
- (iv) Cluster *-gr-* is preserved probably in a loan word in the Bāsim plates of the fourth cent. A D  
Bāsim Sk. *ngraha* > *-ngraha*- EI 26 153<sup>27-28</sup>
- (v) Change *-jr-* > *-j-*  
Sāñci Sk. *Vajragupla* > *Vajguta*- L 164 etc.
- (vi) Change *tr* > *t* (or *-tt-*) in all positions  
Math I Sk. *putrá* > *-puta*- L 97<sup>1</sup>.  
Centr Gr Sk. *Ajamitra* > *Ajamita*- L 672 ,  
also cf. *puta*- L 152, L 156 etc  
Sāñci Sk. *kṣetra* > *chela*- L 227, also cf. *puta*- L 194 etc,  
*-mita*- L 169 etc.  
Bhar Sk. *Trikoṭika* > *Tikotika*- L 765 ,  
also cf. *Saghamita*- L 759 etc.  
Bāsim Sk. *ihāmutrika* > *ihāmuttika*- EI 26 152<sup>9</sup>
- (vii) The cluster *tr* is preserved even in some early inscriptions.  
Math I Sk. *Vātsīputra* > *Vachīputra*- L 93  
Sk. *Gauṭīputra* > *Gotīputra*- L 92 a  
Centr Gr Sk. *trātṛ* > *trātāra*- L 669<sup>6</sup>  
Sk. *trini* > *trini* L 670<sup>1</sup>  
Sk. *putrá* > *putra*-<sup>43</sup> L 669<sup>3</sup>
- (viii) Change *-tr-* > *-tar-* by svarabhakti  
Math II Sk. *mātré* > *mātare* L 125 a<sup>1</sup>
- (ix) Change *-dr-* > *-d-*  
Sāñci Sk. *Bhadraka* > *Bhadaka*- L 262  
Bhar Sk. *Subhadrā* > *Sabhadā* L 745
- (x) Cluster *-dr-* is preserved in a few examples .  
Centr Gr Sk. *Bhāgabhadra* > *Bhāgabhadra*- L 669<sup>6</sup>  
Bhar Sk. *Jyēṣṭhabhadra* > *Jethabhadra*- L 855
- (xi) Change *pr* > *p* in all positions  
Math I Sk. *prāsāda* > *pāsāda*- L 93, L 97-  
Centr Gr Sk. *Prasannaka* > *Pasanaka*- L 154  
Sāñci Sk. *pramāna* > *pamāna*- L 200  
Sk. *Nāgapriya* > *Nāgapriya*- L 339 etc.  
Bhar Sk. *suprāvṛṣa* > *supāṭasa*- L 726 ,  
also cf. *pāsāda*- L 776  
Math II Sk. *pratīṣṭhāpita* > *palīṭhāpita*- L 125a<sup>1</sup>.
- (xii) The cluster *-pr-* is rarely preserved  
Centr Gr Sk. *apramāda* > *apramāda*- L 670<sup>2</sup>

(xiii) Change *br-* > *b-*Sāñci Sk. *Brahmadatta* > *Bahadata*- L 241Bāsīm Sk. *brāhmavā-* > *bāmhana-* EI 26 152<sup>17</sup>(xiv) The cluster *br-* is preserved in some inscriptions at Bhar cf *bramhana-* L 810, and at Bāsīm cf *brāmhaṇa-* EI 26 153<sup>2</sup>(xv) Change *bhr-* > *bh-*Sāñci Sk. *bhrāt-* > *bhātu-* L 255, L 450(b) Clusters with the semivowel *v* + *r* The cluster is always assimilated to *v* cf Centr Gr Sk. *pravṛṇta-* > *pavṛṇta-* L 674(c) Clusters with sibilant + *r*(i) Change *śr* or *sr* > *s*Math I Sk. *śramanā-* > *samana-* L 93Sk. *śṛāvaka-* > *sāvaka-*<sup>44</sup> L 93Sāñci Sk. *sahāsra-* > *sahasa-* L 742, also cf *samanā-* L 720Bhar cf *samana-* L 336, *sāmanera-* L 184(ii) Change *śr-* > *sir-* or *ser-*Sāñci Sk. *śrī-* > *sirī-* L 770 etc, *serī-* L 874Bhar cf *sirī-* L 269 etc292 Consonant clusters with the semi-vowel *v* Except in a few instances, the cluster is usually assimilated.(a) Clusters with stop + *v*(i) Change *kv-* > *k-*Bhar Sk. *kvatha-* > *kalha-* L 707(ii) Change *-ṭv-* > *-ṭuv-*Bhar Sk. *Laṭvā-* > *Laṭuvā-* L 825(iii) The cluster *-tv-* is once preserved in a later inscription.Math II Sk. *sarva-satva-* > *sava-satva-* L 125 a<sup>3</sup>(iv) Change *dv-* > *d-* and *b-* in numeralSāñci Sk. *dvī du* Mj 783<sup>2</sup>

bo Mj 433

Bāsīm Sk. *dvī do-* EI 26 152<sup>16</sup>(v) The cluster *dhv-* is once preserved in a loan wordCentr Gr Sk. *garuḍadhvaḥa-* > *garuḍadhvaḥa-* L 669<sup>1</sup>(b) Clusters with the semivowel *r* + *v*(i) Change *-rv-* > *-v-*Centr Gr Sk. *sārva-* > *sava-* L 156Sāñci cf *sava-* L 338Bhar Sk. *pārva-* > *pavata-* L 707Sk. *Pūnarvasu-* > *Punāvasu-* L 831Math. II cf *sava-* L 125 a<sup>3</sup>(c) Clusters with sibilant + *v*(i) Change *śv* or *sv* > *s* in all positionsMath I Sk. *Āśvā-* > *Asā-* L 97<sup>2</sup>Centr Gr Sk. *Āśvadeva-* > *Asadeva-* L 68444 But here very probably we have to read *śrāvaka-*.

Sāñci	Sk. <i>Viśvakarma-</i> > <i>Viśakama-</i> L 173 , also cf <i>Asagula-</i> L 399, <i>Asadevā-</i> L 618
Bhar	Sk. <i>tapasvīn-</i> > <i>tapasi-</i> L 692 Sk. <i>svāmika-</i> > <i>sāmika-</i> L 767, L 858
Math II	Sk. <i>svaka-</i> > <i>saka-</i> L 125 a <sup>2</sup>
Sāñci	Sk. <i>asvāraka-</i> > <i>asavāraka-</i> L 381
Bhar	cf <i>asavārikā-</i> L 728

(ii) Change *-sv-* > *-sav-* occurs rarely

Centr Gr	Sk. <i>svargā-</i> > <i>svaga-</i> L 670 <sup>2</sup>
Sāñci	Sk. <i>Aśva-</i> > <i>Asva-</i> in proper names cf L 241, L 244, L 355, L 405, L 550 Sk. <i>Viśva-</i> > <i>Viśva-</i> L 359 Sk. <i>Svāligupta-</i> > <i>Svaligula-</i> L 242 Sk. <i>Śvetapatha-</i> > [Sv]etapatha- Mj 89 <sup>1</sup>

## § 293 Consonant clusters with sibilants

(a) The cluster *kṣ* is either assimilated to *kh* or palatalised to *ch*. The latter treatment is already discussed above under palatalisation cf § 286

(i) Change *kṣ* > *kh* (or *-kkh-*) in all positions

Math I	Sk. <i>rakṣita-</i> > <i>-rakhita-</i> L 92, L 93
Centr Gr	Sk. <i>bhikṣu-</i> > <i>bhikhu-</i> L 671
Sāñci	Sk. <i>dākṣmātyi-</i> > <i>dakhmāji-</i> L 548 Sk. <i>Yakṣa-</i> > <i>Yakhila-</i> L 580 , also cf <i>bhikhu-</i> L 574 etc.
Bhar	Sk. <i>dakṣmā-</i> > <i>dakhma-</i> L 742 , also cf <i>yakha-</i> L 726 etc, <i>bhikhunī-</i> L 720, L 764 etc.
Math II	cf <i>Budharakhita-</i> L 125 a <sup>1</sup>
Bāsim	Sk. <i>ṣakṣā-</i> > <i>ṣakkha-</i> EI 26 153- <sup>2</sup> Sk. <i>kṣirā-</i> > <i>-kkhira-</i> EI 26 152 <sup>21</sup>

(b) The cluster *-ṛṣ-* or *-ṛś-* is assimilated to *s*

Centr Gr	Sk. <i>varṣā-</i> > <i>vasa-</i> L 669 <sup>2</sup>
Bhar	Sk. <i>Sudarśana-</i> > <i>Sudasana-</i> L 790

§ 294 Consonant clusters with the aspirate *h*. The cluster *rh* is dissolved by svarabhakti by the addition of three different vowels

(i) Change *-rh-* > *-rah-*

Math I	Sk. <i>Arhat-</i> > <i>Arahata-</i> L 100 <sup>1,2</sup> , L 100 <sup>21</sup> , L 103
Sāñci	cf <i>Araha-</i> L 196, L 243 etc
Bhar	cf <i>Arahaguta-</i> L 777

(ii) Change *-rh-* > *-rih-*

Sāñci	cf <i>Ariha-</i> L 497
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(iii) Change *-rh-* > *-rāh-*

Sāñci	cf <i>Arāhagutā-</i> Mj 586 <sup>1</sup>
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§ 295 Consonant clusters with Nasals : The treatment of such clusters follows closely their treatment in other groups. The nasal which is turned into anusvāra is not necessarily represented everywhere in writing. In the Bāsim plates of the fourth century A.D. the clusters with nasals are preserved



(a) Clusters with the nasal *n*(i) The cluster *-ng-* is preserved.

Bāsim Sk. *angāraka-* > *-angālīka-* EI 26 153<sup>22</sup>.

(b) Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

1 The cluster *ṇ* is generally assimilated to *ñ*, it is cerebralised<sup>45</sup> only<sup>4</sup> exceptionally

(i) Change *ṇ* > *ñ* by assimilation

Centr Gr Sk. *rdṇāh* > *rañō* L 669<sup>6</sup>

Sāñci Sk. *ṇāti-* > *ñāti-* L 338

Sk. *Kṛtakajñu-* > *Kaṭakañu-* L 262

Bhar cf *rañō* L 687, L 882

2 The cluster *ñc* generally becomes *c*(i) Change *-ñc-* > *-c-*

Sāñci Sk. *pañca-* > *paca* L 299

Bhar cf *paca-* L 867

(ii) The cluster *-ñc-* is preserved in the word *-mañca-* in the Bāsim plates of EI 26 153<sup>24</sup>

3 The cluster *ñj* becomes *j*

Sāñci Sk. *Kuñjara-* > *Kujara-* L 255, L 287

Bhar cf *Kujara-* L 820

(ii) The cluster *-ñj-* is preserved in *kapiñjala-* in the Bāsim plates of EI 26 152<sup>10-11</sup>

(c) Clusters with the nasal *n*1 In the assimilation of the cluster *ṇ* the cerebral character is sometimes lost.(i) Change *-ṇ-* > *-n-*

Math I Sk. *sauvarṇika-* > *sovan[īka]-* L 92 a

Sāñci Sk. *Suvarṇa-* > *Sona-* L 178, L 645

Sk. *Śātakarni-* > *Śātakam-* L 346

(ii) Change *-ṇ-* > *-n--*

Sāñci Sk. *Suvarṇa-* > *Sona-* L 218

Sk. *vyudīrṇā-* > *vudinā-* L 199

Sk. *Karna-* > *Kana-* L 393

Bhar Sk. *Pūrnakiya-* > *Punakiya-* L 786

2 The cluster *ṣn*(i) Change *-ṣn-* > *-nh-*

Sāñci Sk. *Kṛṣṇamitra-* > *Kanhamitra-* Mj 822

Sk. *Viṣṇumitra-* > *Vuṣhumita-* Mj 749

Bāsim cf *Venhu-* EI 26 152<sup>12</sup>

(ii) Change *ṣn-* > *-nh-*

Sāñci cf *Vuṇhukā-* L 592

Bhar cf *Kanḥila-* L 833

3 The cluster *nḍ*(i) Change *-nḍ-* > *-mḍ-* or *-ḍ-*

Centr Gr	Sk. <i>Kaundīnya-</i> > <i>Kodīna-</i> L 881
Sāñci	: <i>Bhaṇḍuka-</i> > <i>Bhaṇḍuka-</i> L 194, L 367 etc
	Sk. <i>Pāṇdu-</i> > <i>Pāḍu-</i> L 571, L 576
Bhar	<i>Kandarikī-</i> (?) > <i>Ka[m]darikī-</i> L 748
	Sk. <i>Danda-</i> > <i>Dada-</i> L 696

- (ii) The cluster -*nd-* loses its cerebral character and becomes *d*

Centr Gr	Sk. <i>Kaundmī-</i> > <i>Kodmī-</i> L 157
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- (iii) The cluster -*nd-* is preserved in the Bāsim plates cf *danda-* EI 26 153<sup>27-28</sup>.

- 4 The cluster *ny* is palatalised cf § 286(e) above.

- (d) Clusters with the nasal *n*

- 1 The cluster *gn* is assimilated to *g*

- (i) Change -*gn-* > -*g-*

Sāñci	Sk. <i>Agm-</i> > <i>Ag-</i> L 176, L 302 etc
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- (ii) But -*g-n-* > -*gan-*

Bhar	Sk. <i>Dig-nāga-</i> > <i>Diganaga-</i> L 723.
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- 2 The cluster (*t*)*sn*

- (i) Change (*t*)*sn* > *nh* in all positions

Sāñci	Sk. <i>Jyotsnaka-</i> > <i>Jonhaka-</i> L 310
	Sk. <i>snuṣṭ-</i> > - <i>nhusā-</i> L 201

- (ii) Change *sn-* > *h-*

Sāñci	Sk. <i>snuṣṭ-</i> > * <i>nhusā-</i> > [ <i>hu</i> ]sā- L 219
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- (iii) Change *sn-* > *n-*

Sāñci	Sk. <i>snuṣṭ-</i> > <i>nusā-</i> L 307
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- 3 The cluster -*nt-* is preserved and -*ndr-* > -*nd-* in the Bāsim plates cf *hemanta-* EI 26 153<sup>s</sup>, and *canda-* EI 26 152<sup>s</sup>

- 4 The cluster *ny* is assimilated to *n* or to *ñ*

- (i) Change *ny* > *n* :

Sāñci	Sk. <i>anyá-</i> > <i>āna-</i> L 340, L 350
Bhar	Sk. <i>nyagródha-</i> > <i>ngodha-</i> L 755

- (ii) Change -*ny-* > -*ñ-* by palatalisation cf § 286(e) above

- (e) Clusters with the nasal *m*

- 1 The cluster -*tm-* > -*p-*

Bāsim	Sk. <i>āmānah</i> > <i>āpuno</i> EI 26 151 <sup>s</sup> .
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- 2 The cluster -*dm-* > -*ḍum-* by svarabhakti

Bhar	Sk. <i>Padmāvatī-</i> > <i>Pudumāvatī-</i> L 746
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- 3 The clusters with sibilant + *m*

- (i) Change *śm* or *sm* or *sm* > *s* or *ś*

Sāñci	Sk. <i>śmaśāna-</i> > <i>susāna-</i> L 697
Bhar	: Sk. <i>amaśāna-</i> > <i>susāna-</i> L 697
Kosam	Sk. <i>aśmikā-</i> > <i>aśkā-</i> EI 18 159 <sup>12</sup>

- (ii) Change -*śm-* > -*mh-* or -*hm-* in the pronoun

Bāsim	Sk. <i>asma-</i> > <i>amha-</i> EI 26 151 <sup>c</sup> and <i>āhma-</i> EI 26 151 <sup>c</sup> .
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- 4 The cluster *hm* becomes *h* or is preserved

- Sāñici Sk. *Brahmadatta* > *Bahadata*- L 241
- (11) The cluster *-hm-* is preserved either as *-hm-* or as *-mh-*  
 Bhar Sk. *Brahmadeva* > *Brahmadeva*- L 788, also  
 cf *bram[h]ana*- L 810
- Bāsim cf *bāmhana*- EI 26 152<sup>17</sup>, and *brāmhana*- EI 26 153<sup>27</sup>
- 5 The cluster *-mr-* > *-b-*  
 Sāñici Sk. *Āmra* > \**Ambra* > *Aba*- L 184

## MORPHOLOGY

## A. DECLENSION

§ 296 Bases ending in *-a* and *-ā*

(a) Masculine and Neuter nouns in *-a*

Nom sg Mas (1) <i>-o</i> commonly used	Nom pl Mas (1) <i>-ā</i>
Math I <i>pāsādo</i> L 93, L 97 <sup>2</sup>	Sāñici <i>pātakā</i> L 350
Centr Gr <i>patito</i> L 697	Bhar <i>thabhā</i> L 778, L 796
<i>cāgo</i> L 970 <sup>2</sup>	Silāh <i>kāntā</i> EI 22 36 2 <sup>3</sup> , 4 <sup>1</sup>
Sāñici <i>thabho</i> L 338, L 585	Bāsim <i>bhāgā</i> EI 26 152 <sup>17</sup>
Bhar <i>yakho</i> L 726, <i>dāno</i> <sup>46</sup> L 845	
Math II <i>Bodhisaco</i> L 125 a <sup>1</sup>	
Bāsim <i>bhāgo</i> EI 26 152 <sup>18</sup>	
(11) <i>-e</i> is very rare	
Centr Gr <i>-dhvaje</i> L 669 <sup>1</sup>	
Bhar <i>pāsāde</i> L 776	

(111) In a Bhar inscription (L 814) *devaputa* and *Arahaguta* are probably used without terminations

Acc. sg Mas (1) <i>-am</i> (the anusvāra is sometimes dropped)	Acc. pl Mas (1) <i>-e</i>
Centr Gr <i>svaga</i> L 670 <sup>2</sup>	Bhar <i>sise</i> L 692, <i>sigāle</i> L 697
Sāñici <i>Kāsapagotam</i> L 654 <sup>1</sup> , <i>vināyaka</i> L 654 <sup>3</sup>	Bāsim <i>parihāre</i> EI 26 152 <sup>19</sup>
Bhar <i>katha</i> L 707	
(11) <i>-e</i>	
Bāsim <i>gāme</i> EI 26 152 <sup>9</sup>	
Nom sg Neut (1) <i>-am</i> (the anusvāra is sometimes dropped)	Nom pl Neut. (1) <i>-m</i>
Math I <i>toranam</i> L 93	Centr Gr <i>padām</i> L 670 <sup>1</sup> , <i>anuḥṭām</i> L 670 <sup>1</sup>
Centr Gr <i>dānam</i> L 154, L 671	Bhar <i>sīsām</i> L 741, <i>sahasām</i> L 742
Sāñici <i>katam</i> L 345	
<i>dānam</i> and <i>dāna</i>	
<i>passim</i>	

Bhar *dhamacakam* L 750.  
*āsana* L 902

(ii) -e this is very rare.

Sāñci [*dane*] L 526

Acc sg Neut. (i) -am (the anusvāra is dropped sometimes)

Sāñci *ānam* L 340, *torana* L 340

(ii) -e

Sāñci *se[la]kame* L 350

Inst. sg (i) -na

Centr Gr *Gomālakena* L 150

Bhar *samthatena* L 731

*Vāchīputena* L 687

(ii) -na, or -nam

Centr Gr *putrena* L 669<sup>3</sup>

*Hārītiputenam* L 987

Bhar *putena* and

*pautena* L 687

Inst pl (i) -hi

Sāñci *Vedisakehi* L 345,

*damtakārehi* L 345

(ii) -hum

Bāsim *hkhitehum*

*EI* 26 153<sup>27</sup>

Dat sg (i) -ya

Sāñci *bhagāya* M 805

Bhar *-sāmājikāya* L 777

(ii) -yā :

Bhar *aḥhāyā* L 844

(iii) -ye ·

Math II *hitasukkhāye* L 125 a<sup>3</sup>

Abl sg (i) -ā is of frequent occurrence.

Centr Gr *upamā* L 669<sup>5</sup>

Sāñci *Kuragharā* L 232, L 425 etc ,

*Pokharā* L 370, L 482, etc

Bhar *Vedisā* L 712, L 780 etc , *Pāṭalīputā* L 719, L 816

(ii) -a, probably the shortened form of -ā

Sāñci *Kurghara* L 230 , *Nadīmagara* L 462, L 465 etc.

*Aboda* Mj 793

Bhar *Karahakaṭa* L 763, L 809 ; *Nāsika* L 799

(iii) -āto is used in a few instances

Sāñci *Kurārāto* L 289, L 428 etc , *Pokharāto* L 479

*Vedisāto* L 273, *Nadīmagarato* Mj 485<sup>1</sup>

Bhar *Vedisāto* L 835

(iv) -atu

Sāñci *Kāpāsīgāmatu* L 515<sup>1</sup>

Gen sg (i) -(a)sa

Math I *nalakasa* L 200<sup>22</sup>

*Puphakasa* L 97<sup>1</sup>

Centr Gr *Sāriputasa* L 152

*Sapurisasa* L 160 etc

Sāñci *Nāgīlāsa* L 571

*gāmāsa* L 571

Gen pl (i) -nam ·

Sāñci *Tāpasīyānam* L 219

L 307 etc.

*-putānam* L 469 etc.

Bhar *Sugāraṇ* L 687,

L 689<sup>1</sup>

*devārāṇ* L 743

Bhar	<i>Viśadevasa</i> L 687	(ii) -na	
	<i>bodhicakasa</i> L 866	Sāñci	- <i>msāna</i> L 273
Math. II	<i>vāyakasa</i> L 117 <sup>B</sup>	Bhar	<i>dīyakana</i> L 782
(ii) -(ā)sa		(iii) -nā	
Math. I	<i>sāvākāsa</i> L 93	Sāñci	<i>tāpasīyanā</i> L 220
	<i>Māharakṣitāsa</i> L 93		<i>paṭikamakārikānā</i>
Sāñci	<i>Tisāsa</i> Mj 504		L 248
	<i>Dhamayasāsa</i> Mj 455	Math. II	<i>savasatvānā</i> L 125 a <sup>3</sup> ,
		(iv) -na	occurs in later inscriptions
		Basim	<i>bāmhanāna</i>
			EI 26 152 <sup>17</sup>

(iii) -sī or -sim used only in Basim plates

Basim *Ruddajjesī* EI 26 152<sup>11</sup>

*Jvujjesim* EI 26 152<sup>10</sup>

Loc. sg (i) -e		Loc. pl -su	
Sāñci	<i>Achāvaḍe</i> L 339, L 348 <i>nagare</i> Mj 103 <sup>1</sup>	Bāsim	<i>Ākāśapaddesu</i> EI 26 151 <sup>0</sup>
Bhar	<i>susāne</i> L 697 , <i>pavate</i> L 707		
Math. II	<i>viḥāre</i> L 125 a <sup>2</sup> , <i>gane</i> L 117 <sup>A</sup>		
Śilah.	<i>pavate</i> EI 22 56 15		
(ii)' -ī			
Sāñci	<i>Morasshikaṭī</i> L 265		
(iii)' -mhi or -ṛmhi			
Bhar	<i>ṛramhi</i> L 881		
Śilah.	<i>karayantamhi</i> EI 22 36 1 <sup>1</sup>		

(iv) In an inscription at Bhar (L 902) *Bahuhathika* is used in the sense of Locative probably without the use of termination

(b) Feminine nouns ending in -ā

Nom. sg (i) -ā		Nom. pl (i) -yo	
Sāñci	<i>sulā</i> Mj 737, M 741	Sāñci	<i>slāyo</i> Mj 433
Bhar	<i>devatā</i> L 717, <i>sabhā</i> L 702	(ii) -ā	
		Bhar	<i>devatā</i> L 740
(ii) -a			
Bhar	<i>Sudasana</i> L 790 , <i>Sivala</i> L 709 , <i>sila</i> L 710		
Acc. sg. -a-			
Sāñci	<i>vadika</i> L 340		
Inst. sg -ya			
Math I	<i>bhayāye</i> EI 24 205,		

Ab sg. (1) -yā	
Bhar	. <i>Purikāyā</i> L 782, L 837 etc
Gen. sg. (1) -ye of greater frequency	Gen pl (1) -nā
Math I	<i>bhayāye</i> L 100 <sup>2a</sup> , L 103, <i>Sāñci</i> <i>upāsikānā</i> L 214, L 417
	<i>Asāye</i> L 97
Centr. Gr	<i>Nadikāye</i> L 674 <i>Nāvagāmikānā</i> L 214.
Sāñci	<i>Himadatāye</i> L 224 , <i>Yasilāye</i> L 247 , <i>Muladataye</i> L 221 etc
Bhar	<i>Ghosāye</i> L 872 , <i>bhayaye</i> L 882, etc

(ii) -ya is used less frequently than -ye

Sāñci *Devabhāgāya* L 168 , *Subhagāya* L 179 ,  
*Isimutaya* L 230

Bhar *Somāya* L 817 , *Nāgasenāya* L 719 , etc

(iii) -yā This is also used less frequently than -ye

Sāñci *Majhamāyā* L 270 , *Samkayā* L 533

Bhar *Nāgadevāyā* L 819 , *Nāgilāyā* L 778

(iv) -e (< -ye) occurs only in later inscription

Math II *Sādītāe* L 117<sup>B</sup>

Loc sg (1) -yam (?)

Math. II *khā[yam]* L 117<sup>A</sup> This is only what remains  
of a village name.

§ 297 Bases ending in -ī and -ī

(a) Masculine nouns ending in -ī

Nom sg -ī :

Bhar *bodhi* L 714, L 722, L 760

Basim *ānalti* EI 26 151<sup>r</sup>

Acc sg -ī :

Bhar *giri* L 711

Inst. sg (1) -nā :

Bhar *Dhanabhūtina* L 687

(ii) -nā used in very late inscriptions

Basim *senāpatinā* EI 26 153<sup>2a</sup>

Abl sg (1) -mhā .

Sāñci . *Māhamoragirimhā* L 189, L 313

Bhar *Moragirimhā* L 778, L 796 , *kuchimha* L 881

(ii) -mā :

Bhar *Moragirimā* L 860

Gen sg (1) -no used more frequently than -sa

Gen pl (1) -nam .

Sāñci . *īdātinam* L 338

Centr Gr *Dhanagirino* L 673

Sāñci *Pusagirino* L 182 ,

*Dcagirino* L 299 ,

*galapatino* L 193,

L 201 etc.

Bhar *Budhino* L 725 ,  
*Sakamunno* L 739 ,  
*gahapatino* L 725 etc,

(ii) -sa

Sāñci *Sātakausa* L 346 , *Dhamagirisā* Mj 732 , -  
*Nigadisa* L 377

Bhar *Dhanabhūtisa* L 859

Loc. sg (i) -m

Bhar *Moragiramī* L 808

(b) Feminine nouns in -i

Nom sg -i

Sāñci *pamānalaṭhi* L 200 , *suci* Mj 734<sup>a</sup>

Bhar *suci* L 823, *okramti* L 801 , *kuṭi* L 732

Acc. sg -im

Sāñci *galim* Mj 389<sup>a</sup>

Gen sg -ya

Sāñci *Kuṭiya* Mj 316

(c) Feminine nouns in -ī

Nom sg (i) -ī

Centr Gr *pukharmī* L 907

Pauni *-paṭi* EI 24 15

(ii) -i

Bhar *yakhi* L 793 , *devi* L 709 , *yakhmī* L 790 etc

Inst. sg -ye

Math II *Amohā-āsiye* L 125 a<sup>1</sup>

Abl sg (i) -yā This termination is very common

Sāñci *Asavatiyā* L 355 , *Ujemyā* L 212, L 219 etc

(ii) -ya

Sāñci *Mahisatiya* L 375 , *Ujemya* L 172

Bhar *Kākaṇḍiya* L 817

(iii) -ye (This may perhaps be Loc sg term)

Sāñci *Ujēmye* L 302, L 405, L 412

(iv) -to occurs very rarely

Sāñci *[Uje ?][m]to* Mj 725

Gen sg (i) -ye

Gen pl (i) -nam

Sāñci *deviye* L 189 ,  
*bhuchunye* L 254 etc.

Sāñci *bhikhunnam* L 368  
*bhuchunnam* L 542

Bhar *bhuchunye* L 761,  
L 806 etc

(ii) -yā

(ii) -nā

Sāñci *Tāpasīyā* L 256 ,  
*pajāvatīyā* L 206,  
L 359

Sāñci *bhichunnā* L 163

Bhar *bhikhunyā* L 778,  
L 819

(iii) -ya .

Sāñci Cīrāṭiya L 239 ;  
Yakhiya L 344, etc.  
Bhar Maghādeviya L 691  
bhuchumya L 723,  
L 851 etc.

(iii) -na .

Sāñci bhikhunna Mj 780<sup>1</sup>.

(iv) -c (&lt; -ye) occurs in later inscription.

Math. II sisime L 117 B

Loc. sg (?) -yam

Sāñci goṭṭiyam Mj 793<sup>2</sup>

§ 298 Bases ending in -u and -ū

(a) Masculine nouns ending in -u

Nom sg -ū

Bhar Jabū L 708

Inst sg -na

Basim . Venhuna EI 26 153<sup>30</sup>

Abl sg -yā

Sāñci Kaṭakañuyā L 262

Gen sg (1)<sup>1</sup> -no This is more fre-

Gen pl -nam

quent.

Sāñci bhichunam L 301,  
L 454

Centr Gr bhikhuno L 671

Sāñci bhichuno L 275 etc.

Bhaduno L 493

Bhar Vesabhuno L 714,

Punāvasuno L 831

(ii) -sa

Sāñci Bumusa L 408

(b) Feminine nouns ending in -ū

Nom sg -u

Bhar vadhu L 697

Gen sg -ya

Bhar Koduya L 647

§ 299 Bases ending in -r

(a) Masculine nouns in -r

Nom sg -ā

Bhar ketā L 731

Inst pl -hi

Math. II mātāpīṭiḥ L 125 a<sup>2</sup>

Gen sg -u

Gen pl -na

Sāñci . bhātu L 255, L 294  
-pīṭu L 331, L 486

Bhar . mātāpīṭiṇa L 844

(b) Feminine nouns ending in -r .

Inst sg -c :

Math. II . mātāre L 125 a<sup>1</sup>

Gen sg -u

Centr Gr mātu L 679

Sāñci . -mātu L 165, L 227 etc. , d hitu Mj 667, Mj 734.



Bhar *mātu* L 821, L 839, *dhitu* L 718

§ 300 Bases ending in consonants

(a) Mas nouns in *-at*

Nom sg. *-ā*

Math. I *bhagavā* L 101

Kosam *bhagavā* EI 18 159<sup>14</sup>

Acc. sg. *-o*

Bhar *bhagavato*<sup>17</sup> L 753, L 774

Gen sg (i) *-o* The term is coex- Gen pl *-nam*

tensive with *-sa*

Math I *arahatānam* L 100<sup>18</sup>

Math. I *arahato* L 103

Sāñci *bhagavato* L 200

Bhar *bhagavato* L 714,

L 722 etc

Math II *bhagavato* L 117<sup>A</sup>

(ii) *-sa*

Centr Gr *Hemavalasa* L 156

Sāñci *Arahasa* L 420, Mj 473

Bhar *Sirimasa* L 849

Loc sg *-e*

Bhar *Himavate* L 884

(b) Masculine nouns in *-an*

Nom sg *-ā*

Bhar *rājā* L 709, L 751, *Nāgarājā* L 735, L 752

Inst. sg *-ā*

Bhar *atenā* (?) L 880

Gen sg (i) *-ño*

Centr Gr *raño* L 669<sup>2</sup>

Sāñci *raño* Mj 825

Bhar *raño* L 687, L 882

(ii) *-no*

Bhar *rājano* L 689

(iii) *-ne*

Bhar *rājine* (?) L 892

(iv) *-sa* rather less frequent

Sāñci *Mahānāmasa* L 496, *Visa[ka]masa* L 173

(v) *-no*

Basim *āpuno* EI 26 151<sup>8</sup>

(c) Masculine nouns in *-as*

Abl sg *-ā*

Sāñci *subhagapathā* Mj 161<sup>1</sup>.

Gen. *-sa*

Gen pl *-na*

Math I *Phaguyaśasa* L 100<sup>18</sup>

Sāñci *Datamāsāna* Mj 464<sup>2</sup>

Sāñci *Soyasasa* L 384,

*Sumanasa* L 614

Loc sg -e :

Sāñci *Kācupathe* L 274<sup>1</sup>

(d) Feminine nouns in -as

Nom sg -ā

Nom pl -ā

Bhar *acharā* L 744, L 745

Bhar *Sudhāvāsā* L 740

Gen sg (i) -ye

Sāñci *Dhamayasāye* Mj 360

(ii) -yā

Sāñci *Dhamayasāyā* L 410

(e) Masculine nouns in -in

Nom sg -i

Nom pl -(n)a

Bhar *Vijapī* L 749 ,  
*Dighatapasi* L 692

Sāñci *pāpakār(n)a* Mj 389<sup>1</sup>

Inst sg -iñā

Centr Gr *-atevāsina* L 150

Gen sg (i) -no

Centr Gr *atevasmo* L 155, L 680

Sāñci *seṭhmo* or *sethmo* L 184, L 206 etc

*atevāsino* L 185, L 299 etc

Bhar *Vipasmo* L 779 , *amtevāsino* L 800.

(ii) -sa

Math I *āmtevāsisa* L 93

Sāñci *Nādivirodhisa* L 204 , *seṭhisa* or  
*sethisa* L 339, L 348, L 581

Bhar *mahamukhisa* L 718

(f) A few other bases

(i) Mas. noun in -it Nom. sg -i

Bhar *Pasenajī* L 751

(ii) Mas noun in -ut Gen. sg -sa

Bhar *Āgarajusa* L 687

(iii) Gen. sg mas. ending in -j -sa yet this may be -a base. cf Sk *vāṃja-*

Sāñci *vāṃjasa* or *vāmjasa* L 269, L 355

(iv) Fem. noun *dis* The loc sg form is probably used without termination

Bhar *disa* L 740, L 741, L 742

#### PRONOUNS

§ 301 Demonstrative pronouns

(a) The pronominal base *idam*

Nom sg Mas.

Centr Gr *ayam* L 669<sup>1</sup>

Nom sg Neut.

Basim *imani* EI 26 153<sup>22</sup>

(b) The pronominal base *etad*

Inst. pl

Basim *etehi* EI 26 152<sup>22</sup>,

Gen. pl

Basim *etāna EI 26 152<sup>17</sup>*

## § 302 Relative Pronouns

(a) The base *yad*

Nom sg Mas

Sāñci *yo L 340, L 350*Basim *jo EI 26 153<sup>20</sup>*

Acc sg Mas

Bhar *yam L 810*

Nom sg Fem

Kosam *yam EI 18 159<sup>12</sup>*

## § 303 Personal Pronouns

(a) The first personal pronoun

Inst. pl

Basim *āhmehum EI 26 151<sup>7</sup>*(b) The base *tad*

Nom sg Mas

Nom pl

Sāñci *so L 340*Sāñci *te L 350*

Nom sg Neut.

Basim *tam EI 26 152<sup>20</sup>*

Gen sg

Sāñci *tasa L 350*Basim *se EI 26 152<sup>10</sup>, tissa EI 26 153<sup>27</sup>*

## § 304 Some other bases.

(a) The pronoun *sarva-*

Nom pl Mas -e

Sāñci *save Mj 389<sup>1</sup>*

Gen pl -nam

Sāñci *savānam L 338*

-na

Sāñci *savina L 654<sup>1</sup>*

## NUMERALS

## § 305 CARDINALS

(i) two

Sāñci *bo Mj 433, du Mj 783<sup>2</sup>*Basim *dohi (Inst.) EI 26 152<sup>15</sup>*

(ii) three

Centr Gr *trm (Nom pl) L 670<sup>1</sup>*Basim *trnā (nom pl Mas) EI 26 152<sup>17</sup>*

(iii) five

Sāñci *paca L 299*Bhar *paca L 867*

(iv) six

Bhar *cha L 742, L 785*

(v) ten

Math II. *dasa L 125 g*

(vi) fourteen

Centr Gr *catudasa* L 669<sup>-</sup>

§ 306 Ordinals

(i) first

Bhar *paṭhama-* L 712Basim *padhama-* EI 26 153<sup>28</sup>

(11) fourth

Basim *cauttha-* EI 26 152<sup>15</sup>

## CONJUGATION

/

§ 307 Present Indicative

(a) Active

Third pers sg *-ti*First pers pl *-ma*Bhar *anusāsati* L 692, *do*  
*hati* L 707, *sāsati*  
L 777, *deḥi* L 731, *dati*  
( < *dā* ) L 901Basim *vitārāma*  
EI 26 152<sup>19-20</sup>Third pers pl *-anti*  
Centr Gr *nayanti* L 670<sup>2</sup>*ñati* L 697 , According  
to HULTZSCH the word  
stands for Sk *jñātri*  
as *ketā* stands for Sk  
*kretā* But very likely  
it is the third person  
singular form of  
*√ñā-* < Sk *√jñā-*Basim *anumamati*  
EI 26 153<sup>26</sup>

Present Indicative (b) Middle

Third pers sg *-te*Bhar *vadate* L 753 , *vamdate* L 774

§ 308 Imperative Mood

Third per. sg *-tam* .Second pers pl. (1) *-dha*Kosam *piyatam*  
EI 18 159<sup>12</sup>Basim *rakkhadha*  
EI 26 153<sup>22</sup>(11) *-pe-dha* (causal)Basim *rakkhāpedha*  
EI 26 153<sup>20</sup>

§ 309 Potential Mood

Third pers sg (1) *-yā*First pers pl *-jjāma*Sāñci . *sāñkāmeya* L 340,  
L 350Basim *karejjāma* EI 26 153<sup>24</sup>*gacheya* Mj 389<sup>2</sup>,  
L 350 ,Third pers pl *-yu* .  
Sāñci . *bhavedyu* L 350*upādeya* L 340, L 350(11) *-pe-ya* (causal)Sāñci [*upā*]*dāpeya* L 350

(11) -*ṇa*Basim *kareṇṇa EI 26 153<sup>20</sup>*

§ 310 Aorist.

Thurd pers sing

Bhar *avayesi L 810*

## PARTICIPLES

§ 311 Present Participles -*anta*Sīlah *kārayanta- EI 22 361<sup>1</sup>*

§ 312 Past Passive Participles

(1) -*na* The termination does not appear in later inscriptionsSāñci *Araha-dīna- L 265 etc. , Isi-dīna L 483*Bhar *dīna- L 738, upanna- L 687*(11) -*ta*Math I *kānta- L 100<sup>1b</sup>*Centr Gr *rakṣita- L 155 , pāṭita- L 677*Sāñci *Araha-pāṭita- L 322 , Isi-guta- L 355 , etc , etc*Bhar *kata- L 689<sup>s</sup> , mā(o)cita- L 881 , etc , etc*Math II *paṭiḥhāpita- L 125a<sup>1</sup>*

§ 313 Potential Passive Participle

(1) -*tavva-*Basim *bhāntavva- EI 26 151<sup>1</sup>*

§ 314 Absolutives

(1) -*tā*Basim *karettā EI 26 153<sup>25</sup>*(11) -*ya*Sāñci *upādāya (< Sk upādāya) L 654<sup>2</sup>*

## CHAPTER V

### HISTORICAL LINGUISTICS OF THE EASTERN GROUP

#### Prakrit Inscriptions of Eastern India

##### § 315 INTRODUCTORY

The inscriptions comprising this group are only forty in number and thus they do not compare at all in this respect with the other groups. They are very widely scattered from the Basti and Gorakhpur districts in U. P. to the Bogra dist. in Bengal and the Puri dist. in Orissa. But for the inscriptions of Khāravela, the material afforded for study by this group is rather scanty. In point of time the inscriptions almost mark a halt in the 2nd cent. B.C. and thus render a comparative study of the later centuries impossible. The following paragraphs are added with a view to supplying the necessary information about these inscriptions.

1. Piprāhwā Buddhist Vase Inscription (L 931) The find-spot (Piprā) of the vase is situated in the Biradpur Estate of the Basti Dist., half a mile from the Nepalese frontier and fourteen miles south-east of the ruins of Kapilavastu. PEPPER excavated a stūpa and in its stone-chamber found a number of relic vessels. Round the rim of the lid of one of the stone vessels runs the present Prakrit inscription. It is incised in Brāhmī characters of the Maurya type, but it lacks long vowels. The script can be regarded as even a little earlier than the one found in Aśokan inscriptions and hence this record is the earliest one known in India.

2. Sohgaura Copper Plate Inscription (L 937) Sohgaura (Sohga) is a village on the right bank of Rāptī, about fourteen miles south-south-east from Gorakhpur in the United Provinces. The type of Brāhmī characters used in this copper plate seems to belong to an early date in the Maurya period. The method of spelling presented in it, which is characterised by the absence of long vowels (except once in the fourth line), certainly justifies its being assigned to so early a date as that.

3. Rāmagarh (Sītābengā and Jogīmārā) Cave Inscriptions (L 920-L 921) The hill is situated in the District of Sirguja, Chhota Nagpur Division. The characters of the inscription are Asokan. There is one Prakrit inscription in the Sītābengā (Sītā) cave (L 920) and one in the Jogīmārā (Jogī) (L 921). The characters in the latter inscription lack the use of long vowels whereas the length of the vowels *ā* and *ī* is marked in the former.

The language of the Jogīmārā inscription is pure Māgadhī, more closely connected with the Māgadhī of the grammarians than that of the Aśokan inscriptions. It is characterised by an exclusive use of *ś*, absence of *r*, and the employment of final *-c* instead of *-o*. The linguistic remarks made below in the detailed analysis are likely to be imperfect in some points as the exact meaning of the inscriptions is not yet definitely ascertained.

4. Bodh-Gayā Inscriptions (L 939-L 948) It (Bodh) is situated in the Gayā Dist. of Bihar. Out of the sixteen inscriptions included by LIDERS in his list only ten are inscribed in Prakrit. The rest are written either in Sanskrit or in mixed dialect. All the Prakrit inscriptions are found on Aśoka's railing and consequently they date from the middle of the third century B.C. They are the most valuable part of

the old railing and their characters prove beyond doubt that the railing must be as old as the time of Aśoka. One of the inscriptions is found repeated on several of the pillars of which CUNNINGHAM in his *Mahābodhi* has given four examples (L 939-L 942). LUDERS notes that there seem to be two more copies of this inscription.

5 *Mahāsthān* Inscription<sup>1</sup> The place *Mahāsthān* (*Mahāsth.*) is situated in Bogrā Dist. of Bengal. The short inscription in Prakrit is written in Brāhmī characters of the Aśokan period.

6 Two New Barābar Hill Inscriptions<sup>2</sup> These two Prakrit inscriptions from the Barābar hill, about 15 miles to the north of Gayā in Bihar, are different from the Aśokan Inscriptions found there. Both of them give a single word *Gorathagiri*—which is probably the old name of the hill. The Brāhmī characters of the inscriptions belong to the third century B C.

7 *Udayagiri and Khandagiri Cave Inscriptions* (L 1342-L 1353 b) These Prakrit Inscriptions offer very important epigraphic material in the Brāhmī alphabet from the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills (*Udaya*) in the Puri Dist. of Orissa. In this collection of inscriptions, ten belong to the former and five to the latter hill.

The date of Khāravela's *Hāthigumphā* inscription falls in the middle of the second century B C. Though there is some slight variation in the dates of these inscriptions, e.g. L 1353 is written in characters distinctly later than those employed in L 1346-L 1348, yet all of them have been treated here together for the sake of convenience. This adjustment does not materially affect the linguistic treatment from the historical point of view, firstly because the material presented by the inscriptions which are later than those of Khāravela and his queen is very scanty and secondly because the later material does not point to any linguistic variation.

LUDERS has listed twelve inscriptions from these caves. To this collection BARUA<sup>3</sup> has added two more inscriptions which I number as L 1353 a (BARUA'S No V) and L 1353 b (BARUA'S No. XIII). I have based my linguistic treatment of these inscriptions entirely on the readings accepted by BARUA.

"Judged by the sound system and syntax the language of the old Brāhmī inscriptions is very nearly Pāli, the language of the Buddhist *Tripiṭaka* preserved in Ceylon, Siam and Burma. The exceptional cases of spelling and pronunciation are important as enabling the reader to detect the undercurrent of a dialect having affinity, in respect of its phonetics, with *Ardhamāgadhī*, the language of the extant *Jaina Āgama*.

For example in these inscriptions and in Pāli *o* is never represented by *e*, as it is done in *Ardha Māgadhī*. Similarly unlike *Ardha-Māgadhī* it does not indiscriminately cerebralise the dental *n*. Together with Pāli and *Ardha Māgadhī* it does not change *ṛ > i*"<sup>4</sup>

8 *Sāranāth Inscriptions* (L 921 a-L 921 e) *Sāranāth* (*Sāran*) is situated about three and a half miles to the north of Benares. Besides Aśoka's famous minor pillar edict, it gives us many other inscriptions mostly in Sanskrit and Mixed dialect. A few of the inscriptions found here have not yet been read. Below I have dealt with only five inscriptions which are in Prakrit. L 921 a appears on a railing stone whereas the rest appear on railing pillars. L 921 a and L 921 d are written in Brāhmī

1 Not listed by LUDERS. D. R. BHANDARKAR, *EI* 21 83 91

2 Not listed by LUDERS. V. H. JACKSON, *JBOR* 11 159 ff

3 *Old Brāhmī Inscriptions, in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri Caves*, Calcutta, 1929

4 cf. *ibid*, p. 157

characters of about the second century B C L 921 b, L 921 c and L 921 e, no doubt appear in the Aśoka characters but the first and the last of these three have not been read as yet.

9 Pātnā Statue Inscriptions (L 957-L 958) Outside the city of Pātnā in Bihār, two statues were found each bearing an inscription. Their characters are somewhere about the beginning of the Christian era ; The inscriptions give the names of Yakṣas which are rather obscure. CUNNINGHAM notes, "Their names have not yet been read satisfactorily as some of the letters are doubtful owing to the deeply cut parallel folds of scarves on which they are engraved" 5

10 Kāsiā Stone Inscription (L 937 a) Kāsiā is situated thirty-five miles due east of Gorakhpur, a Dist. place in the United Provinces. A fragment of a sand-stone containing four akṣaras, of which only the last one is entire, was found there. The characters are Brāhmī of the early Kushana type. From the reading of the inscription which runs as *ya-ku-sa-na* no sense can be made out.

11 Rājgir Inscription (L 958 a) The inscription found at Rājgir, incised in characters of the Kushana type, is too defaced to be intelligible.

12 Khairīgarh Inscription (L 686) This inscription incised on a stone horse comes from a place in the Kheri Dist. on the border between Oudh and Nepāl. It is inscribed in the Gupta characters and only a fragment of it remains.

§ 316 Note The table below indicates the chronological distribution of these inscriptions

	Period	Inscription	No
1	3rd cent. B C	L 931 , L 937 , L 920-921 , L 939-L 948 , plus three additions	17
2	2nd cent. B C	L 1342-L 1353 plus 2 additions , L 921 a-L 921 e	19
3	1st cent. A D	L 957-L 958 , L 937 a (L 958 a)	3
4	4th cent. A D	L 686	1

## PHONOLOGY

### I VOWELS

§ 317 Treatment of the Sk vowel ɾ. It becomes *a*, *i* or *u* in these inscriptions

(a) Change -ɾ- > -a-

Sītā	. Sk. <i>hrdaya-</i> > <i>hadaya-</i> L 920 <sup>1</sup>
Udaya	Sk. <i>ṭṭīlīya-</i> > <i>talīya-</i> L 1345 <sup>2</sup>
	Sk. <i>prakṛti-</i> > <i>pakati-</i> L 1345 <sup>1</sup>
	Sk. <i>gṛha-pati-</i> > <i>gaḥapati-</i> L 1345
	Sk. <i>sat-kṛta-</i> > <i>sakata-</i> L 1345 <sup>1</sup>

(b) Change -ɾ- or -ɾ > -i- or -i

Piprā	Sk. <i>bl.ratr-</i> > <i>bṛati-</i> L 931
Udaya	. Sk. <i>bhrngāra-</i> > <i>bl.mgāra-</i> L 1345 <sup>1</sup>
	Sk. <i>kṛtā-</i> > <i>lita-</i> L 1345 <sup>2</sup>
	Also cf. <i>bl.āti-</i> L 1345 <sup>1</sup>

The examples of this type of change are less numerous than ɾ > *a*. Unlike other groups some of the words expressive of human relationship show the change -ɾ > -i



(c) Change  $r > u$ 

Udaya

Sk. *duhulr-* > *dhulu-* L 1346<sup>2</sup>This change is very rare. The final *-u* is probably due to assimilation§ 318 Treatment of the Sk. diphthongs *ai* and *au* Sk *ai* and *au* become *e* and *o* respectively(a) Change *ai* > *e*

Bodh

Sk. *cailya-* > *celika-* L 943

Udaya

Sk. *vaiḍūrya-* > *veduriya-* L 1345<sup>10, 16</sup>Also cf. *celiya-* L 1345<sup>16</sup>(b) Change *au* > *o*

Udaya

Sk. *yauvarājya-* > *yovaraja-* L 1345<sup>2</sup>Sk. *yauvana-* > *yovana-* L 1345<sup>2</sup>§ 319 Treatment of Sk. *aya* and *ava* Sk *aya* and *ava* usually become *e* and *o* respectively in these inscriptions. But in a good many examples *-aya-* is preserved(a) Change *-aya-* > *-e-*

Udaya

Sk. *layana-* > *lena-* L 1345<sup>11</sup> etcSk. *janayat-* > *janeta-* L 1345<sup>12</sup>Sk.  $\sqrt{kāraya-}$  >  $(vasī-)k(ā)reḥ$  L 1345<sup>11</sup> etc.(b) Change *-ava-* > *-o-*

Udaya

Sk. *vyavacchinna-* > *-vochinna-* L 1345<sup>18</sup>§ 320 Treatment of the Sk. vowel *a* This vowel is generally preserved in all positions. It, undergoes however, a few changes that are noticed below(a) Change *a* > *ā* in a metrically long syllable This change, it is to be noted, does not occur in all cases

Sitā

Sk. *rakta-* > *rāta*<sup>6</sup> L 920

Udaya

Sk. *vārtman-* > *-vāṭa-* L 1345<sup>6</sup>(b) Change *a* > *ā* due to metathesis

Sohga

Sk. *ātyāyika-* > *atīyāyika-* L 937<sup>4</sup>(c) Change *a* > *ī* through the influence of *y*

Bodh

Sk. *cailya-* > *celika-* L 943

Udaya

Sk. *hastyaśva-* > *hathīsa-* L 1345<sup>2</sup> This is, however, doubtful§ 321 Treatment of the Sk. vowel *ā* The vowel *ā* is fairly well preserved in these inscriptions. Yet sometimes it is shortened to *a* in the following circumstances(a) Change *ā* > *a* before a consonant cluster

Bodh

Sk. *Tāmraparna-* > *Tabapana-ka-* L 946

Udaya

Sk. *ārya-* > *aira-* L 1345<sup>1</sup>Sk. *rāṣṭrika-* > *raṭhika-* L 1345<sup>6</sup>, etc.(b) Change *ā* > *a* before the terminations

Bodh

Sk. *Jivā-putrā-* > *Jivāputa-ye* L 943, but it is preserved in *ayā-ye* L 939 etc

Udaya

Sk. *Mathurā-* > *Ma(dhu)ra-m* L 1345<sup>7</sup>(c) Change *ā* > *a* at the end of the first member of a compound<sup>7</sup> Such examples are rather rare

Udaya

Sk. *senā-vāhana-* > *sena-vāhana-* L 1345<sup>8, 12</sup><sup>6</sup> This derivation is suggested by M. BOYER.<sup>7</sup> cf. similar change in *gangā-yamuna-sangame* in *Mbh* 5.118.14,

- (d) There are a few instances where *ā* > *a* without any apparent reason

Sītā	Sk <i>ā-√dīp-</i> > <i>a-√dīpa-</i> L 920 <sup>1</sup>
Udaya	Sk <i>prasāda-</i> > <i>pasata-</i> L 1353
Sāran	Sk <i>ālambana-</i> > <i>ala[m]bana-</i> L 921 a

§ 322 Treatment of the Sk vowel *i* Though the vowel is usually preserved, the following changes merit attention

- (a) Change *i* > *ī* in a metrically long syllable.

Udaya	Sk. <i>cāturvimsati</i> > <i>catuvīsati</i> L 1345 <sup>2</sup> , also cf <i>paṇṭiśa</i> L 1345 <sup>4</sup>
Sāran.	Sk <i>Smhā-</i> > <i>Sihā-</i> L 921 c

- (b) Change *i* > *e* in a metrically long syllable.

Udaya	Sk <i>niṣ-√kāsaya-</i> > <i>ne√kāsaya-</i> L 1345 <sup>11</sup>
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- (c) Change *i* > *u* due to the presence of *v*

Udaya	Sk <i>dvitīya-</i> > <i>dutiya-</i> L 1345 <sup>4</sup>
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- (d) The vowel is initially elided in the following example

Udaya	Sk. <i>īdānīm</i> > <i>dān(i)</i> L 1345 <sup>2</sup>
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§ 323 Treatment of the Sk vowel *ī* The long vowel *ī* is very well preserved It is shortened to *i* only in the following instances

- (a) Change *ī* > *i* before terminations

Rāmag	Sk <i>vasantī-</i> > <i>vasanti-yā</i> L 920 <sup>2</sup> .
Bodh	Sk <i>prajāvalī-</i> > <i>paṇṭiśa-ye</i> L 943
	Sk <i>Kurāṅgī-</i> > <i>Kuramgi-ye</i> L 939
Udaya	Sk. <i>māhīṣī-</i> > <i>rāja-mahīṣi-hi</i> L 1345 <sup>14</sup>
	Sk <i>pranāḍī</i> > <i>panāḍi-m</i> L 1345 <sup>6</sup>
Sāran.	Sk <i>Bharinī-</i> > [ <i>Bha</i> ]ṛini-ye L 921 d

- (b) Change *ī* > *i* occurs irregularly in such cases as

Sītā	Sk <i>√dīp-</i> > <i>√dīpa-</i> L 920 <sup>1</sup>
Udaya	Sk <i>dvitīya-</i> > <i>dutiya-</i> L 1345 <sup>4</sup> , also cf <i>tatiya-</i> L 1345 <sup>2</sup> , <sup>4</sup> Sk. <i>nīti-</i> > <i>miti-</i> L 1345 <sup>5</sup> etc

§ 324 Treatment of the Sk vowel *u* The vowel *u* undergoes only a few changes

- (a) Change *u* > *ī* in a metrically long syllable

Udaya	. * <i>cud-la-</i> > <i>cūla-ka[m]ma-</i> L 1349
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- (b) Change *u* > *o* in a metrically long syllable

Udaya	Sk <i>udghāṭita-</i> > <i>oghāṭita-</i> L 1345 <sup>6</sup>
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(c) The vowel *a* appears in place of Sk. *u* in the well known word *garu-*<sup>8</sup> in the Sītā cave (L 920)<sup>1</sup> and the vowel *i* in place of Sk. *u* in the word *purisa-*<sup>9</sup> in the Udaya cave (L 1345<sup>3</sup>).

§ 325 Treatment of the Sk. vowel *ī* like the other two long vowels this is also preserved It is to be noted that in some of the earlier inscriptions in this group the length of the vowel is not marked as an orthographical peculiarity

- (a) Change *ī* > *u* before a consonant cluster

Udaya	: Sk. <i>pīrva-</i> > <i>puta-</i> L 1345 <sup>2</sup> , <sup>10</sup> , <sup>11</sup> etc
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8. cf Sk *garīyas-* and *garīṣṭa-*.

9 To be derived from the base \**pūṛṣa-*

§ 326 Treatment of the Sk vowel *e* Though the vowel is well preserved the following few changes may be noted

- (a) Change *e* > *i* before a consonant cluster

Udaya Sk. *narendra*- > *narida*- L 1345<sup>8</sup>

This may also be due to peculiar Prakrit sandhi between *a* + *i* resulting in *i* instead of *e*

- (b) Initially *e* is elided in Sk. *evā* > *va* in the Sohga copper plate (L 937) and in the Udaya inscription (L 1345<sup>2</sup>)

§ 327 Treatment of the Sk vowel *o* This vowel too is well preserved

- (a) Change *o* > *u*, before a consonant cluster

Udaya Sk. *sarvodyāna*- > *savuyāna*- L 1345<sup>3</sup>

In this case also the vowel *o* which undergoes the change is due to sandhi between *a* + *u*

## II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

§ 328 The simple consonants are generally preserved in their initial position. In the medial position also they are usually preserved but in a few cases they undergo some changes which are only tendential in character and not universal In the following discussion only such changes have been exemplified

### § 329 Gutturals

- (a) The change of a intervocal surd to sonant appears in the following instance.

- (1) Change *-k-* > *-g-* occurs as early as the middle of the second century B.C.

Udaya Sk. *Pṛthūdaka*- > *Pīthūdaga*- (?) L 1345<sup>11</sup>

- (b) The change of a intervocal sonant to surd too has appeared in the second century B.C.

- (1) Change *-g-* > *-k-*

Udaya Sk. *Nāgi*- > *Nāki*- L 1352

- (2) Change *-gh-* > *-kh-*

Udaya Sk. *paṅgha*- > *paḥkha*- L 1345<sup>13</sup>

- (c) The loss of occlusion also has appeared in an example of equally early date

- (1) Change *-kh-* > *-h-*

Udaya Sk. *śikhara*- > *sihara*- L 1345<sup>13</sup>

§ 330 Cerebrals The Sanskrit cerebrals, except the nasal, are well preserved The nasal sometimes tends to become *n*

- (a) Change *-ṭ-* > *-l-*

Jogī Sk. *baṭu*- > *balu*-<sup>10</sup> (?) L 921<sup>4</sup>

- (b) Change *-ṇ-* > *-n-* There are very few instances of this type of change

Sītā Sk. *avarṇa*- > *avana*- L 920

Bodh Sk. *Tāmrāparṇa*- > *Tabapana*- L 946

Udaya Sk. *lakṣana*- > *lakhana*- L 1345<sup>1</sup>

Sk. *śramaṇá*- > *(sama)n[a]*- L 1346<sup>1</sup>,

but cf *saman[a]* L 1342

Sāran. Sk. *Bharinī*- > *[Bha]rmi*- L 921 d

10 BLOCH notes that it is also possible to read the word as *balā*- < Sk. *bālā*-,

## § 331 Dentals

(a) The change of surds to sonants occurs in the following instances :

(1) Change *-t- > -d-* The change has appeared even some time earlier than the 2nd cent B C

Sitā Sk. *kútas > kudas-* L 920<sup>2</sup>

This is according to BOYER who divides the word *kudasphata* as *kudas* and *phata* BLOCH, however, derives the whole word from Sk. *kundasphāta-*

Udaya Sk. *mahāmātra- > \*mahāmadra- > mahāmada-* L 1352.  
This is rather doubtful

(u) Change *-th- > -dh-*

Udaya Sk. *prathamá- > padhama-* L 1345<sup>3</sup>

Sk. *rātha- > radha-* L 1345<sup>4, 7, 8</sup>

Sk. *Mathurā- > Ma(dhu)rā-* L 1345<sup>7</sup>

(b) The hardening of a sonant into surd is rather rare.

(1) Change *-d- > -t-*

Udaya Sk. *prasāda- > pasāta-* L 1353

Sk. *Cedī- > Ceta-(rāja)-* L 1345<sup>1</sup> This is, however,  
not quite certain

(c) Change *d- > dh-* by initial aspiration occurs due to the presence of *h* in the neighbouring syllable.

Udaya Sk. *duhṛt- > dhutu-* L 1346<sup>2</sup>

(d) Change *-d- > -r-* occurs only in numerals

Udaya Sk. *pañcadaśá > pamdarasa* L 1345<sup>2</sup>

Sk. *dvādaśá- > bārasa-* L 1345<sup>11</sup>

(e) Intervocal *-t-* is elided and *-v-* is developed due to contact with *ṛ* in the following ordinal

Udaya. Sk. *caturthá- > cavutha-* L 1345<sup>5</sup>

§ 332 Labials Except the sporadic change of *-p- > -v-* and hardening of *-mb- > -mp-*, the labials are very well preserved

(a) Change *-p- > -v-*

Udaya . Sk. *pana- > -vana-* L 1345<sup>7</sup>

(b) Change *-mb- > -mp-*

Udaya Sk. *Kadamba- > Kadampa-* L 1347

§ 333 Semi-vowels We may note the following changes

(a) Initial *y-* is elided<sup>11</sup> in

Udaya Sk. *yé > e* L 920<sup>1</sup>

(b) Change *ṛ > l* in all positions occurs at the following places

Piprāh . Sk. *śārīra- > salīla-* L 931

Sk. *saputradāra- > saputadala-* L 931

Sohga Sk. *koṣṭhāgāra- > koṭhagala-* L 937<sup>2</sup>

Sk. *bhāraka- > blālaḥa-* L 957<sup>2</sup>.

Jogī . Sk. *rūpadakṣa- > lupadakhā-* L 921<sup>6</sup>.

Mahāsth . Sk. *Puṇḍanagara- > Puṇḍanagala-* EI 22 85<sup>2</sup>.

Also cf. *koṭhāgāla-* EI 22 85<sup>6</sup>

11 Conversely initially *y-* is developed in *yē* at Udaya (L 1345<sup>2</sup>)

The change, however, is not effected in the inscriptions at Sītā, Bodh, Barābar hill, Udaya, and Sāran.

- (c) Change *-l-* > *-d-*

Udaya

Sk. *pālī* > *-pādi*<sup>12</sup> L 1345<sup>3</sup>

- (d) Change *-v-* > *-p-*

Udaya

Sk. *Kudeva* > *Kudepa* L 1347, but there is also an alternative reading *Kadam̐pa* (cf above the change of *-mb* > *-m̐p-*)

§ 334 Sibilants Except the Jogī inscription which is written in Māgadhī, everywhere else all the three sibilants are merged into the single dental *s*

- (a) The palatal sibilant *ś*

- (i) Change *ś* > *s* in all positions

Piprah

Sk. *śārīra* > *sārīra* L 931

Sohga

Sk. *śāsana* > *sasana* L 937<sup>1</sup>

Udaya

Sk. *śārīra* > *sārīra* L 1345<sup>2</sup>

Sk. *praśastā* > *pasatha* L 1345<sup>1</sup>

- (ii) Change *śr* > *ś*

Jogī

Sk. *śrēyān* > *śeye*<sup>13</sup> L 921<sup>4</sup>

- (b) The cerebral sibilant *ṣ*

- (i) Change *ṣ* > *s*

Udaya.

Sk. *pāṣaṇḍa* > *pāsaṇḍa* L 1345<sup>7</sup>

Sk. *viṣeṣa* > *visesa* L 1345<sup>17</sup>

- (c) The dental sibilant *s*

- (i) Change *s* > *ś* only at Jogī

Sk. *Sutamukā* > *Śutamuka* L 921<sup>13</sup>

Sk. *devadāśi* > *devadaśi-kṛi* L 921<sup>2, 3</sup>

§ 335 Palatalisation We get very few instances of Palatalisation in this group

- (i) Change *-k-* > *-ky-*<sup>14</sup> due to presence of *i*

Jogī

Sk. *devadāśi-kā* > *devadaśi-kṛi* L 921<sup>2, 3</sup>

- (ii) Change *-dy-* > *-j-*

Udaya

Sk. *vidyādhara* > *vijadhara* L 1345<sup>6</sup>

Sk. *vidyāvādāta* > *vijāvādāta* L 1345<sup>2</sup>

§ 336 Cerebralisation The law of cerebralisation by which usually the dentals are turned into cerebrals has also a very limited scope of operation in this group. In the Western group it was pointed out that the tendency towards cerebralisation though not felt in earlier inscriptions became stronger with the march of time. That we do not get much material of a later period for study in this group prevents us from knowing whether similar cerebralisation was introduced in this group also at a late date.

- (a) Cerebralisation of the dental *t*

- (i) Change *-rt-* > *-t-*

Udaya

Sk. *vārtman* > *vāṭa* L 1345<sup>6</sup>

- (ii) Change *-r-t-* > *-t-*

Udaya

Sk. *prati* > *paṭi* L 1345<sup>3</sup>, we also get *paṭi* L 1345<sup>16</sup>

12. But this *ḍ* (or *ḷ*) is earlier than Sk. *-l-* cf Vedic *nadāh* *s* and *naḷāh* Sk. *nala-*

13. BLOCH derives the word from Sk. *śaya-*

14. cf similar change in Kālī dialect in the Aś Inscr.

(b) Cerebralisation of the dental *lh*(i) Change *-sth-* > *-lh-* in the forms of  $\sqrt{sthā}$ -

Udaya Sk *saṁsthāpana-* > *-saṁlh[ā]pana-* L 1345<sup>7</sup>

(c) Cerebralisation of the dental *d*(i) Change *-ṛ-d-* > *-d-*

Udaya Sk. *Pṛthūdaka-* > *Pṛthudaga-* L 1345<sup>11</sup> This is, however, doubtful

(d) Cerebralisation of dental *n*

The tendency of changing *-n-* to *-ṇ-* is rather rare Pīprāh Sk. *bhagṇī-* > *sa-bhagṇika-* L 931 In his initial notes FLEET<sup>15</sup> says that *-ṇ-* may be accidental for *-n-* and that it may not have been intended But later on<sup>16</sup> he changes his opinion and remarks that the cerebral *-ṇ-* in *bhagṇika-* is intentional It is on this ground that he differentiates the dialect of the present inscription from the Māgadhī of the Aśokan inscriptions What we have got to note is that there is no other example of cerebralisation in this inscription As will be shown below the dental *n* of terminations is also preserved after *ṛ*

Udaya The change on *-n-* > *-ṇ-* is observed only in the stock example *lena-* < Sk *layana-* cf L 1345<sup>11, 15</sup> etc.

(ii) The dental *n* of terminations, as also of conjugational sign and suffixes, is not changed to *ṇ* after *ṛ* and *ṣ* as it is done in Sanskrit.

Pīprā. Sk *bhrātṛnām* > *-bhrātṛ-nām* L 931

Sk *dārānām* > *-dārānam* L 931

Udaya Sk *ṛṣṇām* > *(ṛ)ṣṇam* L 1345<sup>15</sup>

Sk *varṣām* > *vasām* L 1345<sup>2</sup>

Sk *gōpurānt* > *gōpurām* L 1345<sup>13</sup> etc

Sk.  $\sqrt{śru-nu}$  >  $\sqrt{su-na-}$  L 1345<sup>16</sup>

Sāran Sk *bhikṣunī-* > *bhikṣuṇī-kā-* L 921 a

## III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 337 As in Prakrits in general a consonant cluster is assimilated to the stronger consonant but this assimilated conjunct is represented by a single symbol in inscriptions According to the method adopted in the previous chapters only the treatment of important clusters is exemplified below

## § 338 Consonant Clusters with Stops

## (a) Clusters with sibilant + gutturals

(i) Change *-ṣk-* > *-k-*, the assimilated cluster being unaspirated

Udaya Sk *ṇṣ-√kāśaya-* > *ṇc√kāśaya-* L 1345<sup>11</sup>

## (b) Clusters with sibilants + palatals

(i) Change *-ṣc-* > *-ch-* Here the stop is aspirated

Udaya Sk. *paścima-* > *paḥṣima-* L 1345<sup>4</sup>

Sk. *āścarjya-* > *-aḥarjya-* L 1345<sup>15</sup>

## (c) Clusters with sibilants + cerebrals

(i) Change *-ṣṭ-* > *-ṭ-* Thus the stop is aspirated

Udaya Sk. *ṣṣṭ-* > *ṣṭ-* L 1345<sup>16</sup>

Sk. *ṣṣṭamā-* > *ṣṭamā-* L 1345<sup>7</sup>.

15 JRAS 1905 149 note 1

16 JRAS 1907, pp 107-9.

- (ii) Change
- $-ṣṭr- > -ṭh-$

Udaya. Sk. *rāṣṭrika-*  $>$  *-raṭhika-* L 1345<sup>6</sup>

- (iii) Change
- $-ṣṭh- > -ṭh-$
- There is no example of the loss of cerebralisation.

Sohga. Sk. *koṣṭhāgāra-*  $>$  *koṭhagala-* L 937<sup>2</sup>Mahāsth cf. *koṭhāgāla-* EI 21 85<sup>6</sup>Udaya Sk. *prati√ṣṭhā-paya-*  $>$  *paṭi√ṭhā-paya-* L 1345<sup>10</sup>

(d) Clusters with sibilants + dentals The unaspirated stop is aspirated For cerebralisation cf. § 336(b) above.

- (i) Change
- $st > th$
- in all positions

Udaya Sk. *praśasta-*  $>$  *pasatha-* L 1345<sup>1</sup>Sk. *hastin-*  $>$  *hathin-* L 1345<sup>12</sup> etc.Sk. *stambha-*  $>$  *thambha-* L 1345<sup>15</sup>

- (ii) Change
- $-sth- > -th-$

Udaya. Sk. *pra√sthā-paya-*  $>$  *pa√thā-paya-* L 1345<sup>1</sup>(e) Clusters with semivowel  $r +$  dentals Cerebralisation of such clusters has already been discussed above in § 336

- (i) Change
- $-rt- > -t-$

Pijrāh. Sk. *Sukirti-*  $>$  *Sukiti-* L 931Udaya Sk. *supravarta-*  $>$  *supavata-* L 1345<sup>14</sup>

- (ii) Change
- $-rdh- > -dh-$

Udaya Sk. *vārdhana-*  $>$  *-vadhana-* L 1345<sup>1</sup> etc

- (f) Clusters with sibilant + labials

- (i) Change
- $sp- > ph-$

Sītā Sk. *spṛta-*  $>$  *phata-* L 920<sup>2</sup>

This derivation is suggested by BOYER<sup>17</sup> He also thinks that perhaps we have, to read *kudaspata-* instead of *kudasphata-* and separate the word as *kuda spata-* In that case we find the initial cluster *sp-* preserved According to BLOCH<sup>18</sup> the word is to be derived from Sk. *kūndasphāla-*

- (ii) Change
- $-sp- > -sv- > -s-$

Udaya Sk. *Bṛhaspati-*  $>$  *\*Bṛhasvati > Bahasati-* L 1345<sup>14</sup>

- (g) Clusters with semivowel
- $r +$
- labial

(i) Change  $-rp- > -mp-$  with the addition of a nasal denoting in all probability the doubling of the following stopUdaya Sk. *darpa-*  $>$  *dampa-* L 1345<sup>5</sup>§ 339 Consonant clusters with the semivowel  $y$  For palatalisation of such clusters cf. above § 335(ii)

- (a) Clusters with stop +
- $y$

- (i) Change
- $-ty- \sqrt{-tiy-}$
- by svarabhakti

Sohga Sk. *ātyāyika-*  $>$  *atīyāyika-* L 937<sup>1</sup>Mahāsth cf. *atīyāyika-* EI 21 85<sup>1</sup>Udaya Sk. *cātya-*  $>$  *cetīya-* L 1345<sup>15</sup>

- (ii) Change
- $-try- > tiy-$

Sohga Sk. *Tryavani-*  $>$  *Tiyavani-* L 937<sup>2</sup>

17. *Jour As Sci* 10.3 479 ff *Melanges d'Indanisme Offerts à M S Levi*, 121-8

18. *ZDMG* 58 456 *ASI Ann Rep* 1903-4 pp 124 ff

- (iii) Change
- ty-*
- >
- t-*
- by assimilation.

Bodh. . Sk *cailtyaka-* > *celika-* L 943

- (iv) Change
- d-y-*
- >
- y-*

Udaya Sk *ud-yāna-* > *-uyāna-* L 1345<sup>5</sup>

- (v) Change
- d-y-*
- >
- dīy-*

Udaya. Sk. *niṣad-yā-* > *-niṣīdīya-* L 1345<sup>14</sup>

- (b) Clusters with the semivowel
- r*
- +
- y*

- (i) Change
- ry-*
- >
- riy-*

Udaya Sk *vaidūrya-* > *veduriya-* L 1345<sup>16</sup>Sk. *āścarya-* > *-achariya-* L 1345<sup>13</sup>

- (ii) Change
- ry-*
- >
- \*-riy-*
- >
- \*-ria-*
- >
- ira-*
- .

Udaya Sk *ārya-* > *aira-* L 1345<sup>1</sup>, L 1347

- (iii) Change
- ry-*
- >
- y-*

Sohga Sk  $\sqrt{kāry-}$  (<  $\sqrt{kr-}$ ) > *kayiyatī* L 937<sup>4</sup>Bodh . Sk *āryā-* > *ayā-* L 939 etc

- (c) Cluster with the semivowel
- l*
- +
- y*

- (i) Change
- ly-*
- >
- l-*

Udaya Sk. *kalyānā-* > *kalāna-* L 1345<sup>16</sup>

- (d) Cluster with the semivowel
- v*
- +
- y*

- (i) Change
- vy*
- >
- v*
- :

Sohga Sk. *grahitavya-* > *gahitava-* L 937<sup>1</sup>Udaya Sk *vyavahāra-* > *vavahāra-* L 1345<sup>3</sup>Sk *vyavacchinnā-* > *vocchinnā-* L 1345<sup>16</sup>

- (e) Cluster with the sibilant +
- y*

- (i) Change
- śy-*
- >
- s-*

Udaya Sk. *paśyat-* > *pasamta-* L 1345<sup>16</sup>

- (ii) For the change
- sy-*
- >
- s-*
- in termination cf below gen sg terminations under Morphology

§ 340 Consonant clusters with the semi-vowel *r*

- (a) Clusters with stop +
- r*

- (i) Change
- kr-*
- >
- k-*
- .

Udaya Sk *cakrā-* > *caka-* L 1345<sup>11</sup>, <sup>17</sup>

- (ii) Change
- gr*
- >
- g*

Sohga Sk. *grāma-* > *gama-* L 937<sup>2</sup>Udaya Sk *āgra-* > *aga-* L 1346<sup>3</sup> etc.

- (iii) Change
- tr*
- >
- t*

Piprā Sk *sa-putra-* > *sa-puta-* L 931Sohga Sk. *trikā-* > *tika-* L 937<sup>1</sup>Udaya Sk. *chatra-* > *chata-* L 1345<sup>7</sup>, .Sk. *sarīātra-* > *sarīata-* L 1345<sup>8</sup>, etc.

(iv) The cluster *-tr-* is probably preserved in the Bodh. inscriptions of Sk. *Mitra-* > *Mitra-* L 943, L 944 These readings, which have been perhaps accepted by LUDERS, appear to be correct. CUNNINGHAM, however, reads *Mita-*

Similarly in L 943 and 944 CUNNINGHAM reads, and perhaps LUDERS follows, *Juāputa-* and *puta-* respectively At both these places the readings seem to me to be *-tr-* and not *-t-*.



- (v) Change
- ndr-*
- >
- md-*
- or
- d-*

Bodh. Sk. *Indrāgnī-* > *Imdāgi-* L 943, L 944 Perhaps here too we have to read *Imdrāgi-*

Udaya. Sk. *narendra-* > *narida-* L 1345<sup>8</sup>

The cluster is represented as a double consonant only in a later inscription.

Khairi Sk. *Samudragupta-* > [Samu]ddagutta- L 686

- (vi) Change
- pr*
- >
- p*
- in all positions

Bodh. Sk. *prajāvatī-* > *pajāvati-* L 943

Sk. *prāsāda-* > *pāsāda-* L 943

Udaya Sk. *prathamā-* > *padhama-* L 1345<sup>9</sup>

Sk. *apratihata-* > *apatihata-* L 1345<sup>17</sup>, etc

- (vii) Change
- br-*
- >
- b-*

Udaya Sk. *brāhmaṇa-* > *-bamhana-* L 1345<sup>9</sup>

- (viii) Change
- bhr-*
- >
- bh-*

Piprā Sk. *bhrātṛ-* > *bhati-* L 931

Udaya cf *bhāti-* L 1345<sup>14</sup>

- (b) Clusters with sibilant +
- r*

- (i) Change
- śr-*
- >
- ś-*
- or
- s-*

Jogī Sk. *śréyān-* > *śeye* L 921<sup>1</sup>

BLOCH, however, derives it from Sk. *śaya-* The palatal *ś* is preserved only in this inscription

Udaya Sk. *śramana-* > *samana-* L 1345<sup>15</sup>

- (ii) Change
- śr-*
- >
- sir-*

Udaya. Sk. *śrī-* > *siri-* L 1345<sup>1</sup>

- (iii) Change
- sr-*
- >
- s-*

Udaya Sk. *sahasra-* > *sahasa-* L 1345<sup>1</sup> etc

- (c) Cluster with aspirate
- h*
- +
- r*

Udaya Sk. *hradā-* > *\*hada-* > *-daha-* L 1345<sup>12</sup>

### § 341 Consonant clusters with the semi-vowel *v*

- (a) Clusters with stop +
- v*

- (i) Change
- tv-*
- >
- t-*

Udaya. Sk. *catvara-* > *-catara-* L 1345<sup>13</sup>, <sup>16</sup>

- (ii) Change
- dv-*
- >
- duv-*

Sohga. Sk. *dvé* > *duve* L 937<sup>2</sup>

- (iii) Change
- dv-*
- >
- b-*
- in numerals.

Udaya Sk. *dvādaśā-* > *bārasa-* L 1345<sup>11</sup>

- (iv) Change
- dhv-*
- >
- dh-*

Udaya Sk. *dhvajā-* > *-dhaja-* L 1345<sup>7</sup>

- (b) Clusters with semivowel
- r*
- +
- v*

Sohga Sk. *sārva-* > *sava-* L 937<sup>1</sup>

Udaya Sk. *pūrva-* > *-puva-* L 1345<sup>5</sup>, <sup>11</sup>,  
also cf *sava-* L 1345<sup>1</sup> etc.

- (c) Clusters with sibilant +
- v*

- (i) Change
- śv-*
- >
- s-*

Udaya Sk. *hastyasva-* > *hathisa-* (?) L 1345<sup>12</sup>.

(ii) Change *sv* > *s-* .

Piprā . Sk. *svakīya-* > *sakīya-* L 931 BARTH, however, derives it from Sk. *śākya-* cf IA 26 177 ff 1907

Udaya . Sk. *svāpateya-* > *sāpateya-* L 1345<sup>c</sup>

§ 342 Consonant clusters with sibilants .

(a) The cluster *kṣ* always becomes *kh* in all positions It is not palatalised to *ch* in any instance.

Jogī . Sk. *rūpadakṣa-* > *luṣadakh-* L 921<sup>5</sup>

Bodh . Sk. *ṛakṣita-* > *-rakḥita-* L 946

Udaya . Sk. *lakṣana-* > *-lakḥana-* L 1345<sup>1</sup>

Sk. *kalpavṛkṣa-* > *kaṣarukha-* L 1345<sup>5</sup> etc.

Sāran. . Sk. *bhikṣunikā-* > *bhikḥunikā-* L 921 a

Pātnā . Sk. *Yakṣa-* > *Yakha-* L 957 L 958

(b) The cluster *-t-s-* > *-s-* .

Udaya . Sk. *ut-savā-* > *usava-* L 1345<sup>5</sup>

(c) The cluster *-ṛś-* > *-ms-* or *-s-*

Udaya . Sk. *akṣadarśa-* > *akhadamśa-* L 1351<sup>1</sup>

Sk. *saṃ√darś-* > *saṃ√damśa-* L 1345<sup>5</sup>

Sk. *sandarśana-* > *saṃdasana-* L 1345<sup>7</sup>

(d) The cluster *-ṛṣ-* > *-s-*

Udaya . Sk. *varṣā-* > *-vasa-* L 1345<sup>2</sup> etc.

§ 343 Consonant clusters with the aspirate

(i) Change *-ṛh-* > *-rah-*

Udaya . Sk. *Arhat-* > *Arahata-* L 1345<sup>9,14,15</sup>, L 1346

(ii) Change *-ṛh-* > *-rth-*

Udaya . Sk. *Arhat-* > *Ar(ṛ)hamta-* L 1345<sup>1</sup>

§ 344 Consonant clusters with Nasals As elsewhere, only important treatments have been exemplified below

(a) Clusters with the nasal *ñ* .

1 Clusters *ññ-* is only assimilated to *ñ*

Udaya . Sk. *ññāli-* > *-ñāli-* L 1345<sup>14</sup>

2 The cluster *ñc*, besides being represented as *mc* or *c*, also becomes *n* and *nd*

(i) Change *-ñc-* > *-ñic-* or *-c-*

Sohga . Sk. *Cañcu-* > *Cacu-* L 937<sup>2</sup>

Udaya . Sk. *pañcamā-* > *pañcama-* L 1345<sup>5</sup>

(ii) Change *-ñc-* > *-n-* occurs only in a numeral

Udaya . Sk. *pañcatrīmśat* > *paṇa-fisa* L 1345<sup>4</sup>

(iii) Change *-ñc-* > *-nd-* also occurs in a numeral

Udaya . Sk. *pañcadaśā* > *paṇdarasa* L 1345<sup>2</sup>

(b) Clusters with the nasal *n*

1 The cluster *nn* becomes *n* and sometimes with the loss of cerebralisation *n* :

(i) Change *-nn-* > *-n-* .

Udaya . Sk. *sampūrna-* > *sampuna-* L 1345<sup>2</sup>

Sk. *śālakarṇi-* > *Sēlakarṇi-* L 1345<sup>4</sup>

(ii) Change *-nn-* > *-n-* It is worthwhile to note that this change has occurred in an earlier inscription.

Bodh. . Sk. *Tāmracarā-* > *Tabarā-* L 946

(c) The clusters with the nasal *n* are dissolved by the addition of a vowel

(i) Change *-tn-* > *-tan-*

Udaya Sk *rātna-* > *-ratana-* L 1345<sup>8</sup>, 10, 13

(ii) Change *-p-n-* > *-pun-*

Udaya Sk. *pra√āp-mu-* > *pāpuna-* L 1345<sup>3</sup>

(iii) Change *-ny-* > *-my-* The cluster is neither palatalised nor cerebralised

Mahāsth. Sk *dhānyā-* > *dhāmya-* EI 21 85<sup>4</sup>

(d) Clusters with the nasal *m*

(i) Change *-tm-* > *-t-*

Udaya Sk *ātmān-* > *-āta-* L 1346<sup>6</sup>

(ii) Change *-hm-* > *-mh-*

Udaya. Sk *brāhmanā-* > *-bamhana-* L 1345<sup>9</sup>

(iii) Change *-mr-* > *-b-*

Bodh. Sk. *Tāmraparna-* > *Tabapana-* L 946

## MORPHOLOGY

### A. DECLENSION

§ 345 Bases ending in *-a-* and *-ā*

(a) Masculine and Neuter nouns in *-a*

Nom sg Mas.

Nom pl Mas

(i) *-o* This termination is used in

(i) *-ā*

the inscriptions of Udaya and Sāran

Udaya

*Koṭhā* and *ajeyā* (?)

Udaya

*narito* L 1345<sup>8</sup>,

L 1349

*pāsāto* L 1353 etc

Sāran

*tha[m]bho* L 921<sup>c</sup>

(ii) *-e* This termination is used in inscriptions of Mahāsth., Jogi and Pātāna

Mahāsth *mahāmāte* EI 21 85<sup>1-2</sup>

Jogi *lupadakhe* L 921<sup>5</sup>, *devadine* L 921<sup>5</sup>

Pātāna *yakhe* L 957, L 958

Acc sg Mas *-am*

Acc pl Mas *-e*

Udaya

*-jānapadam* L 1345<sup>7</sup>

Udaya

*-bhūngāre* L 1345<sup>6</sup>,

*-pāsādam* L 1345<sup>10</sup>

*-pāde* L 1345<sup>6,2</sup>

etc.

*-thambhe* L 1345<sup>16</sup>

Nom sg Neut.

Nom pl Neut *-m*

(i) *-e* This termination is almost coextensive with the other termination

Sohga

*koṭhagalan* L 937<sup>2</sup>

*-am*

Udaya

*len[ā]m* L 1344

Sohga.

*sasane* L 937<sup>1</sup>

Piprā.

*ndhane* L 931

Mahāsth.

*dine* EI 21 85<sup>3</sup>

(ii) *-am*

Bodh.

*dānam* L 939

Mahāsth.

*kosam* EI 21 85<sup>6</sup>

Udaya

*yovarajam* L 1345<sup>2</sup>

Sāran.

*auo[m]banam* L 921 a.

Acc sg Neut -am .		Acc pl Neut -m .	
Sītā	<i>hadayam</i> L 920 <sup>1</sup>	Udaya	<i>gopurām</i> L 1345 <sup>11</sup>
Udaya	<i>nayaram</i> L 1345 <sup>4</sup> etc		<i>śharāni</i> L 1345 <sup>13</sup> etc.
Inst. sg -(e)na		Inst. pl -hi	
Udaya	<i>mahārājena</i> L 1345 <sup>1</sup>	Udaya	<i>śahasēhi</i> L 1345 <sup>4</sup> , <sup>6</sup> etc.
	<i>Arena</i> L 1345 <sup>1</sup> , etc		<i>-bhatakehi</i> L 1345 <sup>14</sup>
	etc.		etc.
Dat sg (i) -ya .			
	Sohga		<i>atīyāyikaya</i> L 937 <sup>4</sup> , <i>gahitavaya</i> L 937 <sup>4</sup>
(ii) -a (= -ā)			
	Sohga		<i>vala</i> (= <i>vālā</i> < <i>vārāya</i> - (?) ) L 937 <sup>3</sup>
Abl sg (i) -ā			
	Bodh		<i>-pāsādā</i> L 943, <i>cetikā</i> L 943
(ii) -to .			
	Udaya		(-Magadhato) L 1345 <sup>12</sup>
Gen sg. -sa		Gen. pl (i) -nam	
Piprā	<i>Budhasa</i> - L 931.	Piprā	<i>sakīyanam</i> L 931
Bodh	<i>putasa</i> - L 944 ,		<i>śaputadalanam</i> L 931
	<i>Mitrassa</i> L 943 etc	Udaya	<i>Māgadhānam</i>
Udaya	<i>arassa</i> L 1347		L 1345 <sup>12</sup> ,
			<i>śidhānam</i> L 1345 <sup>1</sup>
		(ii) -na .	
		Sohga	<i>-mahamagana</i> L 937 <sup>1</sup> ,
			<i>bhalakana</i> L 937 <sup>3</sup> .
Loc sg (i) -e			
	Sohga		<i>-tike</i> L 937 <sup>1</sup> , <i>Usagāme</i> L 937 <sup>2</sup>
	Sītā		<i>dule</i> L 920 <sup>2</sup> (From <i>dula</i> - , cf Sk. <i>dolā</i> -)
	Udaya		<i>yuge</i> L 1345 <sup>3</sup> ; <i>-pavate</i> L 1345 <sup>14</sup>
(ii) -i			
	Udaya		<i>-nagari</i> (?) L 1345 <sup>3</sup>
(iii) -si	This occurs in an early inscription		
	Mahāsth		<i>atīyāyikesi</i> EI 21 85 <sup>4-5</sup> , <sup>5</sup>
(b) Feminine nouns ending in -ā			
Nom sg -ā .		Nom. pl -ā .	
Jogī	<i>Sulanuka</i> L 921 <sup>1</sup> , <sup>3</sup>	Udaya	<i>kīdikā</i> L 1345 <sup>2</sup>
Udaya	<i>. koṭhā</i> (?) L 1349,		<i>Īditā</i> L 1345 <sup>2</sup> .
	L 1350		
Acc. sg -am :		Acc. pl -m	<i>śataghaṭām</i> (?)
Udaya	<i>. Ma(dhu)ram</i> L 1345 <sup>2</sup>	Udaya.	L 1345 <sup>2</sup> (perhaps
			the neuter form of
			<i>ghaṭam</i> is used)
Inst. sg (i) -ya :		Inst. pl -hi .	
Udaya.	<i>senāya</i> L 1345 <sup>4</sup>	Udaya.	<i>. śilāhi</i> L 1345 <sup>12</sup> etc
(ii) -ye .			
	Sāran		<i>. Śilāye</i> L 921 c (This may be genitive)

Dat sg -ya	
Udaya	- <i>nsīdiyāya</i> L 1345 <sup>14</sup>
Gen. sg (1) -ye	
Bodh.	<i>ayāye</i> L 939 , <i>Jvāpūlaye</i> L 943
Sāran.	<i>Samvahūkāye</i> L 921 a <i>bhikkhumkāye</i> L 921 a
(11) -ya	The termination -ye noticed above does not occur at Udaya
Udaya	<i>khīn(ā)ya</i> L 1350 <sup>1</sup> ; <i>Bānyaya</i> L 1352
Loc sg -ya	
Udaya	<i>Gangāya</i> L 1345 <sup>12</sup>

## § 346 Bases ending in -i and -ī

## (a) Mas nouns in -i

Nom sg -ī	Nom pl -o
Udaya	Sītā <i>kavayo</i> L 920 <sup>1</sup>
	<i>-vāsukī</i> L 1345 <sup>8</sup>
	<i>Khāraṇela-sīrī</i>
	L 1345 <sup>7</sup>
Acc sg -ī	Acc pl -yo
Udaya.	Sātakaṃm L 1345 <sup>4</sup> ,
	<i>Goradhagiriṃ</i> L 1345 <sup>7</sup>
Inst sg -nā	Inst pl -hi
Udaya	<i>-adhīpatinā</i> L 1345 <sup>1</sup> ,
	<i>-sīrinā</i> L 1345 <sup>14</sup>
Gen sg -no	Gen pl -nam
Udaya	<i>-patino</i> L 1347 ,
	<i>Bhūtino</i> L 1351 <sup>2</sup> ,
	Udaya <i>-(1)sinam</i> L 1345 <sup>15</sup> ,
	<i>(ya)tinam</i> L 1345 <sup>15</sup>

## (b) Feminine nouns in -i

	Acc pl -yo
	Udaya <i>-pādīyo</i> L 1345 <sup>3</sup>
Inst sg -nā	
Udaya	<i>-mitinā</i> L 1345 <sup>5</sup>

## (c) Feminine nouns in ī

Nom sg -ī	
Jogi	<i>devadaśikyī</i> L 921 <sup>2</sup> , <sup>3</sup>
Acc sg -ī	
Udaya	<i>. nagarīm</i> L 1345 <sup>5</sup> , <i>pañāḍim</i> L 1345 <sup>6</sup>
Inst sg -nā	Inst pl -hi
Udaya.	<i>-mahisī(n)ā</i> L 1346 <sup>3</sup>
Udaya.	<i>mahisīhi</i> L 1345 <sup>14</sup>
Gen. sg	There are not many examples , yet the termination -ye seems to be more frequent.

## (1) -ye

Bodh.	<i>kuramgiye</i> L 939 etc , <i>pañāvatiye</i> L 943
Sāran.	[Bha]rmye L 921 d

## (11) -ya

Udaya	<i>Arahata-nsīdiya</i> L 1345 <sup>13</sup>
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## (iii) -yā

Sītā

*vasantīyā* L 920<sup>2</sup>, the base is either the present participle *vasantī-* or the abstract noun *vāsantī-* BOYER, however, regards it as an instrumental form from the participial base.

## § 347 Bases in -u

Masculine nouns in -u

Acc pl -am

Udaya

*hathā(sa)-pasavam* L 1345<sup>13</sup>

Gen pl -na

Jogī

*baluna* (<Sk *ba(u-)*) L 921<sup>4</sup>, this is following BOYER'S view BLOCH reads *balana* and ventures to take it from Sk *bālā-*

## § 348 Bases in -ṛ

(a) Masculine nouns in -ṛ

Nom pl -o

Sītā

*-yantāro* L 920<sup>1</sup>

Inst. pl -hi

Udaya

*-bhātīhi* L 1345<sup>14</sup>.

Gen pl -nam

Piprā.

*-bhatnam* L 931

## § 349 Bases ending in consonants

(a) Masculine nouns ending in -al

Inst. sg -ā

Udaya

*satiravatā* L 1345<sup>2</sup>

Gen sg -e This termination appears in an earlier example

Piprā

*bhagavate* L 931

Gen sg -o

Udaya

*arahato* L 1345<sup>14</sup>

Gen pl -nam

Udaya

*ar(ṛ)hamtānam* L 1345<sup>1</sup> etc

(b) Masculine nouns ending in -an

Nom sg -ā

Udaya

*-rājā* L 1345<sup>13, 16, 17</sup>

Acc pl -no

Udaya

*-rājāno* L 1345<sup>11</sup>.

Abl sg -ā

Udaya

*-rājā* L 1345<sup>6</sup>

Gen sg (i) -sa This has perhaps

Gen pl -nam :

more frequency

Udaya

: *rājānam* L 1345<sup>12</sup> etc.

Udaya *Kammasa* L 1349,  
L 1350

(ii) -no

Udaya *rājāno* L 1346<sup>1</sup>

(c) Masculine nouns ending in -as :

Nom sg -e Jogī *śeṣe* L 921<sup>4</sup>.

BOYER compares this word with Pāli *seyyo* and Sk. *śreyān*. BLOCH accepts this parallelism, but also suggests to take it from *śaya-* and regard the form as acc sg neut.

(d) Masculine nouns ending in *-m*

		Acc pl <i>-ī</i>	
		Udaya	<i>-hathī</i> L 1345 <sup>13</sup>
Gen. sg <i>-no</i>		Gen. pl <i>-nam</i>	
Udaya	<i>ca(kavatino)</i> L 1346 <sup>2</sup>	Udaya	<i>-ghara-vāsinam</i> L 1345 <sup>8, 9</sup>

(e) The feminine base *dis-*

Acc sg <i>-m</i>			
	Udaya.	<i>-disam</i>	L 1345 <sup>4</sup>
Gen pl <i>-nam</i>			
	Udaya.	<i>-disānam</i>	L 1345 <sup>15</sup>

#### PRONOUNS

##### § 350 Demonstrative Pronouns

(a) The pronominal base *idam*

Nom sg Neut			
	Piprā	<i>īyam</i>	L 931

(b) The pronominal base *etad*

Nom sg Mas			
	Mahāsth	<i>esa</i>	EI 21 85 <sup>6</sup>
Acc. sg Mas			
	Mahāsth.	<i>etam</i>	EI 21 85 <sup>2</sup>
Nom pl Neut.			
	Sohga	<i>ete</i>	L 937 <sup>2</sup>
Gen. pl Mas			
	Udaya	<i>(e)tinam</i>	L 1345 <sup>8</sup>

##### § 351 Relative Pronoun.

(a) The pronominal base *yad-*

Nom. pl. Mas			
	Sitā	<i>e</i> (< <i>ye</i> )	L 920 <sup>1</sup>

##### § 352 Personal Pronouns

(a) The base *tad*

Nom sg Mas			
	Udaya	<i>sa</i>	L 1345 <sup>16</sup> , ( <i>so</i> ) L 1345 <sup>2</sup>
Acc. sg Fem			
	Jogi	<i>tam</i>	L 921 <sup>4</sup>

#### NUMERALS

##### § 353 Cardinals

(i) two			
	Sohga	<i>duve</i>	L 937 <sup>2</sup>
(ii) thirteen			
	Udaya	<i>terasa</i>	L 1345 <sup>11</sup>
(iii) fifteen			
	Udaya	<i>pandarasa</i>	L 1345 <sup>3</sup>

- (iv) seventeen .  
Udaya *satadasa* L 1345<sup>14</sup>.
- (v) thirty-five  
Udaya *panatīśā-* (Fem base) L 1345<sup>4, 15</sup>
- (vi) thirty-eight .  
Udaya *aṭhātīśā-* L 1345<sup>10</sup>
- (vii) seventy-five  
Udaya . *panatariya* L 1345<sup>10</sup>
- (viii) hundred thousand  
Udaya . *sata-sahasā-* passim

§ 354 Ordinals All the instances have been collected from the Udaya inscriptions

- (i) first *padhama-* L 1345<sup>3</sup>  
 (ii) second *duṭṭiya-* L 1345<sup>4</sup>  
 (iii) third *tatiya-* L 1345<sup>2, 4</sup>  
 (iv) fourth *cavutha-* L 1345<sup>5</sup>  
 (v) fifth *pañcama-* L 1345<sup>6</sup>  
 (vi) seventh *satama-* L 1345<sup>7</sup>  
 (vii) eighth *aṭhama-* L 1345<sup>7</sup>  
 (viii) ninth *navama-* L 1345<sup>9</sup>  
 (ix) tenth *dasama-* L 1345<sup>10</sup>  
 (x) eleventh (*ekā*)*dasama-* L 1345<sup>11</sup>  
 (xi) thirteenth . *terasama-* L 1345<sup>14</sup>

## CONJUGATION

§ 355 Present Indicative Active.

Third pers sg (1) -ti .	Third pers pl (1) -amti
Udaya <i>viśajati</i> L 1345 <sup>7</sup> , <i>dadāti</i> L 1345 <sup>8, 9</sup> ; <i>bhūdati</i> L 1345 <sup>11</sup> etc.	Siṭā <i>adīpayamti</i> L 920 <sup>1</sup> Udaya <i>pañharamti</i> L 1345 <sup>13</sup> .
(ii) -ays-ti	(ii) -aya-mti
Udaya <i>raṃjayati</i> L 1345 <sup>4</sup> , <i>mvesayati</i> L 1345 <sup>12</sup> etc.	Udaya <i>p(c)sayam[ti]</i> L 1345 <sup>12</sup>
(iii) -c-ti :	Third pers pl causal -aya-mti .
Udaya <i>vitās[c]ti</i> L 1345 <sup>4</sup> , ( <i>āneti</i> ) L 1345 <sup>12</sup>	Udaya <i>u(p)anāmayamti</i> L 1345 <sup>12</sup> .

Third sg Causal :

- (i) -aya-ti :  
Udaya . *kārayati* L 1345<sup>4, 10, 15</sup> , *paṭcayati* 1345<sup>6</sup> etc.
- (ii) -c-ti :  
Udaya *īśi-k[ā]rcti* L 1345<sup>14</sup>
- (iii) -āpaya-ti :  
Udaya . *bāndhāpayaṭi* L 1345<sup>7</sup> ; *īśi-dāpayaṭi* L 1345<sup>4, 12</sup> etc.



Thrd pers sg causal passive

(i) *-ya-ti*

Sohga *kayyiyati* L 937<sup>4</sup>

§ 356 Aorist.

Thrd pers sg. *-(y)tha*

Jogi *kamayitha* L 921<sup>1</sup> According to BLOCH it could also

be regarded as a desiderative of *karman-*

§ 357 Future.

(a) Thrd pers sg causal *-payi-sa-ti*

Mahāsth *nivahapayisati* EI 21 85<sup>3</sup>

(b) Thrd pers sg passive *-sati*

Mahāsth. *nivahisati* EI 21 85<sup>4</sup>

#### PARTICIPLES

§ 358 Present participles Active *-amta*

Sītā *vasanti-* (feminine) L 920<sup>2</sup>

Udaya. *anubhavamta-* L 1345<sup>16</sup>, *sunamta-* L 1345<sup>16</sup>,

*pasamta-* L 1345<sup>16</sup>, *janeta-* L 1345<sup>12</sup>

§ 359 Past Passive Participles (i) *-ta*

Sītā *phata-* (or *spata-*) < *spṛta-* L 920<sup>2</sup> (BOYER'S view) or *sphata-* < *sphāta-* (BLOCH'S view)

Udaya *abhisita-* L 1345<sup>3</sup>, <sup>6</sup>, *apayāta-* L 1345<sup>8</sup> etc etc.

(ii) *-i-ta*

Udaya *-tasita-* L 1345<sup>5</sup>, *kīṭita-* L 1345<sup>2</sup>, *kārāpita-* (causal) L 1345<sup>14</sup>

(iii) *-na*

Mahāsth *dina-* EI 21 85<sup>3</sup>

Jogi *devadina-* L 921<sup>5</sup>

Udaya *-vochimna-* L 1345<sup>16</sup>

§ 360 Potential Passive Participle *-tava*

Sohga. *gahitava-* L 937<sup>4</sup>

§ 361 Infinitives. *-tum*

Udaya *vipamunñcitum* L 1345<sup>8</sup>.

§ 362 Absolutives *-tā*

Udaya. *actayitā* L 1345<sup>4</sup>, *ghātāpayitā* L 1345<sup>8</sup>

## CHAPTER VI

### SYNOPTIC TABLES

§ 363 The entire material afforded by the Inscriptional Prakrits has thus been dealt with in the preceding chapter. It was intended there to divide the material into suitable geographical divisions according to their find spots and then study it in its time sequence. This chapter and the following one are now devoted to the preparation of the synoptic tables summarising the results of the investigations arrived at in the preceding chapters. The tables are so arranged as to give the reader an exact idea of the treatment of different phonemes and morphemes in their space-time context. The results of the studies in Aśokan inscriptions have been indicated here at the beginning of each article so that the correct perspective of a particular linguistic innovation may not be missed.

### PHONOLOGY

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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#### I VOWELS

##### § 364 Treatment of the vowel *ṛ*

*3 B.C.	a-	ṛ-, (a-)	a-, ṛ-	a-, i-	a-, ṛ-	a-, i-
(Aśokan)	(u-, a-, with a lab)	(u-, a- with a lab)		(u- with a lab)	(u- with a lab)	(u- with a lab)
	-a-	-a- (-u- with a lab)	(-i-)	-a-	-a-	-a-

Under stress accent.

-i-	-i-	-i-	-i-	-i-	-i-
-----	-----	-----	-----	-----	-----

In words of human relationship—

		-u-, (-i)	-i		-i	-i
3 B.C.			-u (human relation- ship)		-i (human relation- ship)	
2 B.C.	a- u-(usabṛa-)		a-	a- ṛ-(iṛ-) (-u-)	a- -a-	

\* The number in these tables refers to the century

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
Human relationship—						
	-i, -u		-u	-i, -u	-i, -u (also in a few other examples)	
1 B.C.	a- i- (iṣi-)			a- i- (mīga-, sīgāla-)		
	-u (human relationship and with a lab)					
1 A.D.	a- i- (iṣi-) u- (usabha) (ṛ-) in a loan word in Nas III)		(or 2 A.D.) a- (even with lab and in vasabha-)	a- u- (usabha-)		
Human relationship—						
2 A.D.	-u a- u- (usabha- utu-)		-u, (-i) a- (even with lab and in vasabha-) -i (iṣi, kīca-)			
	-u (human relationship)		-u (human relationship) a- (even with lab and in vasabha-) (ṛ-) -u (human relationship)			
3 A.D.						
4 A.D.					-i ? -u (human relationship)	
§365 Treatment of ai						
3 B.C. (Aṣ)	e	e		e (-i-)	e	
3 B.C.			e			
2 B.C.	e		e	e, (i ?)	e	
1 B.C.	e, (i ?)			e		
1 A.D.	e, (i)		e			
2 A.D.	e		e, (ai in loan words at Malav)			
3 A.D.			e			

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
§ 366 Treatment of <i>au</i>						
3 B C (Aś)	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
3 B C			<i>o</i>			
2 B C	<i>o</i>			<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	
1 B C	<i>o</i> , ( <i>u</i> ?)			<i>o</i> , ( <i>au</i> , once)		
1 A D	<i>o</i>		<i>o</i>			
2 A D	<i>o</i>		<i>o</i>			
3 A D			<i>o</i>			

§ 367 Treatment of *aya* (*ayi* and *avi*)

3 B C. (Aś)	<i>e</i> <i>aya</i>	<i>e</i> <i>aya</i>	<i>aya</i>	<i>aya</i>	<i>e</i> <i>aya</i>	<i>e</i> <i>aya</i>
3 B C			<i>e</i>			
2 B C	<i>e</i>			<i>e</i>	<i>e</i> <sub>2</sub> <i>aya</i>	
1 B C	<i>e</i>					
1 A D	<i>e</i>		<i>e</i>	<i>e</i> , ( <i>aya</i> )		
2 A D	<i>e</i>		<i>e</i>			
3 A D			<i>e</i>			

§ 368 Treatment of *ava* (and *apa*)

3 B C. (Aś)	<i>o</i> , ( <i>ava</i> )	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>
3 B C.			<i>o</i>			
2 B C.				<i>o</i>	<i>o</i>	
1 B C.	<i>o</i>			<i>o</i>		
1 B C-1 A D	( <i>ava</i> )					
1 A D	<i>o</i> <i>apa</i> > <i>o</i>					
2 A D	<i>apa</i> > <i>o</i>		<i>o</i>			
3 A D			<i>o</i>			

§ 369 Treatment of the vowel *a*

The vowel *a* is usually preserved in all positions. The following few peculiarities may be, however, noted

(1) Before a consonant cluster —

3 B C. (Aś.)	<i>ā</i> -, ( <i>a</i> -)	<i>a</i> - - <i>a</i> -	<i>a</i> - - <i>ā</i> -	<i>a</i> -, ( <i>ā</i> -)	<i>a</i> -, ( <i>ā</i> -) - <i>ā</i> -	<i>a</i> -, ( <i>ā</i> -) - <i>ā</i> -
3 B C.			- <i>a</i> -	- <i>a</i> -		- <i>a</i> -
2 B C.	<i>ā</i> -		- <i>ā</i> -	<i>ā</i> -	<i>ā</i> -	
1 B C	<i>ā</i> -			<i>ā</i> - - <i>ā</i> -		
1 B C-1 A D	<i>ā</i> -					
1 A D	<i>ā</i> -		- <i>ā</i> -			
2 A D	<i>ā</i> -		<i>ā</i> - - <i>ā</i> -			
3 A D	- <i>ā</i> -		<i>ā</i> -			
4 A D				<i>ā</i> -		

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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(ii) in the neighbourhood of *y*

3 B.C. (A.S.)	<i>e-</i> <i>-a-</i>	<i>e-</i> <i>-a-</i>	<i>-i-</i>	<i>a-</i> <i>-i-, (-a-)</i>	<i>e-</i> <i>-i-, (-a-)</i>	<i>a-</i> <i>-i-, (-a-)</i>
2 B.C.				<i>-i-</i>	<i>-i-</i>	
1 B.C.				<i>-i-</i>		
1 A.D.	<i>(-i- ? in the absence of y)</i>		<i>-i-</i>			
2 A.D.			<i>-i-</i>			

(iii) in the neighbourhood of *u*, or a labial

3 B.C. (A.S.)		<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>	<i>u-</i>
	<i>-u-</i> <i>-a-</i>	<i>-u-</i>			<i>-u-</i>	<i>-u-</i>

(due to preceding *o*)

1 B.C.	<i>-u-</i>	<i>-u-</i>		<i>u-</i>	<i>-a-</i>	<i>-a-</i>
1 or 2 A.D.			<i>o-</i>			
2 B.C.	<i>-u-</i>					

§ 370 Treatment of the vowel *ā*

The vowel *ā* is usually preserved in these inscriptions. But at times it is changed to the short vowel *a* under the circumstances noted below

(i) Before a consonant cluster- the change is more frequent from the 1st cent. A.D.

3 B.C. (A.S.)	<i>ā-</i> <i>(a-)</i> <i>-ā-</i>	<i>a-</i> <i>-a-</i> <i>(-ā-)</i>	<i>a-</i> <i>-a-</i> <i>(-ā-)</i>	<i>a-</i> <i>(ā-)</i> <i>-a-</i> <i>(-ā-)</i>	<i>a-</i> <i>-a-</i> <i>(-ā-)</i>
3 B.C.		<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>		
2 B.C.	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>a-, -a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	
1 B.C.	<i>a-, -a-</i>		<i>a-, -a-</i>		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	<i>a-</i>				
1 A.D.	<i>a-, -a-</i>	<i>a-</i>	<i>-a-</i>		
2 A.D.	<i>a-, -a-</i>	<i>a-, -a-</i>			
3 A.D.		<i>a-, -a-</i>			
4 A.D.			<i>a-</i>		

## (ii), Before gen sg term of fem. bases

3 B.C.			<i>-a</i>		
2 B.C.	<i>(-a)</i>		<i>-a</i>	<i>-a</i>	
1 B.C.			<i>(-a)</i>		
1 A.D.	<i>(-a)</i>	<i>(-a)</i>			
2 A.D.	<i>(-a)</i>	<i>(-a)</i>			

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
(iii) Some other case endings						
3 B.C.	-ā			-ā	-ā	-ā
(Aś)	(-a)				-a	-a
3 B.C.			(-a)			
1 B.C.				(-a)		

§ 371 Treatment of the vowel *i*.

The vowel *i* is mostly preserved in all positions. The following few peculiarities may be noted

## (i) Before a consonant cluster

3 B.C.	(e-?)	(e-?)		(e-?)	(e-?)	(e-?)
(Aś)				(i-)	(i-)	(i-)
	-i-	-i-	-i-	-i-	-i-	-i-
	(-i-)					(-i-)
3 B.C.			i-			
			-e-			
2 B.C.				i- (e-?)	i-, e-	
				-e-		
1 B.C.	i-, e-			(i-), e-		
	-e-			-e-		
1 A.D.	i-, e-		e-			
			-i-			
2 A.D.	i-, e-		i-			
			-i-, -e-			
3 A.D.			e-			
4 A.D.				e-		

(ii) In the neighbourhood of *v*-

3 B.C.				u-	u-	u-
(Aś)						
2 B.C.					u-	
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	u-					

(iii) Irregular change of *i* > *a*-

3 B.C.		-a-?				
2 B.C.				-a-		
1 B.C.	-a-?			-a-		
2 A.D.	-a-?					

§ 372 Treatment of the vowel *i*. The vowel, though usually preserved, undergoes a few changes in the following circumstances.

## (i) Before a consonant cluster-

3 B.C.	(i-)	(i-)	i-	i-	i-
(Aś)	(i-)	(i-)	(i-)	(i-)	(i-)
3 B.C.		-i-			
2 B.C.	i-		i-, -i-		
1 B.C.			i-		
1 A.D.	i-				
2 A.D.	i-	i-			
3 A.D.		i-			

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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## (ii) Before gen. sg term of fern bases

3 B.C. (Aś.)				-i, (-i)		-i
3 B.C.	-i		-i			
2 B.C.	-i		-i	-i	-i	
1 B.C.	-i			-i		
1 A.D.	-i		-i	-i		
2 A.D.	-i		-i			

## (iii) In the final syllable of the first member of a compound—

3 B.C.	-i-			-i-		
2 B.C.	-i-, -i-			-i-		
1 B.C.	-i-			-i-		
1 A.D.	-i-					
2 A.D.	-i-		(-i-)			

(iv) The change of  $\bar{i} > e$ 

3 B.C. (Aś.)	e-	e-		e-	e-	e-
1 B.C.				-e-		

§ 373 Treatment of the vowel  $u$ — The vowel is usually preserved everywhere except in a few circumstances that are noticed below

## (i) Before a consonant cluster—

3 B.C. (Aś.)	$u-$	$u-$	$u-$	$u-$ (-ū-)	$u-$ (-ū-, -u-)	$u-$ (-ū-, -u-)
3 B.C.			(ū-?)	ū-		
2 B.C.	ū-		ū-	ū-	ū-	
1 A.D.	ū-		(ū-?)			
2 A.D.	ū-					
3 A.D.			ū-			

(ii) Before a consonant cluster ( $u > au > o$ )

2 B.C.				$o-$ (also without a cluster);	$o-$	
1 B.C.				$o-$ (without a cluster);		
1 or 2 A.D.						
2 A.D.			$o-$			

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
(iii) The change of <i>u</i> > <i>i</i> —						
3 B.C. (Aś)	-u-	-u-	-i-	-i-	-i-	-i-
3 B.C.			-u-			-u-
1 A.D.	-i-				-i-	
2 A.D.	-i-		-i-			

(iv) The change of *u* > *a*—

3 B.C. (Aś)	a-	a-	a-		u-	a-
2 B.C.		u-				u-
1 B.C.				-a-		
1 A.D.	(-a-)			-a-		

§ 374 Treatment of the vowel *ū* The vowel is sometimes shortened under the following circumstances

## (i) Before a consonant cluster

3 B.C. (Aś.)	u-	u-		u- (ū-)	u- (ū-)	u-
2 B.C.	u-			u-	u-	
1 B.C.				u-		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	u-					
1 A.D.	u-		u-			
2 A.D.	u-		u-			
3 A.D.			u-			

## (ii) Before terminations.—

3 B.C.	u-
1 A.D.	u-

## (iii) In the final syllable of a compound —

1 A.D.	-u-
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(iv) The change of *ū* > *o* .—

2 B.C.	o-
1 A.D.	o-
2 A.D.	o-

§ 375 Treatment of the vowel *e* .

The vowel *e* is usually well preserved. It is changed to *i* in a very few instances

3 B.C. (Aś.)	e-	e-	e-	e-, (i-)	e-	e-
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Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
Before a consonant cluster or in samdhī						
3 B C			-i- (without a cluster)			
2 B.C.				-i-	-i-	
1 B.C.				-i- (also without a cluster)		

§ 376 Treatment of the vowel *o*

The vowel *o* becomes *u* in a very few cases

(1) Before a consonant cluster or in samdhī —

3 B C.	-u-				-u-	
(Aś.)						
2 B C.				-u-	-u-	
1 B C.				-u-		
1 or 2 A.D			-u-			

## II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

The consonants, except the sibilants, are usually well preserved The following tables show how some of the consonants undergo occasional changes at different times

§ 377 The guttural surd unaspirate *k*

3 B C.	-k-	-k-	-k-	-k-	-k-	-k-
(Aś.)				-g-	-g-	
					-y-	(-kh-)
3 B.C.	-k-		-g-			
			(kh-?)			
2 B.C.	-k-				-g-	
1 B C.	-y-					
1 A.D	-g-		-g-	-g-		
	-y-		-lost-			
	-lost-					
2 A.D	-g-		-g-			
	-y-		-y-			
3 A.D			-y-			

§ 378 The guttural surd aspirate *kh*

2 B.C.	-kh-		-kh-	-h-	-h-	
1 B C.	-gh-		-kh-	-gh-		
1 A.D	-gh-		-gh-			
2 A.D	-gh-		-gh-	-kkh- > -kk-		

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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§ 379 The guttural sonant unaspirate *g*

3 B C (Aś.)	-g- -y-	-g- -k- -y-		-g-	-g- -k- -y-	
2 B C	-y-			-g-	-k-	
1 B C	-y- -k-			-g-		
1 A.D	-k-		-k-	-g-		
2 A.D	-k-		-k-	-g-		
3 A D			-k-	-g-		

§ 380 The guttural sonant aspirate *gh* .

3 B C. (Aś)	-h-			-h-	-h-	
3 B C			-h- ?	-h-		
2 B C.					-kh-	

§ 381 The palatal surd unaspirate *c* :

3 B C. (Aś)	-c-	-c-		-c-	-c-	
1 A.D	-j-		-j- -y-	-y-	-y-	
2 A.D			-j- y-			
3 A.D			y-, -y-			
4 A.D				y-		

§ 382 The palatal sonant unaspirate *ɟ*

3 B C. (Aś)	-ɟ- -c-	-j- -y-	-ɟ-	-ɟ-	-ɟ- -c-	
3 B C.			(c- ?)			
2 B C.	-y- -lost-					
1 B C	-y- -lost-			-ɟ-		
1 A D	-y- -lost-		-y-, -c- -lost-	-ɟ-		
2 A.D	-ɟ- -lost-		-y-			
3 A.D			-ɟ-			
4 A.D				-ɟ-		

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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§ 383 The cerebral surd unaspirate *t*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-t-	-t-		-d-	-t-	-t- -d-
3 B.C.			(-l-?)		(-l-?)	
2 B.C.	-ḍ-		-ḍ-	-ḍ-		
1 B.C.	-d-			-d-		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-d-					
1 A.D.	-ḍ-		-ḍ-			
2 A.D.	-ḍ-		-d-			
3 A.D.			-d-			
4 A.D.				-ḍ-		

§ 384 The cerebral surd aspirate *ṭh*

3 B.C. (Aś.)				-ṭ-	-ṭ-	-ṭ-
2 B.C.				-ṭh-, -tḥ-		
2 A.D.	-ṭh-		-ṭh-			
	-dh-		-ḍh-			
	-th-		-th-			
			(-dh-)			
3 A.D.			-ṭh-			
			-dh-			

§ 385 The cerebral sonant unaspirate *ḍ*

3 B.C. (Aś.)				d-	d-	d-
				(l-)	-ḍ-	-ḍ-
				d-	-l-	-l-
2 B.C.						
1 B.C.	-d-					
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-d-					
	-n-					
1 A.D.	-l-					
2 A.D.	-ṭ-		-l-, -l-			
	-l-, -l-					
3 A.D.			-l-			

§ 386 The cerebral sonant aspirate *dh*

2 B.C.	-l-			-d-, (-dr-)		
1 B.C.	-l-, -lh-			-ḍ-		

§ 387 The nasal cerebral *n*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-	-n-
			-n- (Madras)			
3 B.C.			-n-	-n-, -n-		
2 B.C.	-n-		-n-, -n-	-n-	-n-, -n-	
1 B.C.	-n-			-n-, (-n-)		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-n-					
1 A.D.	-n-		-n-, (-n-)	-n-, (-n-)		
2 A.D.	-n-, -n-		-n-, -n-			
3 A.D.			-n-, -n-			
4 A.D.				-n-		

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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§ 388 The dental surd unaspirate *t*

3 B C (AŚ)	<i>t-</i> <i>-t-</i>	<i>t-</i> <i>-t-</i> <i>-d-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>t-</i> <i>-t-</i>	<i>t-, (d-)</i> <i>-t-</i> <i>-d-</i>
				dropped and <i>v</i> inserted in numeral	dropped and <i>v</i> developed in numeral	
3 B C			<i>-d-</i>			
2 B C	<i>-d-</i>			<i>-y-</i>	<i>-d-, (-tr &gt; -d-)</i> <i>-v-</i> in numerals	
1 B C	<i>-d-</i> <i>-y-</i>			<i>-d-</i>		
1 A.D	<i>-d-</i> <i>-r-</i> (in numeral) (-lost- ?)		<i>-d-</i>			
2 A.D	<i>-lost-</i>		<i>-d-</i>			
3 A D			<i>-d-</i>			
4 A D				<i>-dropped in numeral-</i>		

§ 389 The dental surd aspirate *th*

2 B C			<i>-dh-</i>		<i>-dh-</i>	
1 B C				<i>-dh-</i>		
1 A D			<i>-dh-</i>			
2 A.D			<i>-dh-</i>			
3 A D			<i>-t-</i> (in mistake)			
4 A.D				<i>-dh-</i>		

§ 390 The dental sonant unaspirate *d*

3 B.C. (AŚ.)	<i>d-</i> ( <i>l-</i> ) <i>-d-</i> <i>-dropped-</i>	<i>d-</i> <i>-d-</i>	<i>-d-</i>	<i>-d-</i>	<i>d-</i> ( <i>l-</i> ) <i>-d-</i> <i>-t-</i>	<i>d-</i> ( <i>l-</i> ) <i>-d-</i>
2 B.C.	<i>-y-</i>		<i>-t-</i>		( <i>dh-</i> ) <i>-r-</i> (in numerals)	
1 B.C.	<i>-y-</i> <i>-r-</i> (in numerals)			<i>-y-</i>		
1 B.C.-1 A.D	<i>-y-</i> <i>-r-</i> (in numerals) <i>-lost-</i>					

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
1 A.D.	-y- (-r- in numerals) -lost- (dh-) (-t- ?) -r- (numerals) -y-		or 2 A.D. d-, (dh-) -t-, -y-	-j-		
2 A.D.			(dh-)			
3 A.D.			-t-			
4 A.D.				-t-		

§ 391 The dental sonant aspirate *dh*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-dh- (-d-)	-dh-	-dh-	-dh-	-dh- -h-	-dh- -h-
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[-d- in the doubtful case of *huda-* in all versions]

2 B.C.				(-d- ?)
1 B.C.				(-t- ) <sup>1</sup>
1 A.D.			(-d- in mistake)	

§ 392 The labial surd unaspirate *p*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	p- +p-	p- -p-	p- -p-	p- (k-) -p-	p- (k-, ph-) -p- -v-	p- (k-) -p- -b-
3 B.C.			-p-			
2 B.C.	-v-				-v-	
1 B.C.	-v-					
1 A.D.	-v-		-v-			
2 A.D.	-v-		-v-			
3 A.D.			-v-			

§ 393 The labial sonant unaspirate *b*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	b-	b- (p- ?)	b-	b-	b-	b-
2 B.C.					-mb- > -mp-	
1 B.C.				bh- -p-		
2 A.D.			-v-			

§ 394 The labial sonant aspirate *bh*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	bh- h- -bh-	bh- h- -bh-	bh- h-	bh- h-	bh- h- -bh-	bh- h- -bh-, (-b- in N East) -h-
2 B.C.	-h- -b- -v-	-h-	-h-	-h- -h- -b-	-h-	
1 A.D.	-v-					
2 A.D.	-b-		b-, h-			

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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§ 395 The labial nasal *m*

3 B.C. (Aś)	-m-	-m-	-m-	-m- (-ph-)	-m- (-ph-)	-m- (-ph-)
1 A.D.	-v-					

§ 396 The Semi-vowel *y*

3 B.C. (Aś)	y- [(y)a]- -y-	y- [(y)a]- -y- -j- -lost- -lost and v developed	y- -y-	y- [(y)a]- -y-	y- [(y)a]- -y- -j-	-y- [(y)σ]- y- -j-
2 B.C.					v developed y- elided	
1 B.C.				(-p- ?)		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-lost-					
1 A.D.	-j- -v- -lost- (-c- ?)		-v- -lost-	-lost-		
2 A.D.	-v- -lost-		j- -j- -lost-			
3 A.D.			j-			
4 A.D.				j-		

§ 397 The semi-vowel *r*.

3 B.C. (Aś)	r- -r-	r- -r-	l- -r- -l-	l- -l- (-r-)	l- -l-	l- -l-
3 B.C.			(-l- ?) (-l- ?)		-l-	
2 B.C.					r-, -r- l-	
1 A.D.	(-lost- ?)		(-l- ?)			
2 A.D.			-l- (only in <i>chilāta</i> -)			
4 A.D.				-r- (only once -l-)		

§ 398 The Semivowel *l* :

3 B.C. (Aś)	-l- (-ç-)	-l- (-ç-)	-l- (-ç-)	-l- (-ç-)	-l- (-ç-)	-l- (-ç-)
2 B.C.					-ç-	

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East	North
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§ 399 The Semivowel *v*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>v-</i> (-lost-)	<i>v-</i>	<i>v-</i>	<i>v-</i> ( <i>p-</i> )	<i>v-</i>	<i>v-</i>
3 B.C.	( <i>b-?</i> )		( <i>p-?</i> )			
2 B.C.				- <i>b-</i> - <i>m-</i> - <i>p-</i>	(- <i>p-?</i> )	
1 B.C.	- <i>y-</i>					
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	( <i>p-?</i> )					
1 A.D.	- <i>y-</i> -lost-		- <i>p-</i> (- <i>m-?</i> )			
2 A.D.	-lost-					
3 A.D.			- <i>p-</i>			
4 A.D.				-lost-		

## § 400 Sibilants

(i) The sibilant *ś*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>s-, -s-</i>	<i>ś-, -ś-</i>	<i>s-, -s-</i> ( <i>c-</i> )	<i>s-, -s-</i> ( <i>c-</i> )	<i>s-, -s-</i> ( <i>c-</i> )	<i>s-, -s-</i> <i>ś</i> & <i>ṣ</i> graphical
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(ii) The sibilant *ṣ*

<i>s-, -s-</i>	<i>ṣ-, -ṣ-</i>	<i>s-, -s-</i> (- <i>ṣ-</i> )	<i>s-, -s-</i> (- <i>ṣ-</i> )	<i>s-, -s-</i> (- <i>ṣ-</i> )	<i>s-, -s-</i> (cf note above).
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(iii) The sibilant *s*

<i>s-, -s-</i>	<i>s-, -s-</i>	<i>s-, -s-</i>	<i>s-, -s-</i>	<i>s-, -s-</i>	<i>s-, -s-</i> (cf note above).
in the subsequent inscriptions only dental <i>s</i> appears. However, <i>ś</i> & <i>ṣ</i> appear in a few inscriptions.		In Bhatt. <i>ś, ṣ</i> & <i>s</i> are confused. A few others give - <i>ṣ-</i> ( <i>ś, -ś-</i> ) 1&2 cent.A.D <i>s- &gt; h-</i>	In all ins. the 3 sibil. <i>ś</i> & <i>ṣ</i> appear sporadically	Except Jogi (2 B.C. which has <i>ś</i> , all others give only <i>s</i>	

§ 401 The aspirate *h*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>h-</i>	<i>h-</i> (once lost?)	<i>h-</i>	<i>h-</i>	<i>h-</i>	<i>h-</i>
	- <i>h-</i>	- <i>h-</i> (-lost-)	- <i>h-</i>	- <i>h-</i>	- <i>h-</i>	- <i>h-</i>

Period	West	N West	South	Central	East.	North
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In all subsequent inscriptions and at all places *h* is preserved

1 A.D.            -lost- *-kh-*  
                      (assimilation)

#### § 402 Palatalisation :

##### (i) Palatalisation of guttural *k*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-k-	-k-	-k-	-k-	-k-
2 B.C.				-ky-	-ky-
2 A.D.			c-	c-	-ky-

##### (ii) Palatalisation in the cluster *kṣ*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>ch-</i>	<i>ch-</i> ( <i>kh-</i> )	<i>kh-</i>	<i>kh-</i>	<i>kh-</i>	<i>kh-</i> ( <i>ch-</i> )
	( <i>-kh-</i> )	( <i>-kh-</i> )		- <i>kh-</i>	- <i>kh-</i>	- <i>kh-</i>
3 B.C.			- <i>kh-</i>	- <i>kh-</i>		
2 B.C.	<i>kh-</i>		- <i>kh-</i>	- <i>kh-</i>	- <i>kh-</i>	
	- <i>kh-</i>			c-, <i>ch-</i> , - <i>ch-</i> , (- <i>jh-</i> ?)		
1 B.C.	- <i>kh-</i>			- <i>kh-</i>		
	( <i>ch-</i> , - <i>ch-</i> )			c-, <i>ch-</i> ,		
1 A.D.	<i>kh-</i> , - <i>kh-</i>		- <i>kh-</i>	- <i>kh-</i>	- <i>kh-</i>	
	( <i>ch-</i> , - <i>ch-</i> )		c-			
2 A.D.	<i>kh-</i> , - <i>kh-</i>		- <i>kh-</i>			
	<i>ch-</i>		c-, <i>ch-</i> , -cc-, (-kk-)			
3 A.D.			<i>kh-</i> , - <i>kh-</i>			
			<i>ch-</i> , - <i>cch-</i>			
4 A.D.				<i>kh-</i> , - <i>ṭh-</i>		

##### (iii) Palatalisation of *khy*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	- <i>ch-</i>	- <i>kh-</i>			- <i>ṭh-</i>
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##### (iv) Palatalisation of *g*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ḡ-	-ḡ-	-ḡ-	-ḡ-	-ḡ-	-ḡ-
					-ḡṣ-	

##### (v) Palatalisation of *t* :

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>t-</i>	<i>t-</i>			c-	c-
2S		c-				



Period	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
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(vi) Palatalisation of *ty*

3 B.C. (Aś)	-c-		-c-	-c-		
2 B.C.				c-, -c-, -j-		
1 B.C.	-c-					
1 A.D.	-c-		-c-	-c-		
2 A.D.	-c-		-c-			
3 A.D.			-c-			
4 A.D.				-cc-		

(vii) Palatalisation of *ts* (and *tsy*)

3 B.C. (Aś)	-ch- (-s-)		-ch-	-ch-	(-s-) ch-	
3 B.C.			-ch-	-ch-		
2 B.C.	-ch-			-ch-		
1 B.C.	-ch-			-ch-		
1 A.D.	-ch-			-ch-		
2 A.D.	-ch-		-ch-, (-cc-)			
3 A.D.			-ch-			
4 A.D.				-cch-		

(viii) Palatalisation of *dy*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-j-				-j-	
2 B.C.	-j-			-j- also -d- > -j-	-j-	
1 B.C.	-j-			-j-		
1 A.D.	-j-					
2 A.D.			-d- > -j-			
4 A.D.				-jj-		

(ix) Palatalisation of *dhy*

3 B.C. (Aś)	-jh-			-jh-	-jh-	
2 B.C.				-jh-		
1 B.C.				-jh-		
1 A.D.	-jh-					
2 A.D.			-jh-			
3 A.D.			-jh-			

(x) Palatalisation of *ny*

3 B.C. (Aś)	-mñ-	-ñ-				
3 B.C.			-ñ-			
2 B.C.				-ñ-		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-ñ-					
2 A.D.			-mñ-			

Period	West	N West.	South	Central	East	North.
(xi) Palatalisation of <i>ny</i> .						
3 B C	<i>ñ-</i>					(- <i>mñ-</i> )
(AŚ)	- <i>mñ-</i> , - <i>ñ-</i>	- <i>mñ-</i> , - <i>ñ-</i>				
2 B C.			- <i>mñ-</i>	- <i>ñ-</i>		
1 B C.	- <i>mñ-</i>					
1 B C.-1 A D	<i>n</i> > <i>ny-</i>					
	- <i>mñ-</i>					
2 A D			- <i>mñ-</i>			
3 A D			- <i>mñ-</i>			
(xii) Palatalisation of <i>ry</i>						
2 A D			- <i>j-</i>			
3 A D			- <i>j-</i>			
4 A D				<i>j-</i>		
§ 403 Cerebralisation						
1 Cerebralisation of <i>t</i> due to <i>r</i> (or <i>ɾ</i> )						
(i) - <i>ɾt-</i> .						
3 B C.	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>
(AŚ)						
3 B C.				- <i>t-</i>		
2 B C.				- <i>t-</i> , - <i>ɽ-</i> , - <i>t-</i>		
1 B C.				- <i>t-</i> , - <i>t-</i>		
1 B C.-1 A D	- <i>t-</i> , - <i>t-</i>					
1 A D	- <i>t-</i>					
2 A D	- <i>t-</i>					
(ii) - <i>ɾt-</i> :						
3 B C.	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i> (- <i>ɾt-</i> )	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>
(AŚ.)	(- <i>t-</i> )	(- <i>t-</i> )			(- <i>t-</i> )	(- <i>t-</i> )
3 B C.				- <i>t-</i>		
2 B C.				- <i>t-</i> , - <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>	
1 A D	- <i>t-</i>					
2 A D	- <i>t-</i>		- <i>t-</i> , - <i>t-</i>			
3 A D			- <i>ɽ-</i>			
4 A D				- <i>ɽ-</i> (?)		
(iii) - <i>ɾ-t-</i> :						
3 B C.	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>
(AŚ.)	- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i>				
2 B C.				- <i>t-</i>	- <i>t-</i> , - <i>t-</i>	
1 B C.				- <i>t-</i>		
1 A D	- <i>t-</i>		- <i>t-</i>			
2 A D	- <i>t-</i> , - <i>ɽ-</i>		- <i>t-</i> , - <i>ɽ-</i>			

Period	West.	N West.	South	Central	East	North.
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(iv) -tr-

1 B C-1 A.D	-t-, -t-					
1 A.D	-t-, -d-					
2 A.D	-t-, -d-					
3 A D			-t-, -tt-			

2 Cerebralisation of th in presence of τ (or τ)

(1) -τth-

3 B.C. (A&.)	-th-	-th-	-th-	-th-	-th-	-th-
2 B.C		-th-			-th-	-th-
1 B.C.	-th-, -th-			-th-, -th-		
1 A.D.			-th-, -th-	-th-		
2 A.D	-th-		-th-			
3 A D			-th-			

(ii) -τ-th-

3 B.C. (A&.)						-th-
2 B.C.	(-th-?)					
1 B.C.	-th-			-th-		
1 A.D.	-th-					
2 A.D	-th-		(-d-)			
4 A.D				-dh-		

3 Cerebralisation of d in presence of τ (or τ)

(i) -τ-d-

2 B.C.					-d-	
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(ii) -dτ-

3 B.C. (A&.)		-d-		-d-	-d-	-d-
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(iii) -τd-

3 B.C. (A&.)	-d-			-d-	-d-	-d-
2 B.C				-d-		

(iv) -τ-d-

3 B.C. (A&.)	-d-	-d-			-d-	-d-
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Period	West	N West.	South.	Central	East	North.
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(v) *-dɾ-*

3 B.C. (AŚ.)	-d-	-d-	-d- -ɖ- (Kopbal)	-d-	-d-	-d-
2 B.C.				-d-, -d-		
1 A.D.			-d- (or 2 A.D.)			

(vi) *-d-ɾ-*

3 B.C. (AŚ.)			-ɖ-	-ɖ-	-d-	
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4 Cerebralisation of *dh* in presence of *ɾ* (and *ɽ*)(i) *-ɾ(d)dh-*

3 B.C. (AŚ.)	-ɖh- -dh-	-ɖh- -dh-		-dh-	-dh-	-ɖh- -dh-
2 B.C.				-dh-		

(ii) *-ɾdh-*

3 B.C. (AŚ.)	-ɖh- -dh-	-dh- -dh-	-ɖh-	-ɖh-	-dh-	-dh- -dh-
2 B.C.	-ɖh-			-dh-, -dh-		
1 B.C.				-dh-		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-dh-, -dh-					
1 A.D.	-dh-		-dh-, -dh- (or 2 A.D.)			
2 A.D.			-dh-, -dh-			
3 A.D.			-dh-, -dh-			
4 A.D.				-ddh-		

5 Cerebralisation of *t* in presence of a sibilant(1) *st-* or *-st-*

3 B.C. (AŚ.)	-st- (-ʈh-)	-st-	-tʰ-	-ʈh- -tʰ-	-tʰ-	-tʰ- (-ʈh-)
2 B.C.	tʰ-					
1 B.C.	-ʈh-					
1 A.D.	-ʈh-, -tʰ-		-ʈh-, -tʰ- (or 2 A.D.)			
2 A.D.	-ʈh-					
3 A.D.			-ʈʰh-			

6 Cerebralisation of *th* in presence of a sibilant(1) *sth-* or *-sth-* :

3 B.C. (AŚ.)	st- -st-	tʰ-, ʈh- -tʰ- -ʈh-	-tʰ-	-tʰ- (-ʈʰ-)	-tʰ-	-tʰ- -ʈh-
2 B.C.	tʰ-				-ʈh-	
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-ʈh-					

Period	West.	N West.	South	Central	East	North.
1 or 2 A.D			<i>ʃh-, th-</i> <i>-ʃh-, -th-</i>			
2 A.D	<i>-ʃh-</i>		<i>ʃh-, -ʃh-</i> <i>-th-</i>			
3 A.D			<i>-ʃʃh-</i>			

7 Cerebralisation of dental *dh* in presence of a sibilant

(1) *-ʃ-dh-*

3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>-ḍh-</i>	<i>-ḍh-</i>			<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>
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8 Cerebralisation of single dentals

(1) *-t-*

1 A.D	<i>-t-</i>
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(11) *-th-*

2 A.D	<i>-ḍ-</i> (Nāgār)
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(111) *-ḍ-*

3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>-ḍ-</i>	<i>-ḍ-</i> <i>-ḍ-</i>		<i>-ḍ-</i>	<i>-ḍ-</i>	
3 B.C.			<i>(-ḍ-?)</i>		<i>-ḍ-, (-l-)</i>	<i>-ḍ-</i>
1 or 2 A.D			<i>-ḍ-</i>			

9 Cerebralisation of the dental nasal *n*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>	<i>n-</i>
			<i>ṇ- (Kopbal)</i>			
	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>
	<i>-ṇ-</i>	<i>-ṇ-</i>	<i>-n- (Kopbal)</i>			
	(In terminations—)					
	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>		<i>-n-</i>	
					<i>-ṇ-</i>	
3 B.C.			<i>-n-, -ṇ-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	<i>-n-</i>	
			<i>-n- (in term)</i>		<i>-n- (term.)</i>	
2 B.C	<i>-n-, -n-</i> (term.)		(term)	<i>n-, (n-)</i>	<i>-n-, (-n-)</i>	
	<i>-n-, -n-</i>		<i>-ṇ-, -ṇ-</i>	<i>-n-, (-n-)</i>	(term)	
				(term)	<i>-n-</i>	
				<i>-n-, -n-</i>		
1 B.C.	<i>n-, (n- Kuḍā);</i>			<i>-n-</i>		
	<i>-n-, -n-</i>					
1 B.C-1 A.D	<i>-n-, -n-</i> (term.)					
	<i>-n-, -n-</i>					

Period	West.	N West.	South	Central	East.	North.
1 A.D	<i>n-, n-</i> <i>-n-, -n-</i> (term <i>-n-</i> , ( <i>-n-</i> )		<i>-n-</i> (or 2 A.D)	<i>-n-</i> (in term)		
2 A.D	<i>n-</i> (Banav) <i>-n-</i> (term)		<i>-n-, -n-</i> (term)			
3 A.D	<i>-n-, -n-</i>		<i>-n-, -n-</i>			
4 A.D			<i>-n-</i>		<i>n-, n-</i> (in all words and in terms)	

10 Cerebralisation of *jñ*

3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>-mñ-</i>	<i>-n-</i> <i>-n-, -ñ-</i>	<i>-ñ-</i>	<i>-mn-</i>	<i>-mn-</i>	<i>-n-</i>
1 A.D	<i>-n-</i>					
2 A.D	( <i>-n-?</i> )		<i>-n-</i>			
3 A.D			<i>-n-</i>			
4 A.D				<i>-n-</i>		

11 Cerebralisation of the liquid *l*

1 A.D	<i>-l-, -ḍ-</i> <i>-r-</i>
2 A.D	<i>-l- -</i>

## III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

## § 404 Clusters with Gutturals .

1 Sibilant + *k* *sk-*, *-sk-* .

3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>kh-</i>	<i>k-</i>		<i>k-</i>	<i>k-</i>
3 B.C.	<i>-k- (&lt; -ṣk-)</i>	<i>-k-</i>		<i>-k-</i>	<i>-k-</i>
2 B.C.	<i>-ṣk- &gt; -k-</i>				
1 B.C.	<i>kh-</i>			<i>-ṣk- &gt; -ḥ-</i>	<i>-ṣk- &gt; -k-</i>
1 A.D	<i>kh-</i> <i>-kh-</i>		<i>kh-</i>		
2 A.D	<i>kl-, -kh-</i>		<i>kh-, k-</i>		

## § 405 Clusters with Palatals :

1 Cluster *-śc-*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>-ch-</i>	<i>-c-</i>		<i>-cḥ-</i>	<i>-cḥ-</i>
2 B.C.				<i>-ch-</i>	

Period	West.	N West.	South	Central	East	North.
§ 406 Clusters with Cerebrals						
1 Cluster - <i>ʃt</i> -						
3 B.C. (Aś.)		- <i>ʃh</i> -	(- <i>ʃh</i> -?)	- <i>ʃh</i> -	- <i>ʃh</i> - (- <i>ʃh</i> -?)	- <i>ʃh</i> -
2 B.C.				- <i>ʃh</i> - (- <i>ʃh</i> -)	- <i>ʃh</i> -	
1 B.C.	- <i>ʃh</i> -					
1 A.D.	- <i>ʃh</i> -		- <i>ʃh</i> -			
2 A.D.	- <i>ʃh</i> -		- <i>ʃh</i> -			
3 A.D.			- <i>ʃh</i> -			
4 A.D.				- <i>ʃtr</i> - > - <i>ʃʃh</i> -		
2 Cluster - <i>ʃʃh</i> -						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	- <i>ʃt</i> -	- <i>ʃh</i> - (- <i>ʃh</i> -)		- <i>ʃh</i> -	- <i>ʃh</i> - (- <i>ʃh</i> -)	- <i>ʃh</i> -
3 B.C.			- <i>ʃh</i> - (- <i>t</i> -?)		- <i>ʃh</i> -	
2 B.C.	- <i>ʃh</i> -			- <i>ʃh</i> -	- <i>ʃh</i> -	
1 B.C.	- <i>ʃh</i> -			- <i>ʃh</i> - (- <i>t</i> -)		
1 A.D.	- <i>ʃh</i> - (- <i>ʃh</i> -)		- <i>ʃh</i> -	- <i>ʃh</i> -		
2 A.D.	- <i>ʃh</i> -		- <i>ʃh</i> - (- <i>ʃh</i> -)			
3 A.D.			- <i>ʃh</i> -			
4 A.D.				- <i>ʃʃh</i> -		
§ 407 Clusters with Dentals						
I Sibilants + Dentals						
(1) Cluster <i>st</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	- <i>st</i> - (- <i>st</i> -, - <i>ʃh</i> -)	- <i>st</i> -		- <i>th</i> -	- <i>th</i> -	( <i>th</i> - - <i>th</i> -, - <i>ʃh</i> -)
2 B.C.	<i>th</i> -, <i>ʃh</i> - - <i>th</i> -		<i>th</i> -, - <i>th</i> -	<i>th</i> -	- <i>th</i> -	
1 B.C.	<i>th</i> -, - <i>th</i> -			<i>th</i> -, - <i>th</i> -		
1 A.D.	- <i>th</i> - - <i>ʃh</i> -, - <i>f</i> -		(or 2 A.D.) <i>th</i> - - <i>th</i> -, (- <i>st</i> -, - <i>ʃh</i> -)			
2 A.D.	<i>th</i> - - <i>th</i> -, - <i>ʃh</i> -		- <i>th</i> -, (- <i>t</i> -)			
(11) Cluster <i>sth</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>th</i> - <i>st</i> -	<i>th</i> - <i>ʃh</i> -	<i>ʃh</i> -	<i>th</i> - <i>ʃh</i> -	<i>th</i> - <i>ʃh</i> -	<i>th</i> - <i>ʃh</i> -
3 B.C.	- <i>st</i> -	- <i>th</i> -		- <i>th</i> -	- <i>ʃh</i> -	- <i>th</i> -, - <i>ʃh</i> -
2 B.C.	<i>th</i> -, (- <i>t</i> -)		<i>th</i> -, - <i>th</i> -	<i>th</i> -	- <i>th</i> -	

Period	West	N West.	South	Central	East	North.
1 B.C.	<i>th-</i>			<i>th-</i>		
1 A.D.	<i>th-</i>		(or 2 A.D.) <i>th-</i> , <i>-th-</i> , <i>-th-</i>			
2 A.D.	<i>th-</i> <i>-th-</i> , <i>-sth-</i>		<i>th-</i> , <i>th-</i> , <i>-th-</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>-th-</i>			
4 A.D.				<i>-tth-</i>		

II *r* + dentals (also cf Cerebralisation)(i) Cluster *-rt-*.

3 B.C.	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-tr-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	( <i>-t-</i> )	<i>-t-</i>
(Aś.)	( <i>-t-</i> )	<i>-t-</i>			<i>-t-</i>	
3 B.C.	<i>-t-</i>				<i>-t-</i>	
2 B.C.				<i>-t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>	
1 B.C.	<i>-t-</i>			<i>-t-</i>		
1 A.D.	<i>-t-</i>					

(ii) Cluster *-rth-* :

3 B.C.	<i>-th-</i>	<i>-th-</i> , <i>-thr-</i>	<i>-th-</i>	<i>-th-</i>	<i>-th-</i>	<i>-th-</i>
(Aś.)		<i>-th-</i> , <i>-thr-</i>			<i>-th-</i>	<i>-th-</i>
2 B.C.	<i>-th-</i>					
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	<i>-th-</i>			1 B.C.		
	<i>-th-</i>			<i>-th-</i>		
1 A.D.			<i>-th-</i>			
2 A.D.	<i>-th-</i>		<i>-th-</i>			
	<i>-th-</i>					
3 A.D.			<i>-th-</i>			

(iii) Cluster *-rd-* :

3 B.C.	<i>-d-</i>			<i>-d-</i>	<i>-d-</i>	<i>-d-</i>
(Aś.)						
3 B.C.	<i>-d-</i>					
1 B.C.	<i>-d-</i>					
1 A.D.	<i>-d-</i>					
2 A.D.	<i>-d-</i>		<i>-d-</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>-d-</i>			

(iv) Cluster *-rdh-* :

3 B.C.	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>
(Aś.)	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i> , <i>-dhr-</i>				
2 B.C.				<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>	<i>-dh-</i>
1 B.C.	<i>-dh-</i>					
1 A.D.	<i>-dh-</i> , <i>-dh-</i>					
2 A.D.	<i>-dh-</i>		<i>-dh-</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>-dh-</i>			



Period	West	N West.	South	Central	East.	North
§ 408 Clusters with Labials						
(i) Cluster <i>sp</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś.)				<i>ph-</i>		
2 B.C.					<i>ph-</i> (?) -s- (< *sv-)	
1 A.D.			- <i>ph-</i>	- <i>ph-</i>		
(ii) Cluster <i>ṣp</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś.)				- <i>p-</i>	- <i>ph-</i> , - <i>p-</i>	- <i>p-</i>
2 & 3 A.D.			- <i>ph-</i>			
4 A.D.				- <i>pph-</i>		
(iii) Cluster <i>ṛp</i>						
2 B.C.					<i>mp-</i>	
§ 409 Clusters with Semi-vowel <i>y</i>						
1 Stops + <i>y</i>						
(i) Cluster <i>gy</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś.)			- <i>gy-</i>			
1 A.D.	- <i>g-</i>					
(ii) Cluster <i>ṣy</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś.)		<i>ṣ-</i>			- <i>ṣ-</i>	
2 B.C.					- <i>ṣ-</i>	
1 B.C.	- <i>yṣy-</i>			- <i>ṣ-</i>		
1 A.D.	- <i>ṣ-</i>					
(iii) Cluster <i>ty</i> (cf Palatalisation)						
3 B.C. (Aś.)		(- <i>ty-</i> , - <i>tya-</i> )		(- <i>cy-</i> , - <i>ty-</i> )	- <i>ty-</i> (- <i>ty-</i> )	- <i>ty</i> , (- <i>ty-</i> )
3 B.C.					- <i>ty-</i> <i>try-</i> > <i>ty-</i> - <i>ty-</i> , - <i>t-</i>	
2 B.C.			- <i>ty-</i>			
1 B.C.	- <i>ty-</i>			- <i>ty-</i>		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	- <i>ty-</i> , - <i>ty-</i>					
1 A.D.	- <i>t-</i> - <i>ty-</i>		- <i>ty-</i> , - <i>tya-</i>			
2 A.D.	- <i>ty-</i> , - <i>tya-</i> , (- <i>ḍtya-</i> ) (- <i>tyv-</i> ?)		(- <i>t-</i> ?) (- <i>ty-</i> )			

Period	West	N West.	South	Central	East.	North
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(iv) Cluster *dy* (also cf Palatalisation)

3 B.C. (AŚ)	-d-y- > -y-	-diy-		-diy-	-diy-	-diy-
2 B.C.					-d-y- > -y- -dy- > -diy-	

(v) Cluster *dhy* (also cf Palatalisation)

3 B.C.		-dhy-		-dhy-	(-dhy-)	-dhy- (-dhy-)
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2 Cluster *-ry-* (also cf Palatalisation)

3 B.C. (AŚ)		-ry-	-ry-	-ry-	-hy-	hy-
3 B.C.	-y-	-y-	-y-	-hy-	-v-	-y-
2 B.C.	-ry-		-ry-, -y-	-ry -y-	-ry- -y- -ira-	
1 B.C.	-ry- -y-			-ry- -y- -r-		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-ry- -y-					
1 A.D.	-y- -ira- (-ry-)		(or 2 A.D.) -ry- -y- -yir- -ira-			
2 A.D.	-ry -ira- -y-		-ry- -y- -yir- -r-			
3 A.D.			-r-			

3 Cluster *-ly-*

3 B.C. (AŚ)	-l-	-l-		-y-	-y-	-y-
2 B.C.				-l-	-l-	
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-l-, -lia-, -ly- (loan- word)					
2 A.D.	-ly- -lia-					

4 Cluster *vy*

3 B.C. (AŚ)	vy-	vvy-	vy-	vvy-	vvy-	vvy-
	-vy-	-vy-	-vy-	(-vy-)	(-vy-)	-vy-
	(-vy-)	-vy-	(-vy-)	-vy-	-vy-	-vy-

Period	West	N West	South.	Central	East.	North
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In all subsequent inscriptions  $vy > v$  in all places. It is only in a loan word that we find  $-vy-$  preserved in the inscriptions of second cent. A.D. in the South

### 5 Clusters with sibilant + $y$

3 B.C. (Aś.)		$sy-$ $-sy-$ $-śy-$	$sy-$	$sy-$ $-s-$	$sy-$ $-sy-$ $-s-$ $-sy-$	$sy-$ $-sy-$ $-s-$
					$(-śy- > -h-?)$ $(-śy- > -h-?)$	

In all subsequent inscriptions the cluster becomes  $s$

### 6 The cluster $hy$

3 B.C. (Aś.)			$-hy-$			
1 A.D.	$-hy-$ , $-yh-$ , $-y-$					

## § 410 Clusters with the semi-vowel $r$

### 1 Stops + $r$

#### (i) Cluster $kr$

3 B.C. (Aś.)	$-kr-$ $(-k-)$	$-kr-$		$k-$ $-k-$	$k-$ $-k-$	$k-$ $-k-$
2 B.C.				$-k-$	$-k-$	
1 B.C.				$-k-$ $(-kr-)$		

#### (ii) Cluster $gr$

3 B.C. (Aś.)	$-g-$	$-gr-$		$g-$ $-g-$	$g-$ $-g-$	$g-$ $-g-$
4 A.D.				$-gr-$		

#### (iii) Cluster $tr$

3 B.C. (Aś.)	$tr-$ $t-$ $-t-$ $-tr-$	$tr-$ $t-$ $-tr-$ $(-dtr-)$		$t-$ $-t-$	$t-$ $-t-$	$t-$ $-t-$
3 B.C.	$-t-$		$-t-$		$t-, -t-$	
2 B.C.	$-t-$ $-tr-$		$t-, -t-$	$-t-$ $(tr-, -tr-)$	$-t-$ $(-tr-)$	
1 B.C.	$-t-$ $-tr-$			$t-$ $-tr-$		
1 A.D.	$-t-, -tar-$ $-tr-$		$t-, -t-$	$-tar-$		
2 A.D.	$-t-, -tar-$ $-tr-$		$-t-, -tar-$ $-tr-$			
3 A.D.			$-t-$ $(-tth-)$			
4 A.D.				$-tt-$		

Period	West	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
(iv) Cluster <i>dr</i> ·						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-d-	<i>dr</i> - - <i>dr</i> - -d-	-d-	-d-	-d-	-d-
2 B.C.	-d-		-d-	-d- (- <i>dr</i> -)	- <i>ndr</i> - > - <i>md</i> -, (- <i>mdr</i> - ?) -d-	
1 B.C.	-d- - <i>dr</i> -			-d- - <i>dr</i> -		
1 A.D.	-d- - <i>dr</i> -		-d-			
2 A.D.			-d-			
3 A.D.			- <i>ndr</i> - > - <i>nd</i> -			
(v) Cluster <i>dhr</i> ·						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	( <i>dhr</i> - ?)	<i>dhr</i> -		<i>dh</i> - - <i>dh</i> -	<i>dh</i> - - <i>dh</i> -	<i>dh</i> - - <i>dh</i> -
1 A.D.	- <i>dh</i> -					
(vi) Cluster <i>pr</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>p</i> - <i>pr</i> -	<i>p</i> - <i>pr</i> -	<i>p</i> - ( <i>pr</i> -)	<i>p</i> - <i>pr</i> - (- <i>pr</i> -)	<i>p</i> -	<i>p</i> -
2 B.C.				<i>p</i> -, - <i>p</i> - (- <i>pr</i> -)	<i>p</i> -, - <i>p</i> -	
1 B.C.	<i>p</i> -, (- <i>p</i> -) - <i>pr</i> -			<i>p</i> -, - <i>p</i> -		
1 A.D.	<i>p</i> -, (- <i>p</i> -) <i>pr</i> -			<i>p</i> -		
2 A.D.	<i>p</i> -, (- <i>p</i> -)		( <i>pr</i> -)			
(vii) Cluster <i>br</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>b</i> - <i>br</i> -	<i>b</i> - <i>br</i> -			<i>b</i> -	<i>b</i> -
2 B.C.	<i>b</i> -			<i>b</i> -	<i>b</i> -	
1 B.C.	( <i>br</i> -)			( <i>br</i> -)		
1 A.D.	<i>b</i> - <i>br</i> -					
2 A.D.	<i>br</i> -					
4 A.D.				<i>b</i> -, <i>br</i> -		
(viii) Cluster <i>bhr</i> ·						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>bl</i> r-	<i>bl</i> - <i>bl</i> r-		- <i>bt</i> -	<i>bt</i> - - <i>bt</i> -	<i>bt</i> <i>bt</i>
3 B.C.					<i>bt</i> -	
2 B.C.				<i>bt</i> -	<i>bt</i> -	

Period	West.	N West	South	Central	East	North.
2 Cluster <i>vr</i>						
3 B.C.	<i>v-</i>	<i>vr-</i>			<i>v-</i>	<i>v-</i>
(Aś)	<i>-v-</i>	<i>-vr-</i>				<i>-v-</i>
In all subsequent inscriptions <i>vr</i> > <i>v</i> in all places In a probable loan-word in an inscription of the 1st cent B.C. in West we get <i>vr-</i>						
3 Sibilant + <i>r</i>						
3 B.C.	<i>s-</i>	<i>sr-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>s-</i>	<i>s-</i>
(Aś)	( <i>sr-</i> )				( <i>śr-</i> )	
	<i>-s-</i>	<i>-sr-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	<i>-s-</i>
	<i>-sr-</i>					
2 B.C.	<i>s-</i>			<i>s-</i>	<i>ś-, s-</i>	
	<i>sir-</i> (in <i>siri</i> everywhere).			( <i>śr-</i> ?)	<i>sir-</i>	
				<i>sir, set-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	
				<i>-s-</i>		
1 B.C.				<i>s-</i>		
1 A.D.	<i>śr-</i>					
	<i>-sr-</i>					
4 Cluster <i>hr</i>						
2 B.C.					<i>h-</i>	
§ 411 Clusters with <i>l</i>						
(i) Cluster <i>kl</i>						
3 B.C.					<i>kil-</i>	
(Aś.)					<i>-kil-</i>	
1 A.D.	<i>kil-</i>					
(ii) Cluster <i>gl</i>						
3 B.C.			<i>gil-</i> (?)			
(iii) Cluster <i>rl</i>						
3 B.C.				<i>-l-</i>	<i>-l-</i>	<i>-l-</i>
(Aś)						
(iv) Cluster <i>sl</i>						
3 B.C.					<i>-s-</i>	
(Aś)				<i>s-</i>	<i>-s-</i>	<i>-s-</i>
(v) Cluster <i>hl</i>						
1 A.D.	<i>-li-</i>					

Period	West.	N West	South	Central	East.	North
§ 412 Clusters with <i>v</i>						
1 Stops + <i>v</i>						
(i) Cluster <i>kv</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś)						<i>kuv-</i>
1 B.C.				<i>k-</i>		
(ii) Cluster <i>fv</i>						
1 B.C.				<i>-fuv-</i>		
(iii) Cluster <i>dv</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś)				<i>-duv-</i>	<i>-duv-</i>	<i>-ḍuv-</i>
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	<i>-nuv-</i>					
(iv) Cluster <i>tv</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>-tp-</i>	<i>-t-</i>		<i>-t-</i>	<i>t-, -t-</i>	<i>-t-</i>
2 B.C.					<i>-t-</i>	
1 B.C.	<i>-t-</i>					
1 A.D.	<i>-t-</i>		<i>-t-</i>	<i>(-tv-)</i>		
2 A.D.	<i>-t-</i>		<i>-t-, (-tv-)</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>-t-</i>			
(v) Cluster <i>dv</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	(in numerals) <i>dv-</i> <i>db-</i>	<i>d-, duv-</i> <i>b-</i>		<i>d-, duv-</i>	<i>d-, duv-</i>	<i>d-, duv</i>
	(in other examples)		<i>-d-</i>	<i>-d-</i>	<i>duv-</i> <i>d-</i> <i>-d-t-&gt;</i> <i>-t-</i>	
3 B.C.						
2 B.C.	In numerals <i>b-, (v-)</i>			<i>d-, b-</i>		
1 B.C.	<i>b-</i>					
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	<i>b-, dv-</i> <i>-d-</i>					
1 A.D.	<i>b-, (d-)</i>		<i>b-</i>			
2 A.D.	<i>b-, (d-)</i>		<i>b-</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>b-</i>			
(in other examples).						
2 B.C.	<i>-d-</i>					
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	<i>-d-</i>					
2 A.D.	<i>d-</i>			(1 or 2 A.D.) <i>d-</i> <i>-d-</i>		
3 A.D.						

Period	West.	N West.	South	Central	East.	North.
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(vi) Cluster *dhv*

2 B.C. -dhv-

2 Semi-vowel + *v*(1) Cluster *rv*

3 B.C.	-rv-	-vr-		-v-	-v-	-v-
(Aś)	-v-	{ i.e. -rv- }			-luv-	-luv-
		-v-				

In all other inscriptions *rv* > *v*

3 Sibilant + *v*(1) Cluster *śv*

3 B.C.	śv-	śp-	śv-	s-, śuv-	s-, śuv-	s-, śuv-
(Aś.)				(śv-)	(śv-, śua-)	(śv-)
(śv- or śv-)				-śv-	-śv-	-śv-
3 B.C.			-ś-		ś-	
2 B.C.			ś-	-ś-	-ś-	
				-śav-, -śv-		
1 B.C.	-ś-			-ś-, -śav-		
2 A.D.	-ś-		s-, -ś-			
			-śv-			
3 A.D.			s-, -ś-			
			-śv-			

(ii) Cluster *sv*

(For Aśokan Inscriptions cf. above *śv*)

3 B.C.		-ś-			
2 B.C.	ś-	ś-	s-, sv-	ś-	
			-ś-		
1 B.C.	s-, sv-		ś-		
1 A.D.	sv-		ś-		
2 A.D.	s-, sv-		s-, -ś-		
3 A.D.			s-, -ś-		

## § 413 Clusters with Sibilants

(i) Cluster *ṛś*

3 B.C.	-ś-	-ś-	-ś-	-ś-	-ś-
(Aś.)	-ṛś-	-ṛś-		(-ṛś-)	
2 B.C.				-ś-, -mś-	
1 B.C.	-mś-		-ś-		
1 A.D.	-ś-				

Period	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
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(ii) For *kṣ* see palatalisation § 402 above.

(iii) Cluster *ṛṣ*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-s- -ṛs-	-ṣ- (-ṛṣ-)	-s-	-s-	-s-	-s-
3 B.C.			-s-			
2 B.C.				-s-	-s-	
1 B.C.	-s-, -ṛs- -h- ( <i>kāhāṣana-</i> )					
1 A.D.	-s-, -ṛṣ- (-ṛṣ-), -h- ( <i>kāhāṣana-</i> )					
2 A.D.	-s- -h- ( <i>kāhāṣana-</i> )		-s- -ṛṣ-			
3 A.D.			-s-, -ṛṣ-			

(iv) Cluster *ts*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ch- -t-s- > -s-	-s- -t-s- > -s-	-ch-		-s- -t-s- > -s-	-s- -t-s- > -s-
2 B.C.			-ch-		-s-	
1 B.C.					(-ps- > -ch-)	
2 A.D.			-ch- (-cc-)			
3 A.D.			-ts-			

§414 Clusters with *h* -*ṛh*-.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ṛah-	-ṛah- -ṛ-	-ṛah-			
3 B.C.			-ṛah-			-l-
2 B.C.				-ṛah- (-ṛh-, -ṛāh)	-ṛah- -ṛ(ṣ)h-	
1 B.C.	-ṛah-			-ṛah-		

§ 415 Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

(1) The cluster *ñc*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-mc-	-mc-		-ñc-	-ñc- -ññ-	-ñc- -ññ-
3 B.C.					-c-	
2 B.C.				-c-	-ñc- -ññ-	
1 B.C.	-c-, -ñ-			-c-		
1 A.D.	-c-, -ñc-					
	-ñ-					
2 A.D.	-c-, -ñc-		-ñc- -ññ- (-ñ-)			
3 A.D.			-ññc-, -ññc-			
4 A.D.				-ññc-		
30				-ññc-		



Period	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
(ii) The cluster <i>nj</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-mj-	-j- (-ñ-)		-mj-, -j-	-mj-	-mj-
3 B.C.			-j-			
2 B.C.				-j-		
1 B.C.				-j-		
4 A.D.				-ñj-		

(iii) The cluster *jñ*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	ñ- -ñ-, -mñ-	ñ- -n- -ñ- (-jn-)	ñ- -ñ-	n- -n- -mn-	n- -ñ- -mn- -mñ- (-jn-)	ñ-, n- -n- (-jn-)
2 B.C.	n-			ñ-, -ñ-	ñ-	
1 B.C.	-ñ-, -mñ-			-ñ-		
1 A.D.	ñ- -ñ-, -mñ-, -n- -ñ-		n-, -ñ-			
2 A.D.	n-, -n- -ñ-, (-ñ-?)		n-, -ñ- -mñ-, -n- -n-, -ñ-			
3 A.D.						
4 A.D.				-ñ-		

§ 416 Clusters with the nasal *n*(i) The cluster *nđ*

3 B.C. (Aś.)		-mđ-		-mđ-	-mđ-	-mđ-
2 B.C.	-đ-			-mđ-, -đ- (-đ-?)		
1 B.C.	-mđ- -mđ-, -đ-?			-đ-		
1 or 2 A.D.			-mđ-			
2 A.D.			-đ- (-ñ-) (-ñđ-)			
3 A.D.			-mđ-, -đ-			
4 A.D.				-ñđ-		

(ii) The cluster *ny*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-mn- -mñ-	-ny- -ñ- (-ñ-)			-ny- -mn-	-ny- -mn- n-
3 B.C.			-ñ-, -ñ-			
2 B.C.	-n-			-ñ-		
1 B.C.-1 A.D.	-ñ-, -ñ-					

Period.	West.	N West	South	Central	East	North
1 or 2 A.D.			- <i>n</i> - - <i>n</i> -			
2 A.D.	- <i>n</i> - - <i>n</i> -		- <i>mn</i> - (- <i>nn</i> -) - <i>mñ</i> -, - <i>n</i> - - <i>nn</i> - - <i>n</i> -			
3 A.D.			- <i>n</i> -			

(iii) The cluster *mn*.

3 B.C. (A.S.)			- <i>mn</i> -	- <i>mn</i> -	- <i>mn</i> -	- <i>mn</i> -
3 B.C.				- <i>n</i> -		
2 B.C.				- <i>n</i> -, - <i>n</i> -	- <i>n</i> - (earlier) - <i>n</i> - (later)	
1 B.C.	- <i>mn</i> -, - <i>n</i> -			- <i>n</i> -		
1 B.C. or 1 A.D.	- <i>n</i> -					
1 A.D.	- <i>n</i> - (- <i>nn</i> -)		(or 2 A.D.) - <i>n</i> -			
2 A.D.	- <i>n</i> -, - <i>mñ</i> -		- <i>n</i> -, - <i>mn</i> - (- <i>nn</i> -)			

(iv) The cluster *ñn*.

2 B.C.	- <i>nh</i> -			- <i>nh</i> - - <i>nh</i> - - <i>nh</i> -		
1 B.C.	- <i>nh</i> - - <i>nh</i> -			- <i>nh</i> -		
1 A.D.	- <i>nh</i> - (- <i>ñn</i> -)		(or 2 A.D.) - <i>n</i> -, - <i>nh</i> - - <i>nh</i> -			
2 A.D.	- <i>nh</i> - (- <i>ñn</i> -)		- <i>n</i> - - <i>nh</i> -			
4 A.D.				- <i>nh</i> -		

§ 417 Clusters with the nasal *n*.(i) The cluster *ny*.

3 B.C. (A.S.)	<i>ñ</i> - - <i>mñ</i> -, - <i>ñ</i> -	- <i>mñ</i> -, - <i>ñ</i> - - <i>n</i> -, (- <i>n</i> -)	- <i>mn</i> -	<i>n</i> ( <i>i</i> )- - <i>nn</i> -, - <i>n</i> - (- <i>mñ</i> -)	<i>n</i> ( <i>i</i> )- - <i>nn</i> -, - <i>n</i> -
3 B.C.			- <i>mn</i> -	- <i>ny</i> -	
2 B.C.			- <i>n</i> - - <i>mñ</i> -	- <i>n</i> - - <i>ñ</i> -	
1 B.C.	- <i>mñ</i> -			<i>n</i> ( <i>i</i> )-	
1 B.C. or 1 A.D.	- <i>mñ</i> -				
2 A.D.	- <i>n</i> -		- <i>nr</i> -, - <i>n</i> - (- <i>ry</i> -) (- <i>mñ</i> -)		
3 A.D.			- <i>nr</i> -, - <i>r</i> - - <i>rr</i> -, - <i>mñ</i> -		

Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
(ii) The cluster <i>gn</i> (or <i>g-n</i> )						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-g-	-g-			-g- -g-n- > -gin-	-g-
2 B.C.	-g-			-g-		
1 B.C.	-g- (-gn-)			-g-n- > -gan-		
2 A.D.			-g-			
3 A.D.			-g-			
(iii) The cluster <i>tn</i>						
2 B.C.					-tan-	
1 A.D.	-tn-					
2 A.D.	-t-		-tn-			
(iv) The cluster <i>p-n</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-pun-	-pun-			-pun-	-pun-
2 B.C.					-pun-	
(v) The cluster <i>sn</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś.)		<i>n-, sin-</i>		-śn- > -sn-		<i>sin-</i>
2 B.C.				-(t)sn- > -nh-		
1 B.C.	<i>san-</i>			In <i>snuṣā</i> <i>nh-, h-, n-</i>		
1 or 2 A.D.			In <i>snuṣā</i> <i>sun-</i> <i>sun-</i>			
2 A.D.				( <i>sumn-</i> ?) <i>sun-, sun-</i>		
§ 418 Clusters with the nasal <i>m</i>						
(i) <i>m</i> + the semivowel <i>ṛ</i> In all inscriptions it becomes <i>b</i> or <i>m̐b</i>						
(ii) The cluster <i>tm</i>						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-tp-	-t-	-tp-	-t-	-t-	-t-
2 B.C.					-t-	
1 or 2 A.D.	-tm-					
1 B.C.			-p-			
2 A.D.			-p-, -t- (-tm-) (pp-)			
3 A.D.				-p-		
4 A.D.						

Period	West.	N West,	South	Central	East	North
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(III) The cluster *sm*

In termination

3 B.C. (Aś.)	- <i>mh-</i>	- <i>sp-</i>	- <i>s-</i> <i>sum-</i> ( <i>sumi</i> )	- <i>s-</i> <i>sum-</i> ( <i>sumi</i> ) - <i>ph-</i> (pron.) - <i>śm-</i> > - <i>s-</i> <i>s-</i> (- <i>ś-</i> )	- <i>s-</i> <i>sum-</i> ( <i>sumi</i> ) - <i>ph-</i> , - <i>sm-</i> (pron.)	- <i>s-</i>  - <i>ph-</i> (pron.)
2 B.C.						
1 B.C.	- <i>mh-</i> or - <i>m-</i> (term.),					
1 A.D.	- <i>mh-</i> , - <i>sm-</i> (pron.)'					
2 A.D.	- <i>śm-</i> > - <i>mh-</i> - <i>śm-</i> > - <i>mh-</i>		- <i>śm-</i> > - <i>mh-</i> - <i>hm-</i>			
3 A.D.			- <i>mh-</i>			
4 A.D.			- <i>śm-</i> > - <i>mh-</i>	- <i>mh-</i> , - <i>hm-</i>		

(IV) The cluster *hmp*

3 B.C. (Aś.)	- <i>hm-</i> - <i>mh-</i> (- <i>mh-</i> ?) (- <i>mbh-</i> ?)	- <i>m-</i>			- <i>bh-</i> (?)	- <i>mbh-</i> (?) - <i>bh-</i> (?)
2 B.C.	- <i>mh-</i>			<i>h-</i>	- <i>mh-</i>	
1 B.C.	- <i>mhm-</i>			- <i>hm-</i>		
1 A.D.	- <i>mm-</i> - <i>mh-</i>			- <i>mh-</i>		
2 A.D.	- <i>hm-</i> - <i>hm-</i>		- <i>hm-</i> - <i>mh-</i>			
3 A.D.			- <i>hm-</i> - <i>mh-</i>			
4 A.D.				- <i>mh-</i>		

# CHAPTER VII

## MORPHOLOGY

Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East	North.
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### § 419 Bases ending in *-a*, *-ā*

#### (a) Masculine and Neuter nouns in *-a*

##### (1) Nom sg Mas

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-o (-e)	-o (-a, -i)	-e	-e	-e (-a, -o)	-e (-ā, -o)
3 B.C.			-o	-o	-e	
2 B.C.	-o, (-a)		-o	-o (-e)	-o (Udayagin)	-e (Jogimārā)
1 B.C.	-o			-o (-e, -a ?)	-e	
1 A.D.	-o, (-e)		-o	-o		
2 A.D.	-o, (-a)		-o, (-a ?)			
3 A.D.			-o			
4 A.D.				-o		

##### (11) Acc sg Mas

3 B.C. (Aś.)	am	-am (-a) (-o, -e)	am	-am (-a)	-am (-a)	-am (-a)
3 B.C.			(-am ?)			
2 B.C.				-am, -a	am	
1 B.C.				-a		
1 A.D.	-a					
2 A.D.	-a, (-e)		-am			
3 A.D.			-am, -a			

##### (111) Nom sg Neut.

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-am, -a (-e)	-am, -a (-e, -o)	-e (-am)	-e (-a ?)	-e (-am, -ā)	-e (-am, -ā)
3 B.C.			-am	-am	-e (-am)	
2 B.C.	-am, -a		-am, -a	-am, -a (-e)	-am	
1 B.C.	-am, -a			-am, -a		
1 A.D.	-am, -a (-e, -ā)		-am, -a			
2 A.D.	*-am -a		-am, -a			
3 A.D.			-am			

Period	West.	N West.	South	Central	East	North.
(iv) Acc sg Neut.						
3 B C (Aś)	-am	-am (-a)	-am	-am (-a)	-am (-c, -a)	-am (-c, -ā)
3 B C				-am	-am	
2 B.C				-a, (-c)		
1 A D	-am, -a					
2 A D			-am			
3 A D			-am, -c			
4 A.D				-c (?)		
(v) Inst sg						
3 B C (Aś)	-cna	-cna	-cna	-cna	-cna, (-cnā)	-cna, (-cnā)
2 B C	-cna, -cna (-cnā ? -cnam ?)			-cna (-cna)	-cna	
1 B.C.	-cna, -cna			-cna, (-cna)		
1 A.D	-cna, -cna-		-cna			
2 A D	-cna, -cna		-cna, -cna			
3 A.D.			-cna, -cna			
(vi) Dat. sg						
3 B.C. (Aś)	-ya, (-ā)	-yc	-ya	-yc, -ya	-yc	-yc
3 B.C.					-ya, (-a ?)	
2 B.C.	-ya			-ya		
1 B.C.	-ya			-yā		
1 A D			-ya	-yc		
2 A.D	-ya		-ya			
3 A.D.			-ya, (-c ?)			
(vii) Abl sg						
3 B.C. (Aś)	-ā	-a	-ā	-ā	-ā, (-c)	a
3 B.C.			-ā			
2 B.C.	-ā (-āto)		-ā	-ā, -c -āto, (-atu)	-ā (-c'o)	
1 B.C.	-ā			-ā, -c (-āto)		
1 A.D	-ā (-ā'o)		-ā (-āto ?)			
2 A.D	-ā (-ā'o)		-ā			
3 A.D.			-ā (-ā'o)			

Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North
(viii) Gen sg						
3 B C (Aś')	-sa	-sa	-sa	-sa	-sa	-sa
3 B C			-sa, (-ṣa)	-sa	-sa	(-sā, -ṣā)
2 B C	-sa (-(e)sa)		-(e)sa (-āsa)	-(ā)sa (-āsa)	-sa	
1 B.C.	-sa, (-ṣa?) (-(e)sa)			-sa		
1 A.D.	-sa, (-ṣa)		-sa, (-sā?)	-sa		
2 A.D.	-sa, (-syā) (-(e)sa)		-sa			
3 A.D.			-sa, -ssa			
4 A.D.				-st, -stm		
(ix) Loc. sg						
3 B C (Aś')	-mhi	-stī, -st	-st	-st	-st	-st
3 B C	-e	-e			(-e)	
2 B C	-mhi		-e	-e, (-i)	-e, (-i)	
1 B.C.	-e			-e, (-mhi)		
1 A.D.	-e		-e	-e, (-mmhi)		
2 A.D.	-e		-e, (-mhi)			
3 A.D.			-e, (-mhi)			
(x) Nom pl Mas						
3 B C (Aś.)	-ā	-a	-ā	-ā	-ā (a)	-ā (-a, -āse)
In all subsequent inscriptions the term is -ā						
(xi) Acc. pl Mas						
3 B C (Aś.)	-e (-āni)	-ani		(-āni)	-āni	-āni
2 B C					-e	
1 B.C.				-e		
1 A.D.	(-e?)					
2 A.D.			-ā, -e			
3 A.D.			-e			
4 A.D.				-e		
(xii) Nom. Acc. pl Neut.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-āni (-ā)	-ani (-a)	-āni	-āni (-a)	-āni (-ā)	-āni (-ā)
3 B C			-āni		-ani	
2 B.C.				-āni	-āni	

Period	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
1 B.C.	-āni			-āni		
1 A.D.	-āni		-ā			
	-āni					
2 A.D.	-āni		-āni			
	-āni					
3 A.D.			-āni, -āni, -ā			

(xiii) Inst. pl -

3 B.C. (Aś)	-chi	-chi	-chi	-chi	-chi	-chi
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In all subsequent inscriptions the term is -chi

(xiv) Dat. pl

3 B.C. (Aś)		-chi			-chi	-chi
1 A.D.	-chi ?					
4 A.D.				-chīm		

(xv) Gen. pl

3 B.C. (Aś)	-nam (-nām)	-nam -na	-nam	-nam	-nam	-nam -na, -rā
3 B.C.			-nam		-nam, -na	
2 B.C.	-nam, -na, -nām, -nā -nam, -ra		-nam, -na	-nam, -na, -nā	-nam	
1 B.C.	-nam, -na -nam, -na			-nam, -na		
1 A.D.	-nam, -na -na		-nam, -na	-nā		
2 A.D.	-nam, -na, -nam, -na		-nam, -na -nam			
3 A.D.			-nam -nam, -na			
4 A.D.				-na		

(xvi) Loc. pl

3 B.C. (Aś)	-su (-sū)	-su	-su	-su	-su	-su
1 B.C. or 1 A.D.	-su (-sū ?)					
1 A.D.	-su					
2 A.D.	-su		-su			
4 A.D.				-su		



Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
(b) Feminine nouns ending in $\bar{a}$						
(i) Nom. sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	$\bar{a}$	$-a$	$\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}$ ( $-a$ )	$\bar{a}$ ( $-a$ )
3 B.C.			$\bar{a}$ , ( $-a$ )			
2 B.C.	$\bar{a}$			$\bar{a}$	$\bar{a}$	
1 B.C.	$\bar{a}$			$\bar{a}$ , $-a$		
1 A.D.	$\bar{a}$ ( $-a$ )		$\bar{a}$			
2 A.D.	$\bar{a}$ ( $-a$ )		$\bar{a}$			
3 A.D.			$\bar{a}$			
(ii) Acc. sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	$\bar{am}$ , $\bar{a}$	$-am$ , $-a$		$-am$	$-am$	$-am$ , $\bar{a}$
2 B.C.				$-a$	$-am$	
2 A.D.			$-am$			
3 A.D.			$\bar{a}$			
(iii) Inst. sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	$-ya$	$-ya$		$-ya$ ( $-y\bar{a}$ )	$-ya$	$-ye$ $-y\bar{e}$ ( $-ya$ )
2 B.C.	$-ya$ ( $ye$ ?)			$-ye$	$-ya$	
1 B.C.	$-ya$ , ( $-a$ ?)					
1 A.D.	$-ya$				( $-ye$ ?)	
2 A.D.	$-ya$		$-ya$			
3 A.D.			$-ya$ , $-ye$			
(iv) Dat. sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)					$-ye$	$-ye$
1 B.C.	$-ya$					
1 A.D.	$-ya$				$-y\bar{a}$	
2 A.D.	$-ya$ ( $\bar{a}$ ?)		$-ya$			
(v) Abl sg						
1 B.C.				$-y\bar{a}$		
1 A.D.	$-ye$					
(vi) Gen sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)				$-ye$ (?)		$-ye$ (?)
3 B.C.	$-ya$			$-ye$		

Period.	West	N West.	South.	Central	East	North.
2 B C	-ya -yā -ye		-yā	-ye -yā -ya	-ye -ya	
1 B C.	-ya -va			-ye -yā -ya		
1 A.D	-ya -va		(1 or 2 A D ) -ya (-yā, -ye, -sa) -ya	-e		
2 A.D	-ya -a					

## (vii) Log sg

3 B C.	-yam	-ye			-yam, (-ya)	-yam
(AŚ)	(-ya)				-ye	-ye
2 B C	-ya					
1 B C.	-yam				-ya	
1 A.D	-ya			-yam		
2 A.D	-ya, -yam -yā		-ya, -yam			

## (viii) Nom pl

3 B C.	-ā, -āyo	-a-	-ā	-ā		-ā
(AŚ)	(-a)					
2 B C	-ā			-ayo	-ā	
1 B C.	-ā			-ā		
1 A.D	-āyo					
2 A.D	-ā					

## (ix) Acc. pl

2 B C.					-ni (?) (perhaps neut.)	
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## (x) Inst. pl

3 B C.			-hi			
(AŚ)						
2 B C.					-hi	
1 B C.	-hi					
2 A.D	-hi		-hi			

## (xi) Gen pl.

2 B C.				-nā		
2 A.D.			-ram			

Period.	West.	N West	South.	Central	East.	North.
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## (xii) Loc. pl.

3 B.C.						-su
(Aś)						
1 & 2 A.D.	-su					

## § 420 Bases ending in -i and ī

## (a) Mas and Neut. nouns in -i

## (1) Nom sg Mas

3 B.C.				-i	-i, (ī)	-i
(Aś.)						
2 B.C.					-ī, -ī	
1 B.C.				-i		
1 A.D.	-i					
2 A.D.	-i		-i, -ī			
3 A.D.			-i, -ī			
4 A.D.				-i		

## (ii) Acc. sg Mas

2 B.C.					-mī	
1 B.C.				-i		
2 A.D.			-mī, -ī			

## (iii) Nom sg Neut.

3 B.C.						-i
(Aś)						

## (iv) Inst. sg

2 B.C.	-nā				-nā	
1 B.C.				-na		
1 A.D.	-nā, -nā		-nā			
2 A.D.			-nā			
4 A.D.				-nā		

## (v) Abl sg

2 B.C.				-mhā		
1 B.C.	-mhā			-mhā, -mā		

## (vi) Gen sg

2 B.C.	-no		-sa	-no	-no	
	-sa (?)			(frequent)		
				-sa (rare)		
1 B.C.	-no, (-no)			-no		
	-sa			(frequent)		
				-sa (rare)		

Period.	West	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
1 B C or 1 A.D	-sa (frequent)					
	-no					
1 A D	-sa		(or 2 A D )			
			-sa			
			-no, (-no)			
2 A.D	-sa		-sa			
3 A'D			-sa			
(vii) Loc sg						
1 B C.				-mī		
2 A.D			-yam			
(viii)' Nom pl Mas						
3 B C.	-ī	-yo ?				
(Aś)'						
2 B C.					-yo	
3 A D	-yo					
(ix) Acc. pl Mas						
2 B.C.					-yo	
3 A D			-ye			
(x) Nom Acc. pl Neut.						
3 B C.					-mī	-mī
(Aś)						
(xi) Inst Pl						
2 B C.					hī	
2 A.D	-hī					
(xii) Gen pl						
3 B.C.	-nam	-nam,				-nam
(Aś.)		-na				-nā
2 B.C.	-nām,			-nam	-nam	
1 A.D	-na					
2 A.D	-nam					
(xiii) Loc. pl						
3 B C.	-su	-su			-su	ns-
(Aś)						
1 A.D	-su					

Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
(b) Feminine nouns ending in -i						
(i) Nom. sg						
3 B.C. (Aś)	-ī (-i)	-i	-ī	-i (-ī)	-i (-ī)	-i (-ī)
2 B.C.			-i	-i		
1 B.C.				-i		
1 A.D.	-i		(or 2 A.D.) -i			
2 A.D.	-i, -ī					
(ii) Acc sg						
3 B.C. (Aś)	im (-i)	-i		-i	-i (-im, -ī)	-i (-im, -i)
2 B.C.				-im		
(iii) Inst. sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-yā	-ya		-yā	-yā, (-ya)	-yā, (-ya, -ye)
2 B.C.					(-nā ?) mas. term.	
(iv) Dat sg						
3 B.C. (Aś)	-ya	-ya -ye			-ye	-ye -yā
2 A.D.	-ye					
(v) Abl sg						
3 B.C. (Aś)		-ya			yā	-yā
(vi) Gen sg						
2 B.C.				-ya		
1 B.C. or 1 A.D.	-ya					
(vii) Loc sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)		-ya			-ya, -ye	-ye
1 A.D.	-mlh (?)					
(viii) Nom pl						
2 B.C.			-yo			
1 or 2 A.D.			-ya			

Period.	West.	N West.	South	Central	East.	North.
(ix) Acc pl						
2 B.C.					-yo	
(x) Inst. pl						
1 or 2 A.D			-hi			
(xi) Loc pl.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)				su (?)		
1 A.D	-su					
(c) Feminine nouns ending in -ī :						
(i) Nom sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)					-ī, -ī	-ī, -ī
3 B.C.	-ī		-ī			
2 B.C.	-ī, -ī			-ī	-ī	
1 B.C.	-ī, -ī			-ī		
1 A.D	-ī, -ī		-ī	-ī		
2 A.D	-ī		-ī			
3 A.D			-ī			
(ii) Acc sg						
2 B.C.					-īm	
2 A.D			-īm			
(iii) Inst. sg						
2 B.C.					-nā (Mas. Term)	
1 B.C.	-ya					
1 A.D			-ya, -yā	-ye		
2 A.D	-ya		-ya, (-a)			
(iv) Dat. sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)					-ye	-ye
(v) Abl sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)		-ya				ye
2 B.C.	-to			-ya, -ye ?		
1 B.C.				-ya		
1 A.D	-ye					

Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
(vi) Gen. sg.						
3 B.C. (Aś)					-ye	
3 B.C.	-ya		-yā			
2 B.C.	-ya		-yā	-ye -yā, -ya	-ye -ya, (-yā)	
1 B.C.	-ya (-ye)			-ye -yā -ya		
1 A.D.	-ya (-yāva)		-yā -ya	-e		
2 A.D.	-ya (-ye, -yā)		-yā -ya (-sa ?, -na ? -vu ?)			
(vii) Loc. sg.						
3 B.C. (Aś)				-yam	-yam	-yam
2 B.C.					-ye	-ye
1 A.D.	-ya, -ye			-yam		
2 A.D.	yā -yam		-yam			
3 A.D.			-yam			
(viii) Nom. pl.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-yo	-i		-ye	-ī	-yo
1 B.C.	-yo, -o					
1 A.D.	-yo					
2 A.D.	-yo					
(ix) Inst. pl.						
2 B.C.	-hi				-hi	
2 A.D.			-hi			
(x) Gen. pl.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)				-nam	-nam	-nā
2 B.C.	-na			-nam -nā -na		
1 B.C.	-nam					
2 A.D.			-nam			

Period.	West	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North
(xi) Loc pl.						
3 B C. (Aś)					-su	-su
§ 421 Bases ending in -u and -ū						
(a) Masculine nouns in -u						
(i) Nom sg						
3 B C (Aś)	-u	-u		-ñ	-ñ	-ñ
1 B C				-ā		
1 A D	-u					
2 A D	-u					
(ii) Inst sg						
4 A D				-na		
(iii) Abl sg						
2 B C				-yā		
(iv) Gen sg						
2 B C	-sa		(-no ?)	-no (-sa)		
1 A D	-sa		-sa	-no		
2 A D	-sa -no		-sa (-no)			
(v) Loc sg						
1 B C.	-mhu					
	-mu					
1 A D	-mhu					
(vi) Acc pl						
2 B C.					-(v)am	
(vii) Inst. pl						
3 B.C. (Aś)	-hu	-hu			-hu	-hu
1 A D	-hu					
(viii) Gen pl						
3 B C. (Aś.)	-nam	-na		-ram	-nam	-nā
2 B.C.				-nam	(-na ?)	
1 A D	-ram,					
	-ra					
2 A.D.	-ra		-ram,			
			-ram			



Period.	West.	N West.	South	Central	East	North.
(ix) Loc. pl						
3 B.C. (Aś.)			-su	-su	-su	-su
3rd cent. B.C. (Aśoka) Nom Acc sg Neut. u, W, N-W, C, E, N						
3rd cent. B.C. (Aśoka) Nom Acc pl Neut. -nu, W, N-W, C, E, N						
(b) Feminine nouns ending in -ū						
(i) Nom sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-u	-u		-u	-u	-u
1 B.C.				-u		
(ii) Gen sg						
3 B.C.	-ya					
1 B.C.				-ya		
1 A.D.	-ya					
§ 422 Bases in -ṛ						
(a) Masculine nouns in -ṛ						
(i) Nom. sg.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)					-ā	-ā
1 B.C.				-ā		
(ii) Inst. sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ā	-na			-nā	-nā
1 A.D.	-ā					
2 A.D.	-ā					
(iii) Gen sg						
3 B.C.			-no			
2 B.C.	-no			-u		
1 B.C.	-no					
1 A.D.	-u		-no			
2 A.D.	-no		-no			
(iv) Nom. pl						
3 B.C. (Aś.)		-o			-i	-e
2 B.C.		-e				
(v) Inst. pl.						
2 B.C.						
1 A.D.	-hi			-hi	-hi	

Period	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
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## (v1) Gen pl

3 B C (Aś)		-na				
3 B C.					-nam	-nam
2 B C					-nam	
1 B C	-nam (-nam)			-na		
1 or 2 A D			-nam			
2 A D	-nam		-nam			

## (b) Feminine nouns in -7

## (i) Nom. sg

1 A.D	-ā					
2 A.D			-ā			

## (ii) Acc sg

2 A D			-am			
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## (iii) Inst. sg

1 B C	-u					
1 A.D	-ya, -ye			-(7)e		
2 A.D.	-u, -(7)a,					

## (iv) Gen. sg

3 B C. (Aś.)				-u		
3 B.C.			-u			
2 B.C.	-u		-u, -ya	-u		
1 B.C.	-u			-u		
	-ya					
1 A.D.	-ya		(or 2 A.D)			
			-u			
2 A.D	-ya		-ya			
	-u					

## (v) Inst. pl.

2 A.D.			-i			
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## (vi) Gen pl

3 B.C. (Aś.)		-ra				
1 B.C.	-nam					

Period	West.	N West.	South	Central	East.	North.
§ 423 Bases in -au						
(i) Nom. pl fem.						
1 B C	-(v)o					
(ii) Gen pl fem						
1 A.D	-(v)ām					
§ 424 ,Bases ending in Consonants						
(a) Masculine nouns in -at						
(i) Nom sg						
3 B C	-um, -u,	-a, -am		-e, -am	-a, -e	-am, -a
(Aś)	-(f)o				-am	
1 B C	-o			-ā		
(ii) Acc. sg						
1 B.C.				-o		
(iii) Inst. sg						
3 B C				-ā		-ā
(Aś)						
2 B C					-ā	
(iv) Gen. sg						
3 B C		-sa				
(Aś)						
3 B C					-e	
2 B.C.				-o, -sa	-o	
1 B C	-sa			-o, -sa		
1 A.D	-sa		-o	-o		
2 & 3 A.D			-o			
(v) Loc sg						
1 B.C.				-e		
1 A.D	-i					
(vi) Nom pl						
3 B.C.	-(mt)o					
(Aś)						
(vii) Gen pl						
2 B.C.					nam	
1 B.C.	-nam			nam		
1 A.D	-nam					
	-āni, -ā					

Period.	West	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North
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## (b) Mas and Neut nouns in -an

## (i) Nom sg Mas

3 B C (Aś)	-ā	-a		-ā	-ā	-ā
3 B C			-ā			
2 B C					-ā	
1 B C	-ā			-ā		
2 A D			-ā			
3 A D			-ā, -o			

## (ii) Nom Acc sg Neut.

3 B C (Aś)	-a	-am			-e	-e
3 B C		-a			-a, -am	-am, -ā, -ā
2 B C			-a			
	-am		-am			

## (iii) Inst. sg

3 B C (Aś)	-nā	-na	-na	-nā	-nā	-nā
1 B C.	-nā			-nā		
2 A.D	-ñā		-nā			
3 A.D			-(e)na			

## (iv) Abl sg

2 B C.					-ā	
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## (v) Gen sg

3 B C. (Aś)	-ño	-ño			-ne	-ne
2 B C.	-sa	-ne			-sa	
				-ño	-sa	
1 B C	-sa			-ño	-no	
	-ño			no		
				(-ne ?)		
1 B C. or 1 A.D.	-sa					
1 A D	-ño		(or 2 A.D.)			
	-no		-ño,			
			-no, -no			
2 A.D	-ño		-ño, -no			
	-no, -na		-no			
			(-ne, -nam)			
3 A.D			-sa			
4 A.D.			-sa -ssa			
				-no		

## (vi) Loc. sg

1 B C.	-n					
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Period	West.	N West.	South.	Central.	East.	North.
(vii) Acc. pl						
2 B.C.					-no	
(viii) Gen pl						
2 B.C.					-nam	
(c) Fem nouns in -an						
(1) Loc. sg						
1 A.D.	-e					
(d) Mas and Neut nouns in -as						
(1) Nom sg Mas						
2 B.C.					(-e ?)	
2 A.D.	-o <sub>i</sub> (-e)					
(ii) Inst sg						
2 A.D.			-ā			
(iii) Abl sg						
2 B.C.				-ā (?)		
(iv) Gen sg						
2 B.C.				-sa		
1 B.C.				-sa		
1 A.D.	-sa					
(v) Loc. sg						
2 B.C.				-e ?		
				(compound)		
1 B.C.	-si					
	(compound)					
(vi) Gen sg						
2 B.C.				-na(?)		
(e) Feminine nouns in -as						
(1) Nom sg.						
1 B.C.				-ā		

Period	West.	N West.	South	Central	East.	North
(ii) Gen sg						
2 B.C.				-ye -yā (?)		
(iii) Noun pl						
1 B.C.				-ā		
(f) Masculine nouns in <i>-in</i>						
(1) Nom sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-i	-i		-ī	-ī	-i
3 B.C.			-i			
2 B.C.	-i		-i			
1 B.C.	-i, -ī			-i		
1 A.D.	-i					
3 A.D.			-i			
(ii) Inst. sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-nā	-na	-nā	-nā	-nā	-nā
2 B.C.	-nā, (-nā?)			-nā	-na	-na
1 A.D.	-nā					
2 A.D.	-nā		-nā			
(iii) Gen sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	-no	-sa -nc			-nc	-nc -sā
3 B.C.				-sa		
2 B.C.	-sa			-no -sa	-no	
1 B.C.	-no (-no)			-no (-sa)		
1 A.D.	-sa		(or 2 A.D.) -no			
2 A.D.	-sa		-sa (-no)			
3 A.D.			-no			
(iv) Nom. pl						
2 B.C.				-na		
(v) Acc. pl						
3 B.C. (Aś.)		-na -nc			-ni	-ni
2 B.C.					-i	

Period.	West.	N West.	South	Central	East.	North
(vi) Inst. pl						
3 A.D.			-hi			
(vii) Gen pl.						
2 B.C.	-nā, -nam				-nam	
1 B.C.	-nam					
1 A.D.	-nam					
2 A.D.	-nam					
(g) A few other bases						
1 Noun <i>dis-</i>						
(1) Acc. sg						
3 B.C.						-ā
(Aś)						
2 B.C.					-am	
1 B.C.				(-a ?)		
(ii) Gen pl						
2 B.C.					-nam	
2 Nouns ending in -d						
(1) Nom sg						
3 B.C.			-ā			
3 Nouns ending in -j						
(1) Gen sg						
2 B.C.	-sa			-sa		
4 Nouns ending in -h						
(1) Gen pl						
2 A.D.	-na					
5 Nouns ending in -it						
(1) Nom sg						
1 B.C.				-i		
6 Nouns ending in -ut						
(1) Gen. sg						
1 B.C.				-sa		
				(compound)		

Period	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East	North.
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## PRONOUNS

## § 425 The First Personal Pronoun

## (i) Dat. sg

2 A.D. *me*

## (ii) Gen sg

1 A.D. *mama, me*

## (iii) Nom pl

3 B.C. *maye*

(Aś)

3 A.D. *amhe,*  
*ammhe,*  
*amho*

## (iv) Inst. pl.

1 A.D. *amhe-hi*

3 A.D. *amhe-hi,*  
*amhe-lum*

4 A.D. *āhmc-him*

## (v) Gen. pl

3 B.C. *aplākā,* *ne*

(Aś)

1 A.D. *na*

3 A.D. *amham*  
*no(?)*

## § 426 The Second Personal Pronoun

## (i) Gen pl

3 B.C. *tuphākam,* *tuphāka*

(Aś)

3 A.D. *vo*

## § 427 The third Personal Pronoun

## (i) Nom sg Mas.

3 B.C. *so* *so, sa* *sc* *sc, śe,*

(Aś.) *sā* *sc* *tc*

2 B.C. *so* *sa,*  
*(so)*

1 A.D. *so*

2 A.D. *sc (?)*

3 A.D. *sa*



Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North.
(11) Acc. sg Mas.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>so</i>	<i>tam</i>				<i>tam</i>
3 A.D.			<i>tam</i>			
(111) Inst sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>tena</i>	<i>tena</i>			<i>tena</i>	<i>tenā</i>
3 B.C.			<i>tena</i>			
(iv) Gen sg						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>tasa</i>	<i>tasa</i>			<i>tasa</i>	<i>taśa, taṣā, tasā</i>
2 B.C.				<i>tasa</i>		
1 A.D.	<i>tasa</i>					
2 A.D.			<i>se, sa tasa tasa</i>			
3 A.D.			<i>tasa</i>			
4 A.D.				<i>se, tissa</i>		
(v) Nom. pl						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>te</i>		<i>te, se</i>	<i>te</i>	<i>te, se</i>	<i>te</i>
2 B.C.				<i>te</i>		
(vi) Gen pl.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>teṣam</i> <i>tesa</i>	<i>teṣam</i> <i>teṣa</i> <i>tenam</i> (Mansehra)		<i>tānam</i>	<i>tesam</i> <i>tesa</i> <i>tānam</i>	<i>tesam</i> <i>teṣam</i> <i>tānam</i>
3 B.C.		<i>teṣam</i>				
1 B.C.	<i>tesa(?)</i>					
(vii) Nom sg Fem.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>sā</i>	<i>sa</i>				<i>sā,</i>
1 A.D.	<i>sa</i>					<i>ṣā</i>
(viii) Acc. sg Fem.						
3 B.C. (Aś.)					<i>tam</i>	<i>taṁ</i>
2 B.C.					<i>tam</i>	

Period	West.	N West.	South	Central	East.	North.
(ix) Nom sg Neut.						
3 B C (Aś) (nom & Acc. sg)	<i>ta</i> ( <i>se</i> )	<i>tam, so</i> ( <i>sa, se</i> )		<i>se</i> <i>še</i> (kq)		<i>ta,</i> <i>se, se</i>
1 A D	<i>ta</i>					
4 A D				<i>tam</i>		

## § 428 Demonstrative pronouns

(a) The pronoun *etad*

## (i) Nom sg Mas

3 B C. (Aś) <sub>1</sub>	<i>esa</i> ( <i>esā</i> )	<i>eše</i> <i>eša</i>			<i>esa</i> ( <i>esā</i> )	<i>ese, eše,</i> <i>esa, eša</i>
1 B C.	<i>esa,</i> <i>eto</i>					

## (ii) Nom sg Neut.

3 B C (Aś)'	<i>eta,</i> <i>etam</i> <i>esa</i>	<i>etake,</i> <i>eta</i> <i>etam</i> <i>eše</i>	<i>esa</i>	<i>esa</i> <i>eso</i>	<i>esa</i>	<i>ese, eše,</i> <i>esa</i>
1 A D	<i>eta,</i> <i>etata</i>					
2 A D	<i>esa</i>		<i>etam</i>			
3 A D			<i>etam</i>			
4 A D					<i>ettham</i> (?)	

## (iii) Acc sg Neut.

3 B.C. (Aś)'	<i>eta</i>				<i>etam</i>	<i>etam</i>
1 A.D	<i>eta</i>					
2 & 3 A.D			<i>etam</i>			

## (iv) Abl sg

1 A.D	<i>eto</i>
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## (v) Gen sg

3 B.C. (Aś.)	<i>etasa</i>	<i>etasa</i> <i>etisa</i>			<i>etasa</i>	<i>etiṣā</i>
1 B.C.	<i>etasa</i>					
1 A.D	<i>etasa,</i> <i>etesa</i>					
2 A.D	<i>etasa,</i> <i>etesa</i>					
3 A.D			<i>etasa,</i> <i>etassa</i>			

Period	West.	N West.	South	Central	East.	North.
(vi) Loc. sg						
3 B C (Aś)	<i>etamhī</i>				<i>etasi</i>	
2 A.D	<i>etesi</i>					
3 A.D			<i>etamsi</i> <i>etesi(?)</i>			
(vii) Nom. pl Mas						
3 B C (Aś)	<i>ete</i>	<i>eta</i>			<i>ete</i>	<i>ete</i>
1 A.D	<i>ete</i>					
2 A.D			<i>ete</i>			
(viii) Nom. pl Neut.						
3 B.C. (Aś)]		<i>etamī</i>		<i>etānī</i>	<i>etānī</i>	<i>etānī</i>
2 B C					<i>ete</i>	
(ix) Inst pl						
1 A.D	<i>eteḥ,</i> <i>etaḥ</i>					
2 A.D	<i>eteḥ</i>					
3 A.D			<i>eteḥ</i>			
4 A.D.				<i>eteḥ</i>		
(x) Abl pl						
1 A.D	<i>eto</i>					
(xi) Gen pl						
2 B.C					<i>(e) tīnamī</i>	
4 A.D.				<i>etāna</i>		
(xii) Loc. sg fem						
1 A.D	<i>etiya</i>					
2 A.D	<i>etāya</i>		<i>etiya</i>			
(b) The Pronoun <i>īdam</i>						
(1) Nom. sg Mas						
3 B.C. (Aś)	<i>ayam</i>	<i>ayam</i>	<i>īyam</i>	<i>īyam</i>	<i>ayam</i>	<i>ayam</i>
2 B.C		<i>ayī</i>		<i>īya</i>	<i>īyam</i>	<i>īyam</i>
2 A.D	<i>īma</i>		<i>īma</i> <i>īmam</i> (Mas or Neut. ?)	<i>ayam</i>		

Period	West.	N West	South	Central	East.	North.
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## (ii) Nom Acc. sg Neut.

3 B C (AŚ)	<i>īdam</i> ( <i>īdā</i> ) <i>ayam</i> '	Nom <i>īdam</i> <i>īdā</i> <i>īmani, īma</i> <i>īyanti, īyā</i> <i>īyo</i> Acc. <i>īmam</i>	<i>īmani</i> <i>īyam</i>	<i>īmani</i> <i>īyam</i>	Nom <i>īyaṃ</i> Acc. <i>īdam</i>	Nom <i>īyaṃ</i> Acc. <i>īmam</i>
3 B C. (AŚ)						
3 B C					<i>īyam</i>	
1 B C	<i>īmani</i> <i>īma</i>					
1 A D	<i>īmam</i>					
2 A D	<i>īna</i>		<i>īmam</i>			
4 A D				<i>īmani</i>		

## (iii) Inst sg

3 B C (AŚ)	<i>īminā</i>		<i>īminā</i>		<i>īmena</i>	
1 A D	( <i>a</i> ) <i>nena</i>					

## (iv) Gen sg

3 B C (AŚ)	<i>īmasa</i>	<i>īmasa</i> <i>īmisa</i>			<i>īmasa</i>	<i>īmīsā</i>
1 A D	<i>asa</i>					
2 A D			<i>īmasa</i>			

## (v) Loc sg

3 B C (AŚ)	<i>īmanīḥ</i>					
1 A D	<i>īmasmin</i>					
2 A D			<i>īmanīḥ</i>			

## (vi) Nom pl Mas

3 B C. (AŚ)	<i>īme</i>	<i>īme</i>	<i>īme</i>		<i>īme</i>	<i>īmī</i>
1 A D	<i>īme</i>					

## § 429 Relative Pronoun

(a) The pronoun *yad* .

## (1) Nom sg Mas

3 B C. (AŚ.)	<i>yo</i>	<i>yo</i> <i>ye</i>		<i>ye</i> <i>e</i>	<i>ye</i> <i>e</i>	<i>ye</i> <i>e</i>
2 B C.				<i>yo</i>		
3 A D			<i>yo</i> , <i>jo</i>			
4 A D				<i>jo</i>		

Period.	West.	N West	South.	Central	East.	North.
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## (11) Acc sg Mas

1 B.C.

*yam*

## (111) Nom. sg Neut.

3 B.C.

*ya**yam**e**e**ye, e,  
a, am*

(Aś.)

*ye*

1 A.D.

*ye**ya*

## (1V) Inst. sg.

3 B.C.

*yena**yena**yena*

(Aś.)

*ena**ena*

3 B.C.

*yena*

## (v) Nom pl Mas

3 B.C.

*ye**ye**e**ye**ye*

(Aś.)

*e**e*

2 B.C.

*e*

1 A.D.

*ya (?)*

## (vi) Nom pl Neut

3 B.C.

*yāni**āni**yāni*

(Aś.)

2 A.D.

*yāni (?)*

## (vii) Nom sg Fem.

3 B.C.

*ya**yā, ā**yā*

(Aś.)

1 B.C.

*yam (?)*

1 A.D.

*yā*

## § 430 Interrogative Pronoun

(a) The pronoun *kim*

## (1) Nom sg Mas.

3 B.C.

*ko-ci**ka ci**ke-cā**ke cha*

(Aś.)

*ke chi**ke-cha*

3 A.D.

*ko*§ 431 The pronoun *sarva-*

## (1) Acc. sg Mas

3 B.C.

*-am**-am**am*

(Aś.)

1 B.C.

*-am*

Period.	West.	N West	South.	Central	East.	North
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## (u) Nom sg Neut

3 B C (Aś)	-am	-am -e		-e	-e	-e -a
2 A.D			-am			

## (iii) Inst. sg

3 B C (Aś)					-ena -enā'	
2 A D	-ena					

## (iv) Gen sg

3 B C (Aś)					-sa	
2 A.D			-sa			

## (v) Nom pl Mas

3 B.C (Aś)	-e	-e			-e	-e
2 B C				-e		

## (vi) Inst. pl

2 A D	-eḥi					
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## (vii) Gen pl

2 B.C.				-nam, -na (?)		
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§ 432 The pronoun *anya-* :

## (i) Nom sg Mas

3 B C (Aś)	-e	-e, -i			-e	e
2 B.C.	-o					

## (ii) Nom sg Neut.

3 B.C. (Aś)	-a, -c	-am' e		-e	e	-e
3 B.C.			-am			

## (iii) Nom pl Neut.

3 B.C. (Aś)	-āni	-ani		-ār	-ār	
2 A.D	-āni					

Period.	West.	N West.	South	Central	East.	North.
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## (iv) Inst. pl

3 A.D. *-ehi*

## VERB FORMS

## § 433 Present Indicative.

## (i) First pers sg

3 B.C. *-mi* *-mi* *-mi* *-mi* *-mi*

(Aś)

3 A.D. *-mi*

## (ii) Third pers sg

3 B.C. *-ti* *ti* *-ti* *-ti* *-ti*

(Aś)

2 B.C. *-ti*  
*-aya-ti*,  
*-e-ti*

1 B.C.

1 A.D. *-ti* *-ti*

*-aya-ti*

2 A.D. *-ti*

3 A.D. *-ti*

4 A.D. *-ti*

## (iii) Third pers sg Causal

2 B.C. *-aya-ti*  
*-āpaya-ti*  
*-e-ti*

3 A.D. *-ve-ti*

## (iv) Third sg Middle.

3 B.C. *-te* *-te*

(Aś)

1 B.C. *-te* *-te*

1 A.D. *-te*

## (v) Third pers sg Passive.

3 B.C. *-ti* *-ti* *-ti*

(Aś.)

1 A.D. *-te*

## (vi) First pers pl

1 A.D. *-ma*

2 A.D. *-ma*

3 A.D. *-ma*

4 A.D. *-ma*

Period.	West.	N West.	South	Central.	East.	North.
vii) Third pers pl						
3 B C (Aś)	-at <sub>i</sub>	-amti -ati			-amti -ati	-amti -ati
1 B C				-amti	-amti -aya-mti	

## § 434 Imperative Mood

## (i) Second pers sg

1 A D.	-hi					
	-pc-hi (causal)					
2 A.D	-hi					
	-pc-hi (causal)					
3 A.D.			-hi -pc <sup>2</sup> hi (causal)			

## (ii) Third pers sg

3 B C (Aś)		-tu		-tū	-tū	-tū
2 A.D			-tu -tlu			

## (iii) Third pers sg Middle.

1 B C				-tam		
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## (iv) Second pers pl

3 B C (Aś.)	-tha			-ta	-thā	
1 A D	-tha, -ṭha					
3 A D			-tha -pc-tha, (causal)			
4 A D				-dha -pc-dha (causal)		

## (v) Third pers. pl

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-amtu -atu -ru	-amtu -atu			-amtu	-amtu -atu
2 A.D			-antu			



Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North
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## § 435 Potential Mood

## (1) Third pers sg

3 B.C. (Aś)	-a -e -eya	-ya -ti	-eyā	-vā -yā -ya (causal)	-vā -e -eyā, -yā	-vā -eyā -ti
2 B.C.				-yā -pe-ya (causal)		
3 A.D.			-ja, -jā -yya -pe-jā -ve-jā (causal)			
4 A.D.				-jja		

## (11) First pers pl

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ema				-ema	-ema
3 A.D.			-yyā-ma -jā mo			
4 A.D.				-ejjā-ma		

## (111) Third pers pl

3 B.C. (Aś)	-u, -eyu	-u, -eyu	-eyu	-āvu -eyu -yu, -yā (?)	-eyā -evā	-u, -eyu -evā
2 B.C.						

## § 436 Imperfect.

## (1) Third pers sg

3 B.C. (As)	(forms of aho	√bhū-) aho			aho	aho
2 A.D.	-pa-yi-ta (causal)					

## § 437 Aorist

## (1) Third pers sg

3 B.C. (As)		-mi			-mi	
2 B.C.				or 1 B.C. -si	-(yi)tha(?)	

## § 438 Future.

## (1) Third pers sg

3 B.C. (As)	-sa ti	-sa-ti	-sa-ti	-sa-ti	-sa ti	-sa-ti
1 A.D.	-sa-ti	-si-ti		-sa-ti		

Period.	West.	N West.	South	Central	East	North
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## § 439 Present Participles

## (A) Active —

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ata, -amta (-u, -um)	-amta		-amta	-amta	-amta
1 A.D.	-amta, -ata			-amta	-amta (fem -amt)	
2 A.D.	-ata					

## (B), Middle —

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-māna	-mana	-mna -mīna	-mīna	-mīna	-māna -mīna
1 A.D.	-māna					
2 A.D.			-māna			

## § 440 Past Passive Participles .

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ta, -na	-ta, -na	-ta	-ta, -na	-ta, -na	-ta, -na
3 B.C.			-na			
2 B.C.	-ta, -na			-ta, -na	-ta, (-na)	
1 B.C.	-ta, -na			-ta, (-na)		
1 A.D.	-ta		(-na)	-ta		
2 A.D.	-ta (-ta, -na, -na)		-ta, (-na)			
3 A.D.			ta			

## § 441. Potential Passive Participles .

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-tava, -ya	-tava, -ya	-tava	-taviya	-tava	-taviya
	-ya	-tave -ya -anīya	-taviya	-ya	-taviya -ya, -anīya -tava	-anīya
3 B.C.						
1 A.D.	-ya, -tava					
2 A.D.	-ya, -tava		-jja			
3 A.D.			-tava, -tarva -pe-tarva (causal)			
4 A.D.				-tarvā		

## § 442 Absolutes

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-tpā, -ya	-tu, -ti -ya		-tūram	-tū	-tu -ya
3 B.C.			-tu			
2 B.C.				-ya	-tā	
1 B.C.	-ya					

Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central	East.	North
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## § 435 Potential Mood

## (1) Third pers sg

3 B.C. (Aś)	-a -e -eya	-ya -ti	-eyā	-vā -yā	-vā -e -eyā, -yā	-vā -eyā -ti
2 B.C.				-yā -pe-ya (causal)		
3 A.D.			-ja, -jā -yya -pe-jā -ve-jā (causal)			
4 A.D.				-jja		

## (II) First pers pl

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-ema				-ema	-ema
3 A.D.			-yyā-ma -jā mo			
4 A.D.				-ejjā-ma		

## (III) Third pers pl

3 B.C. (Aś.)	-u, -eyu	-u, -eyu	-eyu	-āvu -eyu	-eyū -evū	-u, -eyu -evū
2 B.C.				-yu, -yū (?)		

## § 436 Imperfect.

## (1) Third pers sg

3 B.C. (As)	(forms of aho	√bhū-) aho			aho	aho
2 A.D.	-pa-yi-ta (causal)					

## § 437 Aorist.

## (1) Third pers sg

3 B.C. (Aś)		-mi			-mi	
2 B.C.				or 1 B.C. -si	-(yi)tha(?)	

## § 438 Future.

## (1) Third pers sg

3 B.C. (Aś)	sa ti	-sa ti	-sa-ti	-śa-ti	-sa-ti	-sa-ti
1 A.D.	-sa-ti	-si-ti		-sa-ti		

Period.	West.	N West.	South	Central	East	North
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## § 439 Present Participles

## (A) Active —

3 B.C. (Aś)	-ata, -amta (-u, -um)	-am̐ta		-amta	-amta	-amta
1 A.D.	-amta, -ata			-amta	-amta (fem -amti)	
2 A.D.	-ata					

## (B) Middle —

3 B.C. (Aś)	-māna	-mana	-mīna -mīna	-mīna	-mīna	-māna -mīna
1 A.D.	-māna					
2 A.D.			-māna			

## § 440 Past Passive Participles

3 B.C. (Aś)	-ta, -na	-ta, -na	-ta	-ta, -na	-ta, -na	-ta, -na
3 B.C.			-na			
2 B.C.	-ta, -na			-ta, -na	-ta, (-na)	
1 B.C.	-ta, -na			-ta, (-na)		
1 A.D.	-ta		(-na)	-ta		
2 A.D.	-ta (-ta, -na, -na)		-ta, (-na)			
3 A.D.			ta			

## § 441. Potential Passive Participles

3 B.C. (Aś)	-tavya, -ya	-tavya, -tave -ya -anīya	-tavya -taviya	-taviya -ya	-tavya -taviya -ya, -anīya -tava	-taviya -anīya
3 B.C.						
1 A.D.	-ya, -tava					
2 A.D.	-ya, -tava		-jja			
3 A.D.			-tava, -tavva -pe-tavva (causal)			
4 A.D.				-tavvā		

## § 442 Absolutes

3 B.C. (Aś)	-tpā, -ya	-tu, -ti -ya		-tū am	-tū	-tu, -ya
3 B.C.			-tu			
2 B.C.				-ya	-tā	
1 B.C.	-ya					

Period.	West.	N West.	South.	Central.	East.	North
2 A.D			-tūnam -tūna			
3 A.D			-tūnam, -tūna -tūna			
4 A.D.				-tūā		
§ 443 Infinitives.						
3 B.C. (A.S.)	-tu -tave		-tave	-tave	-tave	-tave
2 B.C.					-tum	

## CONCLUSIONS

§ 444 As has been already noted the purpose of the preceding two chapters was to tabulate the results of investigations both regionally and chronologically This chapter is devoted to derive conclusions from these tables and decide, wherever possible, the home of a particular linguistic change and its further progress It has been already pointed out in the Introduction that the uneven distribution of the material at our disposal forms one of the difficulties in our studies and as such in some cases the conclusions could remain open to corrections In the following paragraphs only such cases have been treated as could yield some specific results, leaving aside those where the changes are too sporadic, or where they are not properly exemplified

## I. VOWELS

§ 445 The vowel *ṛ* In Aśokan inscriptions the vowel *ṛ* in the initial syllable becomes *a*- almost in all cases in the West and in some cases in the rest of the inscriptions. But in later centuries the *a*- treatment in the initial syllable becomes predominant in inscriptions from all parts of India.

Medially  $-r- > -a-$  not only in the West but even elsewhere in Aśokan days  
This treatment has only been preserved in later centuries

The treatment  $\acute{s} \rightarrow \tau$  which is noticed in all Aśokan inscriptions, except those in the West, as has been stated above, gradually disappears in later centuries. Yet it lingers on in inscriptions of the 2nd and 1st centuries B.C. of Central India. In the South we find  $\tau \rightarrow a$  even in the presence of labials. This is in all probability due to the Western influence.

Thus  $\tau \rightarrow a$   $W(\text{est}) \rightarrow C(\text{entral}) \rightarrow E(\text{ast})$   
 $\rightarrow S(\text{outh})$

7- > 1- : E, C, S (met with almost only in the Aśokan inscriptions)

The vowel  $-r > -u$  mostly in nouns expressive of human relationship. The treatment is noticed in the N-West and the South in the 3rd cent. B.C. But in the same century  $-r > -i$  in similar words in the East and the North (also in the South and the North-West). In later centuries, however, the  $-u$  treatment gets the upper hand and is exemplified in inscriptions from 2nd cent. B.C. to 3rd cent. A.D. in the West and from 2nd cent. B.C. to 3 cent. A.D. in the South. In Central India, however, it is the  $-i$  treatment which is mostly preserved.

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{Thus } -r > -u \quad N-W, W \rightarrow C \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad S \qquad \qquad \qquad \left. \vphantom{\begin{matrix} N-W, W \rightarrow C \\ S \end{matrix}} \right\} \\ -r > -t : N, E, (S, N-W) \rightarrow C \rightarrow W \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad S \qquad \qquad \qquad \left. \vphantom{(S, N-W)} \right\} \end{array}$$

§ 446 The vowel *a* This vowel is generally well preserved It is changed to *ā* in a metrically long syllable in some words since the days of Aśoka In that period the tendency is noticed in the West, East and North and less forcibly in the Centre and the South In later inscriptions from the West we do not get many examples of the change till we come to the 1st cent. A.D. whence we get more or less definite examples In the East the tendency is almost rarely met with In the Central group, however, definite instances are available even in the 2nd cent. B.C. In the South, as in the West, early inscriptions give rather few examples but inscriptions from 1st cent. A.D. yield definite instances Thus the tendency seems to have died out in the East, preserved in the Centre and revived in the West and South from 1st cent. A.D.

§ 447 The vowel *ā* The vowel is generally preserved But the change *ā* > *a* before a consonant cluster is met with more often than the reverse change *a* > *ā* in similar circumstances The tendency is noticed markedly in the West and less forcibly in the East, Centre, North and South in Aśokan inscriptions Among the later inscriptions in the West, those dating before the beginning of the Christian era give a few examples but the instances get multiplied from 1st cent. A.D. onwards In the East we get a few examples in the 2nd cent. B.C. inscriptions In the Central group the tendency is strongly felt even from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 4th cent. A.D. In the South, too, we get a few instances from the 3rd cent. B.C. inscriptions, but as centuries roll on we find more and more examples indicating the change. The change, therefore, seems to have spread on the one hand from the West to the Centre and on the other from the West to the South.

The vowel *ā* is sometimes shortened even before the case terminations of the fem. noun in *-ā*. We get very few instances of this type in the West and East. In the Central group the vowel *ā* is shortened in the inscriptions of 2nd cent. B.C. But in the 1st cent. B.C. it is more preserved than shortened In the South, however, exactly the opposite of this has taken place. For, there the early inscriptions preserve long *ā*, but the later ones from 2nd cent. A.D., shorten it to *a* more often.

§ 448 The vowel *i* The vowel *i*, though mostly preserved, becomes long in a metrically long syllable. The change is observed more in the West than anywhere else in the Aśokan inscriptions In the following centuries we find very few instances in the West from about 1st cent. B.C. In the East, too, there are very few examples In the Central group some examples are available from the 2nd cent. B.C. inscriptions but there are almost no examples in the 1st cent. B.C. inscriptions In the South also later inscriptions give but a few examples Thus the tendency which was weak in the West itself has slightly influenced the other parts in later centuries.

The vowel also changes to *e* before a consonant cluster The instances are available from all groups and almost from early days but in all of them the examples are very few.

§ 449 The vowel *ī* The long vowel *ī* is sometimes shortened to *i* before a consonant cluster This type of change is more strongly felt in the East, Centre and the North than in the West and South in the Aśokan inscriptions. In later inscriptions few instances are available in the West from 1st cent. B.C. to 2nd cent. A.D. In the East however, the long vowel is generally preserved Similarly in the Central and Southern groups very few examples are available which indicate this change.

Like the vowel *ā*, the vowel *ī* also is shortened before the case terminations of the

feminine nouns ending in *ī* The tendency is observed in the Central and Northern inscriptions of Aśoka This tendency is fairly common in the West, East and South even from the 3rd cent. B.C. But in the Central group we get very few examples at all times

The vowel *ī* is shortened even at the end of the first member of a compound In the West it is preserved in the earliest inscriptions but from about 1st cent. B.C. we get usually a short *-i-* in its place. In the Central group the tendency is common from the 3rd cent. B.C. Thus, therefore, seems to have been the home of the change whence it quickly went to the West In the South the influence is noted very late in the 2nd cent. A.D., but the examples are not at all common

§ 450 The vowel *u* In Aśokan inscriptions the vowel is preserved in the West (North-West) and South, whereas it is sometimes lengthened to *ū* in the Centre, East and North in a metrically long syllable. In the following inscriptions too in the West the assimilation of the cluster does not much affect the preceding vowel. In the East also the examples of the 2nd cent. B.C. inscriptions indicating the change *u > ū* are almost negligible. In the Central group we do meet with a few examples showing the change *u > ū* in the 3rd cent. and 2nd cent. B.C., but in later inscriptions the change is conspicuous by its absence. In the South, however, we get some definite instances in the inscriptions of the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D.

The vowel *u > o* in a metrically long syllable But the instances are few in all groups and at all times

§ 451 The vowel *ū* The long vowel is generally shortened to *u* in all inscriptions of Aśoka whenever it is followed by a consonant cluster. This tendency is normally preserved in all later inscriptions

## II SIMPLE CONSONANTS

§ 452 The guttural *k* Initially *k-* is preserved everywhere Medially its sonantisation is first noticed in the 3rd cent. B.C. in the Eastern, Central and Southern groups The same change appears in the Western group in the first cent. A.D. The examples of the change *-k- > -g-* become of some frequency in the Western and Southern groups from about the 2nd cent. A.D. The change *-k- > -g-* therefore, seems to have travelled from the East (→ the Centre) to the South and to the West. In the North-west the change is noticed from the first cent. B.C. Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions

The change *-k- > -y-* has its first appearance in the Eastern group in the 3rd cent. B.C. It is next found in the Western group in the first cent. B.C. and in the Southern group in the 2nd cent. A.D. This change, therefore, seems to have taken a different course in travelling from the East to the South via West. This change is very rarely met with in the later N-Western Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions

The loss of intervocal *-k-* does not appear in earlier inscriptions Its first occurrence is met with in the inscriptions of the first cent. A.D. on the Western, North-Western and the Southern side.

§ 453 The guttural *kh* This is also preserved initially everywhere. Medially it is changed to *-gh-* first in the Central and Western inscriptions of the first century B.C. and then in the Southern ones in the first century A.D. The change, therefore, seems to have followed C → W → S direction

§ 454 The guttural *g* : It is initially preserved Medially it is devoiced to *-k-* first in the East and North-West divisions of the Aśokan inscriptions Next it is noticed



in the Western group in the first century B.C. and then again with some frequency, though more or less in proper names in the Southern group from the first century A.D. The change, therefore, seems to have travelled from the East to the West and the South. The change of  $-g > -k(r)$  is found in a few instances of the 1st cent. A.D. in the N-West.

The change  $-g > -y$  has occurred right from the inscriptions of Aśoka in the Eastern, Western and North-Western divisions. This change then appears in the Western group from the second and the first centuries B.C. but does not appear in the inscriptions after the beginning of the Christian era anywhere else.

Intervocal loss of  $-g$  is found in a 2nd cent. A.D. inscription of the N-West.

§ 455 The guttural  $gh$ . It is initially preserved. Intervocally it is devoiced very rarely, the examples being noted only from the inscriptions of Eastern India of about the 2nd cent. B.C. The change  $-gh > -h$  has occurred in most of the divisions even in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

§ 456 The palatal  $c$ . Medially it is softened to  $-j$  in the Eastern and Central divisions of the Aśokan inscriptions. Next, the change is met with in the West and South in the first cent. A.D. The change, therefore, seems to have gone in the following direction

$E \rightarrow C \rightarrow W$  and  $E \rightarrow C \rightarrow S$

The change  $c > y$  occurs even initially in the N-Western, Southern and Central groups though in very late inscriptions of the 2nd, 3rd and 4th centuries A.D. The same change has medially occurred even before, its first appearance being noted in the 1st cent. B.C. inscriptions of N-West and then in the 1st cent. A.D. in the Central and Southern groups. The change  $-c > -y$  appears in the South in later centuries too.

§ 457 The palatal  $j$ . It is initially preserved. The hardening of  $-j > -c$  has been found in the Western and Eastern inscriptions of Aśoka. There are not many examples of this type of change, it being later on only in the Southern group in the 1st cent. A.D.

The change  $-j > -y$  appears in the North-Western region from the period of Aśokan inscriptions. Next it is met with in the Western group in the 2nd cent. B.C. and becomes more and more frequent later on. In the Central group its occurrence is noticed from the 1st cent. B.C. and in the Southern one from the 1st cent. A.D. The change, therefore, seems to have taken the following course: N-W  $\rightarrow$  W  $\rightarrow$  C  $\rightarrow$  S.

The loss of intervocal  $-j$  is found first in the West from an early date in the 2nd cent. B.C. Among the rest of the groups it is found only in the South and the N-West in the 1st cent. A.D.

§ 458 The cerebral  $ṭ$ . It is medially softened to  $-d$  in the Northern and Central divisions of Aśokan inscriptions. The softening has next come to the Western and Southern groups from 2nd cent. B.C. Thus the change has perhaps gone from N  $\rightarrow$  C  $\rightarrow$  W  $\rightarrow$  S (?). It is very rarely met with in the N-West in the 2nd cent. A.D.

§ 459 The cerebral  $ṭh$ . Medially the change  $-ṭh > -ḍh$  has been noticed only very late in the 2nd cent. A.D. in the Western and Southern groups. The loss of the cerebral aspect ( $-ṭh > -th$ ) is found in the Central group in the 2nd cent. B.C. It is also met with in the Western and Southern groups in later centuries.

§ 460 The cerebral  $ḍ$ . Medially the change  $-ḍ > -l$  or  $-l$  is found in the East and North (and perhaps in the Centre) in the days of Aśoka. It is next

noticed in the Western inscriptions in the 1st cent. A.D. and in the Southern group in the 2nd cent. A.D. The change, therefore, seems to have gone from 'E (and N) → C → W → S

The change *-d- > -d-* also occurs in the Aśokan inscriptions on the Eastern, Northern and Central side. It appears in the Western group in the 1st cent. B.C.

§ 461 The cerebral *n* The nasal *-n-* is preserved in the Western, North-Western, and Southern inscriptions of Aśoka, it is also changed to dental *-n-* in the same period in the Eastern, Central, Northern and also in the Southern divisions. But the change *-n- > -n-* is met with in the West and South in the inscriptions following the period of Aśoka. In the N-West *-n-* is preserved in the 1st cent. B.C. but is changed to *-n-* in a few cases from 1st cent. A.D. The preservation of *-n-*, on the other hand, is found in the East in the 2nd cent. B.C., in the Centre in the 1st cent. B.C., in the South from the 1st cent. A.D. and in the West in the 2nd cent. A.D. Thus there appear to have been two currents of changes

(i) *-n- > -n-* E (and N) → C → S, W, and N-W

(ii) *-n- > -n-* W, (and N-W) → C → E and again C and S → W

§ 462 The dental *t* Except for a probable instance of the voicing of initial *t- > d-* in the Northern division of Aśokan inscriptions, initially *t-* is well preserved. The change *-t- > -d-* is found in the North, North-West and South in the 3rd cent. B.C. Next it is found in the East and West in the 2nd cent. B.C. and in the N-West and Centre in the 1st cent. B.C. The change, therefore, seems to have come on the one hand from N-W → W and on the other from N → E → C. Its occurrence in the South seems to be an independent development.

The softening *-t- > -y-* occurs in the Central group in the 2nd cent. B.C. and in the West in the 1st cent. B.C. The loss of intervocal *-t-*, however, has first appeared in the West perhaps in the 1st cent. A.D.

§ 463 The dental *th* The voicing of *-th- > -dh-* first appears in the 2nd cent. B.C. in the Southern and Eastern groups. It is later on found in the Central group in the 1st cent. B.C. Here also the change in the upper India seems to have travelled from E → N, its development in the South being an independent one.

§ 464 The dental *d* The devoicing of *-d- > -t-* has occurred as early as in the Aśokan inscriptions of East India. Next it appears in the South from the 2nd cent. B.C., in the N-West from the 1st cent. B.C., perhaps in the West in the 2nd cent. A.D., and in the Centre in the 4th cent. A.D. As instances from the inscriptions of later centuries from Eastern India are not available, the change *-d- > -t-* in the Central India is obviously due to the Southern influence.

The softening of *-d- > -y-* occurs very often in the West from the 2nd cent. B.C. It has next come to Central India in the 1st cent. B.C. and to the South in the 1st cent. A.D.

The loss of intervocal *-d-* is almost a singular achievement of Western India, instances being found there right from the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 1st cent. A.D. Its occurrence in the N-West is found in a rare illustration of 3rd cent. A.D.

§ 465 The labial *p* Intervocally the change *-p- > -v-* has crept in Eastern and Southern India from the 3rd cent. B.C. It occurs in the West from 2nd cent. B.C. This change in the West is due to the influence from the South or from the East and very likely from the former. Its development in the South is most probably inde-

pendent of any outside influence. The change is rather frequent in the N-West and occurs from 1st cent. B C

Intervocally *-y-* is never dropped even in the West but in a few instances of the N-West from the 1st cent. B.C. onwards it is dropped.

§ 466 The semivowel *y* Though usually preserved in the initial position, it is in a few cases dropped even in the Aśokan inscriptions. Later on we do not find many instances of this initial elision, only a few being available in the Eastern group in the 2nd cent. B C

The change *-y- > -j-* in the medial position has occurred very early. But in the initial syllable the change appears as late as in the 2nd cent. A.D. in the Southern group and in the 4th cent. A.D. in the Central group. In the medial position *-y- > -j-* in the North-Western, Northern and Eastern divisions of Aśokan inscriptions. In later centuries its occurrence is first noticed in the West in the 1st cent. A.D. and in South in the 2nd cent. A.D. The initial change seems to have taken a start in the South and thence gone over to the West, whereas medially the change seems to have first occurred in the North and North-West of India. On the one hand it came to the East and on the other to the West and South.

The loss of intervocal *-y-* has been noticed in the North-Western Aśokan inscriptions. It is also found in the N-West later on from 1st cent. A.D. onwards. Next it is found in the Western group in the 1st cent. B.C. and in the Southern and Central groups in the first cent. A.D. The change, therefore, probably ran from NW → W → S and C.

§ 467 The semivowel *r* The treatment of *r* in Aśokan inscriptions is almost distinct. It is preserved as *r* both initially and medially in the Western and North-Western inscriptions. But it is changed to *l-* or *-l-* in the Eastern, Central and Northern inscriptions. In the Southern inscriptions *r- > l-* regularly but *-r- > -r-* or *-l-*. In the Central division, too, stray occurrences of *-r-* can be found.

Later on this distinction is lost and *r* is almost invariably preserved in all positions in the Western, N-Western, Southern and Central groups. In a few early inscriptions of Eastern (and N-Western) India, however, *r* is changed to *l*.

468 The semivowel *v* Though initially well preserved it becomes *p-*, very rarely though in the Central and Southern groups in the 3rd cent. B.C. and in the Western group in the 1st cent. B.C. Later on its probable occurrence in the medial position is found in the Eastern group in the 2nd cent. B.C. But definite instances of the medial change are available from the 1st cent. B.C. in Central India and from the 1st cent. A.D. in South India. The change, therefore, seems to have adopted the following course

C → S  
→ E (?)  
→ W (?)

The change *v > b* is found in rather insufficient number of examples to deduce any conclusion.

The loss of intervocal *-v-* is noticed only in the Western and Central groups. It seems to have come to the latter from the former, as in the former group instances are available from the 3rd cent. B.C. to the 2nd cent. A.D. and in the latter they are found only in the 4th cent. A.D.

§ 469 Sibilants Except the North-Western inscriptions where the distinction between the three sibilants is maintained from the days of Aśoka onwards, everywhere else they are reduced to the single dental sibilant (the distinction at Kalsi being more graphical than real) In the subsequent inscriptions the change of ś, ṣ > s is complete, barring of course some stray cases where the palatal ś or the cerebral ṣ still lingers on

§ 470 Palatalisation The treatment of different stops which are palatalised is detailed below under different heads

(i) The guttural *k* is medially palatalised in the Aśokan inscriptions of Central and East India and later on it is initially palatalised in Central India in the 2nd cent. B.C. and in Southern India in the 2nd cent. A.D. The change has thus travelled from E → C → S

(ii) The cluster *kṣ* > *ch* initially and medially in the Western and North-Western inscriptions of Aśoka but elsewhere it becomes *kh* Later on this distinction is not maintained as the change *kṣ* > *kh* is noticed in the Western group from the 2nd cent. B.C. onwards (the examples of the change *kṣ* > *ch* are, however, found at every stage) Stray palatalisation of *kṣ* is noticed in the Southern group from 1st cent. A.D. and in the Central group in the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C. Later inscriptions from Central India as well as all the inscriptions from N-Western (where the cluster is also often preserved) and Eastern India never show this palatalisation The course of the change, therefore, may be thus represented

W → C → S

(iii) The change *-ty* > *-c*, *-ts* > *-ch* (or *-tś* in the N-W), *-dy* > *-j* and *-dhy* > *-jh* in some words is found almost everywhere from the earliest times and hence it is hard to indicate the line of treatment

(iv) The change *-ry* > *-j* has first occurred in the South in the 2nd cent. A.D. and it has perhaps thence travelled upwards so that we get some examples from the Central group in the 4th cent. A.D.

§ 471 Cerebralisation As in the case of palatalisation, the cerebralisation of dentals is differently noted

(i) The dental *-t* is cerebralised under the influence of *ṛ* in all Aśokan inscriptions except those in the West In the West this cerebralisation is observed from 1st cent. B.C. Similarly *-ṛt* > *-t̥* everywhere in Aśokan inscriptions but not in the West where it has started from the 1st cent. A.D.

(ii) Similarly cerebralisation of *-ṛth* has occurred in all parts in Aśokan days but not in the West where it is observed from the 1st cent. B.C. Change *-ṛth* > *-{h* or *-dh* occurs in the N-West in the 1st cent. A.D.

(iii) There are very few instances of cerebralisation of *d* under the influence of *ṛ* Yet from the few instances available it appears that the change *-ḍṛ* or *-d̥ṛ* > *-d̥* is quite independent in the South.

(iv) Unlike the cases of *-ṛt* and *-ṛth*, cerebralisation or *-ṛdh* has started in the West even in the days of Aśoka

(v) The cluster *-st* > *-{h* in the Central and perhaps in the Western and Northern inscriptions of Aśoka Definite instances of the change are, however, available from the 2nd cent. B.C. in the West and 1st or 2nd cent. A.D. in the South It has, therefore, probably travelled from C → W and S

(vi) The cluster *sth-* > *st-* in the West in the 3rd cent. B.C. In the medial position it sometimes becomes *-th-* in the East, Centre, North, North-West and South in the same period. But it becomes *-th-* in the West immediately after this period i.e. in the 2nd cent. B.C.

(vii) Initially *n-* does not become *-n-* in Aśokan inscriptions except in a few cases at Koptāḷ in the South. Later on stray instances of this initial change are found in Central India in the 2nd cent. B.C. and in Western India perhaps from the 1st cent. A.D. Definite instances of this change are observed in the N-West from 1st cent. A.D. It next appears in the Central India in the 4th cent. A.D.

Medially, however, *-n-* > *-n-* sometimes in all inscriptions of Aśoka, the preference for the cerebral being noted in the West and North-West. It must be noted that in the Piprahwa vase inscription (Eastern group, 3rd cent. B.C.) *-n-* > *-n-*. In later inscriptions also this preference for *-n-* in the West and N-West is exemplified. This preference for *-n-* is next noted in the inscriptions from South India from the 1st cent. A.D. In the 4th cent. A.D. copper plates of Central India we notice the sweeping change of *-n-* > *-n-*.

The cerebralisation *-n-* > *-n-* in terminations is found only in the South and East in the days of Aśoka. In the later inscriptions usually we find both *-n-* and *-n-* where Sanskrit requires *-n-*. It is only in the Basim plates of the 4th cent. A.D. in Central India that *-n-* appears everywhere in terminations. The change, on the whole, seems to have influenced the regions in this way

$$\begin{array}{c} W \rightarrow C \rightarrow (E) \\ \uparrow \\ S \end{array}$$

### III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 472 Clusters with Gutturals. It seems that in early inscriptions the unaspirated guttural in combination with a sibilant was not aspirated except in the West and Central India. Even later inscriptions from N-West show a tendency towards non-aspiration. But in all other regions from 1st cent. B.C. this aspiration is observed.

#### § 473 Clusters with Cerebrals

(i) *st-* It normally becomes *th-* everywhere. In the inscriptions dating prior to the beginning of the Christian era, however, in the South (?), Centre, and East, *-th-* sometimes takes the place of *-th-*.

(ii) *ṣth-* Barring a few exceptions as above where *th-* is represented as *th-*, in all cases *ṣth-* > *th-*. It is also preserved as *-st-* in a few cases in the N-Western Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

#### § 474 Clusters with Dentals

(i) *st-* In Aśokan inscriptions this cluster is preserved in the Western and North Western divisions. But elsewhere it is assimilated to *th-*. This latter treatment is followed throughout in later centuries, not even excepting Western India. But in the N-West the cluster is preserved in its medial position. (For cerebralisation of the cluster see above § 471)

(ii) *sth-* Except in the West where the cluster is sometimes preserved as *st-* or *-st-*, in all other inscriptions it is assimilated to *th-* in Aśoka's days. Later on

though *-st-* is sometimes found in the N-West, the cluster is generally assimilated in all inscriptions including those in the West. (For cerebralisation see above § 471)

(iii) The clusters with *r* + dentals are either assimilated to the dental or to the cerebral. The former treatment does not show any peculiarity and the latter has been discussed above (§ 471). The clusters with *r* + dentals are preserved sometimes only in the North-Western inscriptions of Aśoka and of later days (cf. below the treatment of stops *+ r*)

§ 475 Clusters with Labials. Except a few instances where *-sp-* > *-p-* in the Eastern and Central inscriptions of Aśoka, in all other instances the unaspirated labial in combination with a sibilant is aspirated

#### § 476 Clusters with *y*

(i) *ty*. The cluster *-ty-* is usually dissolved by svarabhakti into *-tīy-* from the earliest times at all places. In a few cases, however, the cluster is preserved in the inscriptions of Aśoka in the Centre, East and North. Then again the cluster is sometimes preserved in the West in the inscriptions of the first cent. B.C. and first cent. A.D., in the South in the second cent. A.D., and in the N-West in the third cent. A.D. There is also a third treatment where the cluster is assimilated to *-t-*. This treatment has a very limited sphere of operation, for the instances are available only in the East in the 2nd cent. B.C. and in the West in the 1st cent. A.D. (For palatalisation cf. above, § 470)

(ii) *ry*. This cluster is variously represented and hence each treatment will have to be separately studied

(a) *-ry-* > *-riy-*. This dissolution of the compound is met with in all inscriptions and at all stages. It was perhaps absent in the West in Aśoka's days but was subsequently introduced there in the 2nd cent. B.C. The treatment *-ry-* > *-riy-* > *-ria-* is found in a few Kharoṣṭhī instances of N-West of 1st and 3rd cent. A.D.

(b) *-ry-* > *-yir-* by metathesis and *-ira-* by further loss of initial *y* in the presence of *-i-*. Though instances of *-ry-* > *-yir-* are available from South India in the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D., its further transformation into *-ira-* is met with much earlier in the East in the 2nd cent. B.C. and next in the West in the 1st cent. A.D. It, therefore, clearly follows that the change *-ry-* > *-yir-* was originally started some time earlier than the 2nd cent. B.C. in the East and thence it travelled to the West and South.

(c) *-ry-* > *-y-*. Besides the treatment noted in the beginning where *-ry-* > *-riy-*, there is also this treatment which shows its influence in all inscriptions of Aśoka, excepting those in the Centre. The treatment is immediately introduced into the Centre in the 2nd cent. B.C. where it is exemplified in all later inscriptions. It is also to be met with in the N-West in the 1st cent. B.C.

(d) *-ry-* > *-r-*. This treatment which was either due to the assimilation of the conjunct or due to the further development of the treatment noted above *i.e.* *-ry-* > *-riy-* > *-yir-* > *-ira-* > *-r-*, is met with first in the Centre in the 1st cent. B.C. and then in the South in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. Its very late appearance, perhaps, would not justify us in seeking its origin directly from the cluster by way of assimilation.

(e) The cluster is also preserved in the later N-West Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions from the 1st cent. A.D.

(iii) *ly* Its treatment in the inscriptions of Aśoka is quite distinct for it is assimilated to *l* in the West and North-West, and to *y* elsewhere. In the inscriptions of the 2nd cent. B.C., however, it is assimilated to *-l-* and not to *-y-* in the East and Centre. In the later inscriptions from the West the cluster is also dissolved into *-liy-* or *-la-*.

(iv) *vy* In Aśokan inscriptions the treatment of this cluster is threefold. It is dissolved by svarabhakti in the East, Centre, North and North-West in all positions and medially in the South, but it is usually preserved in the West both initially and medially, in the South initially, and sometimes in the Centre and East in the initial and medial positions respectively, the assimilation of the cluster to *v* is found only in the North-West. But in all subsequent inscriptions at all places the cluster is only assimilated to *v*.

(v) Sibilant + *y* In Aśokan inscriptions the cluster is normally dissolved by svarabhakti everywhere. In the East, Centre, and North, however, the cluster is sometimes assimilated to *s*. In all later inscriptions it is this later treatment alone which is to be met with. But the later N-Western inscriptions sometimes preserve the cluster.

§ 477 Clusters with *r* The general treatment that we anticipate is the assimilation of the cluster to the stronger of the two consonants. But besides this, it is interesting to note the preservation of the cluster in certain parts and especially in the N-West.

(i) *kr* It is preserved only in the North-West and West in the Aśokan inscriptions. Later on it is not only preserved in the N-West but also in a few instances from the Centre where we find the cluster sometimes medially preserved in the inscriptions of the 1st cent. B.C.

(ii) *gr* *gr* is preserved only in the North-West from the 3rd cent. B.C. onwards. Its occurrence is met with very late in the 4th cent. A.D. in the Centre.

(iii) *tr* The cluster is preserved in the North-West and sometimes also in the West in the Aśokan inscriptions. Next, later Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions preserve it intervocally but assimilate it to *t-* initially. Among other regions the inscriptions of the 2nd cent. B.C. show the preservation of the cluster in a few cases, not only in the West but in the Centre and East also. In the West this tendency to preserve the cluster *tr* is maintained, though only in some cases, in all later inscriptions upto 2nd cent. A.D. In the Centre, some stray instances of preservation occur even in the 1st cent. B.C. In the South, however, this influence of the West becomes apparent very late in the 2nd cent. B.C. The tendency, therefore, seems to have gone from North-West and West → Centre → East, West → South.

As a result of this tendency towards preservation, *-tr-* > *-tar-* in some instances in the West and Centre in the 1st cent. A.D. and in the South in the 2nd cent. A.D.

(iv) *dr* The cluster *dr* is preserved only in the North-West from the days of Aśoka. It is, however, in a very few instances met with in the Centre in the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C. and in the West in the 1st cent. B.C. and A.D.

(v) *pr* This cluster is preserved sometimes in the North-West and West and in less number of instances even in the South and Centre in the inscriptions of Aśoka. Later it is preserved both initially and medially in the N-West. The cluster *-pr-* is next met with in a few cases in the Central group in the 2nd cent. B.C., in the

Western group as  $-p\bar{r}$ - in the 1st cent. B.C. and as  $pr$ - in the 1st cent. A.D., and in the Southern group in the 2nd cent. A.D. Unlike other clusters with  $r$ , the cluster  $pr$  seems to have well-nigh fitted in the mouths of the people of North India as early as the 3rd cent. B.C.

(vi)  $br$  This cluster is sometimes preserved in the North-West and West in Aśokan inscriptions. It is also preserved in later inscriptions in the N-West and West. It occurs very rarely in the Centre in the 1st cent. B.C. and 4th cent. A.D.

(vii) Sibilant +  $r$  The cluster is generally preserved in the North-West, sometimes in the West, and in a few cases in the East in the Aśokan inscriptions. Its preservation becomes scarce in the West and also in the N-West where  $\acute{s}r > \acute{s}$  from the 1st cent. A.D.

#### § 478 Clusters with $v$ .

(i)  $tr$  It is preserved in Aśokan inscriptions as  $-t\bar{p}$ - in the West. Elsewhere it is assimilated to  $t$ . In later inscriptions it is preserved sometimes in the Centre in the 1st cent. A.D. and perhaps in the South a century later. In the West itself there are no examples of preservation beyond those that are found in Aśokan inscriptions. In the later inscriptions of N-West the cluster is either changed to  $-p$ -, assimilated to  $-t$ -, or preserved as  $-tv$ -.

(ii)  $dv$  It is generally assimilated to  $d$  in all inscriptions. But when the cluster occurs in numerals it is preserved as  $db$ - and  $dv$ - in the West, becomes  $b$  in the North-West, and  $duv$ - or  $d$ - in all other inscriptions in Aśoka's times. Later on in the West the cluster  $dv$  in numerals normally becomes  $b$ -, but it also becomes  $d$  in some cases from the 1st cent. B.C. onwards. Similarly the inscriptions in the South show uniformly  $b$ - from the 1st cent. A.D. onwards. In other groups, unfortunately, instances are not available. In the Centre, however, the cluster  $dv$ - is represented both as  $d$ - and  $b$ - in the 2nd cent. B.C. The process seems to have been

$$\begin{array}{l} \text{(For } dv- > b) \\ W \rightarrow C \\ \rightarrow S \end{array} \quad \left. \vphantom{\begin{array}{l} W \rightarrow C \\ \rightarrow S \end{array}} \right\} \text{ and } \quad \begin{array}{l} \text{(For } dv- > d-) \\ E \text{ and } C \rightarrow W \end{array}$$

(iii)  $rv$  The cluster is usually preserved in the North-West and West in Aśokan period. At other places, as also sometimes in the West and North-West, it is assimilated to  $v$ . In the East and North it is also sometimes dissolved by svarabhakti. Later N-Western inscriptions either preserve it or assimilate it to  $-v$ -. But in all other regions  $rv > v$ .

(iv) Sibilant +  $v$  It is usually preserved in the West, North-West (as  $\acute{s}p$ -) and South and very often in the Centre, East and North (mostly in the medial position) in the Aśokan inscriptions. In later inscriptions from N-West it is usually preserved as  $\acute{s}p$ ,  $\acute{s}v$  or  $sv$ , but elsewhere it is usual to assimilate the cluster to  $s$ . In a few instances from the Centre of the 2nd cent. B.C., from the West of the 1st cent. B.C. and 2nd cent. A.D., and from the South of the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. the cluster is preserved. In the Centre, the cluster is also sometimes dissolved by svarabhakti in the 2nd cent. B.C.

#### § 479 Clusters with sibilants

(i)  $rs$  The cluster is sometimes preserved in the West and North-West (and rarely in the East) but usually assimilated to  $s$  in the inscriptions of Aśoka. In all



later inscriptions it is assimilated to *s* (or to *ṣ* in the N-West) but in the East in the 2nd cent B C and in the West in the 1st cent B C a nasal is added to it.

(11) *ṛṣ* As in the above case, the cluster is sometimes preserved in the West and North-West, but usually assimilated to *s* in the inscriptions of Aśoka. In later inscriptions also it is assimilated to *s* (with a nasal sometimes added to it in the West) and to *ṣ* (or *h*) in the N-West. In a few cases it is dissolved into *-ṛis-* first in the West in the 1st cent A D and then in the South in the 2nd and 3rd cent A D.

(111) For the treatment of *kṣ* and *ts* see under palatalisation (§ 370)

§ 480 Clusters with *h* The cluster *ṛh* is usually dissolved by the addition of the vowel *a*. But in a few inscriptions of the 2nd cent B C in the Centre and East the vowel *i* is added instead of *a*.

§ 481 Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

(1) *ñc* This cluster is generally represented as *mc* or *c*. But sometimes it becomes *mn-* in the East and North in Aśokan inscriptions. This treatment is noticed in the East even in the following century, in the West in the 1st cent B C and A.D., and in the South in the 2nd cent. A D. The treatment, thus, seems to have taken the following course

$$E \rightarrow W \rightarrow S$$

In certain instances the cluster is cerebralised and we get *-ñc-* > *-mñ-* first in the East in the 2nd cent. B C. and then in the South in the 2nd cent. A.D.

(11) *jñ* The general treatment of the cluster is to change it to *mñ* or *ñ*. In certain cases the cluster is assimilated to *n* and in a few instances to *ṇ*. Thus the Central, Eastern and some of the Northern inscriptions of Aśoka show *n* or *m* both initially and medially as opposed to the Western and North-Western (also Southern) inscriptions which show *ñ* or *mñ*. These two treatments, however, show mutual influence from 2nd cent. B C onwards so that instances of the *n* treatment are found in the West (but not in the N-West) and of the *ñ* treatment in the Centre and the East. The later N-Western inscriptions simply preserve the early *-ñ-* treatment. In the South we find *n* and *ñ* side by side in the inscriptions of 1st and 2nd cent A D but *ñ* disappears in the 3rd cent. A D.

The cerebralisation of *-jñ-* > *-ñ-* is met with in the North-West and South in Aśokan inscriptions. It is next found in a few instances from the West in the 1st cent. A D (also perhaps in the 2nd cent. A D) in the South in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A D and in the Centre in the 4th cent. A D. In the N-West it is found only in the Wardah vase inscription. The cerebralisation of *jñ-* > *-ñ-* is thus an independent development of the South.

$$(1) \quad jñ > ñ \quad W (NW) \rightarrow C \rightarrow E$$

$$(11) \quad jñ > n \quad E \rightarrow C \rightarrow W$$

$$\rightarrow S$$

$$(111) \quad jñ > n \quad NW \rightarrow W \rightarrow \left. \begin{array}{l} C \\ S \end{array} \right\}$$

§ 482 Clusters with the nasal *n*

(1) *ny* The cluster is assimilated to the nasals *n* and *ñ* in the West (to *ñ* in the N-West) and to *n* in the East and North in Aśokan inscriptions. In later cen-

tures *ñ* appears in the West in the 1st cent. B C but disappears there later, in the South in the 3rd cent. B C and 2nd cent. A D, and in the Centre in the 2nd cent. B C. The dental *n* appears in the West in the 2nd cent. A D and in the South from the 1st cent. A D.

Thus  $ny > \tilde{n} \cdot W \rightarrow \left. \begin{array}{l} S \rightarrow \end{array} \right\} C$

Thus  $ny > n \quad E \rightarrow C \rightarrow W$   
 $\rightarrow S$

But the cluster is assimilated to the cerebral *n* also. As has been noticed in the treatment of the cluster *jñ*, this happens first in the North-West and South in the 3rd cent. B C. It comes to the West immediately in the following century and is seen there in all subsequent inscriptions. In the South, of course, the later inscriptions show this treatment as the principal one, so much so that the 3rd cent. A D inscriptions show only this treatment. In this case also the assimilation of the cluster to *n* is an independent characteristic of the South.

Thus  $ny > n \quad NW \rightarrow W$   
 $S$

(ii) *ṇ* The cluster is represented as *ṇṇ* in the South and *ṇṇ* in Centre, East and North in Aśokan inscriptions. But *-ṇ-* is found in the Centre in other inscriptions of equal antiquity. The inscriptions of the 2nd cent. B C and 1st cent. B C in the Centre, however, show *n*. In the East, the 2nd cent. B C inscriptions show both *n* and *ṇ*. Coming to the West we find that *-ṇ-* appears in the 1st cent. B C, but later inscriptions regularly show *n*. In the South *-ṇ-* appears in the 1st cent. A D but *-ṇ-* in the 2nd cent. A D.

Thus  $-ṇ- > -ṇṇ- \quad E \text{ (and N)} \rightarrow C \rightarrow W \rightarrow S$   
 $-ṇ- > -ṇṇ- \quad C \rightarrow W \rightarrow S$   
 $S$

In the South the treatment  $-ṇ- > -n-$ , which seems to have disappeared from the 3rd cent. B C to the 1st cent. B C in favour of *-ṇ-* under the influence from the Centre and the West, reasserted itself later in the 2nd cent. A D.

(iii) *ṣṇ* In 2nd cent. B C the cluster is represented as *nḥ* in Western and as *nḥ* and *nḥ* in Central India. In the 1st cent. B C *-nḥ-* appears side by side with *-nḥ-* in the West but *-nḥ-* disappears from the Centre and  $-ṣṇ- > ṣ'$  in the N-West in that period. In the 1st and 2nd cent. A D *-nḥ-* and *-ṣṇ-* appear in the West and *-n-*, *-nḥ-* or *-nḥ-* in the South. In the 4th cent. A D *-nḥ-* appears in the Centre.

#### § 483 Clusters with the nasal *n*

(1) *ny* In Aśokan inscriptions the cluster is assimilated to *ñ* or *mñ* in the West and North-West, but to *n* or *mn* in the East, Centre and North. In the South also *-mn-* appears in the 3rd cent. B C.

In the West, later inscriptions upto the 2nd cent. A D show *mñ* but in the 2nd cent. A D we have *n*. In the South *n* and *ñ* appear side by side till the 3rd cent. A D. Except some instances in the 2nd cent. B C in Central India, the assimilation of the cluster to *n* is maintained in Central and Eastern India in later inscriptions.

Thus  $ny > n$  E (and N)  $\rightarrow C \rightarrow W$  (2nd cent. A.D.)

S

$ny > \tilde{n}$  W (and N West)  $\rightarrow S$   
 $\rightarrow C$

#### § 484 Clusters with the nasal *m*

(i) *tm* It is preserved as *tp* (and as *-tm-* in the 1st cent. B.C.) in the West and South and assimilated to *t* in the rest of Aśokan inscriptions. It appears principally as *-p-* in the South in later centuries, but the change *-tm- > -t-* is also noticed in the 2nd cent. A.D. In Central India *-tm-*  $\rightarrow$  *-p-* in the 4th cent. A.D. In the N-West it is preserved as *-tv-* in the 1st cent. A.D., but assimilated to *-t-* or *-p-* or preserved as *-tm-* in the 2nd cent. A.D.

Thus *-tm- > -tp-* ( $\rightarrow$  *-p-*) W,  $\rightarrow$  C  
 S

*-tm- > -t-* E, N C  $\rightarrow$  S

(ii) *rm* The cluster is everywhere assimilated to *m*. In the N-West, however, instances of preservation become frequent from the 2nd cent. A.D. In proper names it is dissolved into *-rum-* in that region.

#### MORPHOLOGY

#### 485 Masculine and Neuter nouns ending in *-a*

(i) Nom. sg. Mas. In Aśokan inscriptions the usual termination in the West and North-West is *-o*, but in the East, North, Centre and South it is *-e*. The fact that some of the other inscriptions in the South and Centre of the 3rd cent. B.C. give the termination *-o* and not *-e* shows that the existence of *-e* in these groups in the Aśokan inscriptions is due to the Eastern influence. Almost all the later inscriptions in the West and South show the termination *-o*. In the Centre, however, a few inscriptions in the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C. give the termination *-e* besides the normal *-o*. The termination *-e* has completely disappeared from the Central group from the 1st cent. A.D. In the East, excepting the Udayagiri inscriptions which give *-o*, all others give the termination *-e*. In the N-West *-o* is the more frequent of the two *-o* and *-e*.

(ii) Nom. sg. Neut. In Aśokan inscriptions the normal termination in the West and North-West is *-am* or *-a*, but *-e* in the rest of the inscriptions. All later inscriptions give only the former termination. The 2nd cent. B.C. inscriptions of the East too point to *am* and not *e*. The Eastern influence can be seen, however, in a few cases in the Central group in the 2nd cent. B.C. and in the Western and N-Western one in the 1st cent. A.D. Thus the termination *-am* has travelled from W  $\rightarrow$  C  $\rightarrow$  E whereas the termination *-e* has taken the reverse route though with less speed and still less force.

(iii) Acc. sg. Neut. The termination *am* or *a* is to be normally found in all inscriptions of Aśoka, but *-e* is at least exceptionally met with in the East and North. Thus exceptional termination *-e* has influenced some of the inscriptions in the Central group in the 2nd cent. B.C. and in the Southern one in the 3rd cent. A.D. Otherwise the normal termination everywhere is *-am* or *-a*. Thus *-e* has gone from E  $\rightarrow$  C  $\rightarrow$  S.

(iv) The instrumental sg. termination is *-ena* everywhere. The cerebralisation of the termination is first started in the West and Centre in the 2nd cent. B.C. and

is introduced in the N-West in the 1st cent. B.C. where it becomes more frequent and in the South only in the 2nd cent. A.D. Thus cerebralisation has travelled in the following direction.

W and C → N-W  
→ S

More peculiar is the term *-e* found in the 1st cent. A.D. inscriptions of the N-West.

(v). The Dat. sg. termination in the West and South is *-ya*, but in other groups it is generally *-ye* in Aśokan inscriptions (The Central group shows both). The later inscriptions of N-West give more frequently the term *-e* (< *-ye*) and also *-ya* and *a*. The termination *-ya* is next found in almost all later inscriptions from other regions. It is only in the 1st cent. A.D. instances from Central India that we get the termination *-ye*.

(vi). Abl. sg. The normal termination is *-ā* everywhere. The other termination *-āto*, which is never used frequently, shows its first appearance in the West, Centre and East in the 2nd cent. B.C. It went to the South perhaps in the 1st cent. A.D., but definite instances are obtained only in the 3rd cent. A.D.

(vii). Gen. sg. The normal termination in all inscriptions is *-(a)sa*. The lengthening of the preceding vowel which makes the ending *-(ā)sa* is to be noted first in Central India in the 3rd cent. B.C. where it continued its existence only a century more. Thence it went to the South as it is sometimes found there only in the 2nd cent. B.C. inscriptions.

The termination *-(e)sa* has its appearance recorded in the 3rd cent. B.C. inscriptions in the South. It is not seen there any more, but is next found in the West from about 2nd cent. B.C. to 2nd cent. A.D.<sup>1</sup>

Thus *-(ā)sa* : C → S  
*-(e)sa* : S → W

The termination *-si* or *-sim* is found in the 4th cent. A.D. inscriptions in the Centre.

The fricative form of this *-sa* as *-s(ṛ)a* or *-s(y)a* is found in the N-West from the 2nd cent. A.D.

(viii). Loc. sg. In Aśokan inscriptions we find *-mhi* or *-e* usually in the West, *-spi*, *-si*, or *-e* in the North-West, and *-si* in all other inscriptions. All later inscriptions from regions other than the N-West normally show *-e* everywhere. The termination *-mhi* of the West is continued there only for a century more but is found in the Centre in the 1st cent. B.C. or A.D. and in the South in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D.

Thus *-e* : W → to all other places almost from the 2nd cent. B.C.  
*-mhi* : W → C in the 1st cent. B.C.  
→ S in the 2nd cent. A.D.

In the N-West we find *-e* (or *-em*) from the 1st cent. B.C., *-mi* (or *-nimi*, or *-m(ṛ)i* or *-nim(ṛ)i*) from the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D., and *-i* from the 2nd cent. A.D.

(ix). Acc. pl. Mas. : The termination in the West is *-e* and in all other parts *-āni* in the Aśokan period. But all subsequent inscriptions at all places show usually the Western termination *-e*.

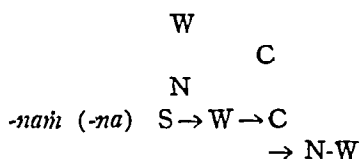
1 Cf. the pronominal form *etesa* in the West in the 1st and 2nd centuries A.D.

(x) Nom. Acc. pl Neut. The usual termination that is employed everywhere is *ān*. The cerebralisation is noticed very late in the 1st cent. A.D. in the West and in the 3rd cent. A.D. in the South

(xi) Gen. pl The usual termination is *-nam* or *-na* and is found in all inscriptions of Aśoka, except those in the South. But it is found even in the South as in other parts in all later inscriptions

The termination *-nā* (or *-nām*) is found in the West and North in the 3rd cent. B.C. Except in the 2nd cent. B.C. the termination is not met with any more in the West. It is found only in the Centre in the 2nd cent. B.C. and 1st cent. A.D.

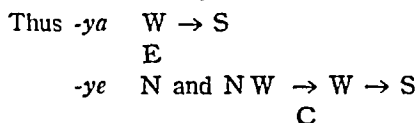
Cerebralisation of this term is a distinct peculiarity of the Southern Aśokan inscriptions. It appears to have gone out of use there for some of the following centuries, but reappears there from the 2nd cent. A.D. This cerebralisation has been quickly taken over by the Western inscriptions, for there instances are consistently found from the 2nd cent. B.C. In the Central group, however, cerebralisation is completely absent in early inscriptions. It is found there as late as the 4th cent. A.D. In the N-West the cerebralised form is found side by side the dental one from the 1st cent. B.C., but in the 3rd cent. A.D. it is the latter that is more frequent



#### § 486 Feminine nouns ending in *-ā*

(i) Inst. sg. In all there are three terminations *-ya*, *-yā* and *-ye*. First we will take the Aśokan inscriptions. The termination *-ya* is normally found in the West, Centre, East and exceptionally in the North. The termination *-ye* is found in the North-West and North. The termination *-yā* is found in the Centre and North besides the other termination noted above. As regards the later inscriptions, the termination *-ya* is found normally in the West. It is found in the South together with the termination *-ye* only in the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. In the East also it is found in the 2nd cent. B.C. The termination *-ye* is perhaps found in the West in the 2nd cent. B.C. but definitely in the 1st cent. A.D. As is noted above it is also found in the South in the 3rd cent. A.D. and in the Centre in the 2nd cent. B.C. It also occurs in the form *-e* in later inscriptions from the N-West.

The termination *-yā* does not occur any more after the Aśokan inscriptions



(ii) Gen. sg. As in the instrumental singular the terminations for gen. sg. are more than one. In the 3rd cent. B.C. the normal termination in the Centre (and North) is *-ye*, and in the West *-ya*. The termination *-ye* appears in the West in a few cases only in the 2nd cent. B.C. In the South too it appears in a few cases but late in the 1st cent. A.D. In the Centre and East, however, it is the more frequent termination and has a continuous existence. As in the instrumental, this term ap

pears as *-e* in the N-West. The termination *-ya*, which can be characterised as the Western one due to its consistent presence there, appears in the East and Centre from the 2nd cent. B.C. It has come to the South only later in the 1st cent. A.D.

The termination *-yā* appears in the West only in the 2nd cent. B.C., but in the Centre in the 2nd and 1st cent. B.C., and in the South in the 2nd cent. B.C. and 1st cent. A.D.

The termination *-va* is a distinct characteristic of the West where it appears in the 1st cent. B.C. and A.D. inscriptions.

Thus *-ya*    W → C → E  
                  → S

*-ye*    E and C → N-W, W (The influence is not strong)  
                  →        S

(iii) Loc. sg. The usual termination in the inscriptions excepting those of Aśoka is *-yam* or *-ya*. In Aśokan inscriptions it appears in the West, East and North. But there is also another termination *-ye* which appears in the North-West, East and North. In later inscriptions it is preserved only in the N-West as *-ye* or *-e* but has gone out of use elsewhere.

(iv) Nom. pl. The usual termination is *-ā* in all inscriptions. The next termination *-āyo* appears only in the West in Aśokan inscriptions and later on in the 1st cent. A.D. It is also found in the Centre in the 2nd cent. B.C.

#### § 487 Masculine and Neuter Nouns ending in -ī

(i) Inst. sg. The usual termination is *-nā* everywhere. The cerebralisation is first found in the West in the 1st cent. A.D. and thence carried to the Centre in as late a period as the 4th cent. A.D.

(ii) Gen. sg. The two terminations are *-no* and *-sa*. The termination *-no* is the principal one in the West in the period anterior to the beginning of the Christian era. Following it, however, the termination *-sa* becomes the principal one so that *-no* completely disappears from the 1st cent. A.D. In the Centre and East we do not get examples from later centuries. In the earlier centuries in those regions, the termination *-no* is the principal one, though *-sa* appears sometimes. In the South, however, the termination *-sa* seems to be the one prevalent in the field, as *-no* appears only exceptionally in the 1st cent. A.D. In the N-West the only term. is *-sa* (which sometimes becomes *-s(y)a*). Only once a second cent. A.D. instance gives *-e* (< Sk. *-eli*).

The cerebralisation of *-no* is first noticed in the West in the first cent. B.C. and then in the South in the 1st cent. A.D.

(iii) Gen. pl. The usual termination is *-nam* or *-na* everywhere. The cerebralised termination *-nā* is made available only in the West in the 1st cent. A.D.

#### § 488 Feminine Nouns ending in -ī

(i) Dat. sg. It appears that *-ya* is the Western termination which was in course of time replaced by *-ye*, the Eastern termination. In the N-West also the term is *-ye* or *-e*. The examples are, however, few.

#### § 489 Feminine Nouns ending in -ī

(i) Inst. sg. The Western termination *-ya* is found in examples from the 1st cent. B.C. It has travelled Southwards from the 1st cent. A.D. In the N-West also we get the term *-a* (*-ya*) in the 1st cent. A.D. The Central termination is *-ye*. Curiously enough in the East we get the mas. termination *-nā* only in the 2nd cent. B.C.

(ii) Abl sg The North and North-Western termination in Aśokan inscriptions seems to have been *-yā* (for North-Western *-ya* can equally mean *-yā*) In the 2nd cent B C we find *-to* in the West and sometimes in the Centre together with *-yā* In the 1st cent B C we get *-ya* in the Centre and in the following century *-ye* in the West.

(iii). Gen sg The terminations are *-ya*, *-yā* and *-ye* In the West, *-ya* is the principal termination from the earliest times In the South, the principal termination is *-yā* which is sometimes shortened to *-ya*, in all probability under the Western influence. In the East and Centre, the principal termination is *-ye* since the earliest times, though *-yā* and *ya* appear in both of them In the West *-ye* appears in certain cases in the 1st cent B C and 2nd cent A.D It also appears in the N-West in the 1st cent. A D

But besides these, a few instances of the 1st cent A D in the West show the termination *-yāva*

Thus *-ya* . W → C → E

→ S

*-ye* C and E → W, N-W

*-yā* S → C → E

(iv) Loc. sg The usual termination is *-yam* or *-ya* at all places But in Aśokan inscriptions *-ye* appears by the side of *-yam* in the East and North This Eastern influence can be seen in the Western inscriptions of the 1st cent A.D In the N-West both *-ya*, *-a* (< *-ya*) and *-e* (< *-ye*) appear in the 1st cent. B C and A D respectively

(v) Gen pl The usual termination is *-nam* or *-na* in all inscriptions The cerebralised form *-na* occurs in the West only in the 2nd cent B C

#### § 490 Masculine Nouns ending in *-u*

(i) Gen. sg In the West the termination *-sa* is used in all inscriptions The cerebralised form *-no* appears by the side of *-sa* only in the 2nd cent. A D Similarly in the South the termination *-sa* appears in the 1st and 2nd cent. A D but *-no* is also sometimes used in the 2nd cent. A D In the Central group, however, the principal termination is *-no*, though *-sa* appears sometimes in the 2nd cent B C In the N-West *-sa* is perhaps the only termination that is used

Thus *-sa* W → C

*-no* C → W

(ii) Gen. pl The usual termination that is employed everywhere since the earliest times is *-nam* or *-na* The termination *-nā* appears only in the North in the Aśokan inscriptions The cerebralised form *-nam* appears only in the South in the 2nd cent. A.D

#### § 491 Feminine Nouns ending in *-ū*

(i) The gen. sg termination at all places is *-ya*

#### § 492 Masculine Nouns ending in *-ṛ*

(i) Inst. sg The termination in the West is *-ā* from the 3rd cent. B C to the 2nd cent A D The later N-Western instances also give the ending *-a* In other

divisions later examples are not available. But in Aśokan inscriptions they show the termination *-nā*

(II) Gen sg. The usual termination in the West and South is *-no*. In the Centre, only the 2nd cent. B.C. inscriptions yield examples showing the termination *-u*. This termination has to a certain extent influenced the Western inscriptions, for we get there the termination *-u* in the 1st cent. A.D. In the N-West also this is the more important term appearing from the 1st cent. B.C. onwards.

(III) Gen pl. The common termination is *-nam* or *-na* which is employed in all inscriptions. It is cerebralised first in the West in the 1st cent. B.C. and thence it goes to the South in about the 1st or 2nd cent. A.D., and to the N-West in the 2nd cent. A.D.

#### § 493 Feminine Nouns ending in *-r*

(I) Inst. sg. The termination *-u* is found in earlier inscriptions in the West. The 2nd cent. A.D. inscriptions no doubt give *-u*, but also point to *-(r)a*, *-ya*, and *-ye*. The Central inscriptions of the 1st cent. A.D. show the termination *-(r)e*, and the N-Western show *-(r)a*.

(II) Gen sg. The only termination that we get in the Central inscriptions is *-u*. In the West *-u* is the termination in the 2nd cent. B.C. In the following century *-ya* also appears by the side of *-u*, and from the 1st cent. A.D. it (i.e. *-ya*) dominates the field. In the South *-u* appears in all inscriptions except those of the 2nd cent. A.D. The termination there is *-ya* which also appears in some cases in the early inscriptions of 2nd cent. B.C. In the N-West the only term that appears is *-u* in the 1st and 2nd cent. A.D.

Thus *-u* C → W  
S →

#### § 494 Masculine Nouns ending in *-at*

(I) Gen sg. The Western termination is *-sa*, whereas the Southern is *-o* (where it appears in the 1st cent. and 2nd cent. A.D., the early instances from the South being not available). In the Centre, *-o* is the principal termination from the 2nd cent. B.C. to the 1st cent. A.D. but *-sa* appears as a secondary one in the 2nd cent. and 1st cent. B.C. The termination of the East is *-c* or *-o*. In the N-West *-a* and *-o* are more frequent, the term *-sa* being available only in the 2nd cent. A.D.

Thus *-sa* W → C and N-W  
*-o* E and C → S (?)

(II) Gen pl. The usual termination employed in all places is *-nam*. But in the West in the 1st cent. A.D. we also find *-ām* or *-ā*.

#### § 495 Masculine and Neuter Nouns ending in *-an*

(I) Nom. Acc. sg. Neut. The usual termination of the West and South is *-am* or *-a*. In the East and North, however, this termination appears as the subordinate one, the principal one being *-c*, in the inscriptions of Aśoka.

(II) Inst. sg. The usual termination is *-ā*. It is palatalised in the 2nd cent. A.D. in the West, and cerebralised in the same century in the South.

(III) Gen sg. The termination *-r* or *-o* appears in the East (and North) in the 3rd cent. B.C. as the principal one and *-sa* as the subordinate one. But in the 2nd cent. B.C. the scales are turned in favour of *-sa*.



§ 497 In the sphere of Pronouns and Verb forms there are very few regional variations and hence there is little to indicate as regards their chronological movements. However, a few remarks with regard to some peculiar forms are added in the introduction, pp. xxviii-xxxii.

## CHAPTER IX

### KHAROṢṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS

(With the exception of those of Aśoka)

#### § 498 INTRODUCTORY

The present chapter takes into account all the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions that are included in the *CII* Vol II, Part I (Calcutta, 1929) by Sten KONOW. As the inscriptions of Aśoka are mostly in Brāhmī, the two Kharoṣṭhī versions of his famous fourteen rock edicts discovered at Shāhbāzgarhī and Manshrā are treated together with the other Asokan inscriptions. At the same time the few Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions that are found in the east (at Mathurā, Rawal, and Karnal) and in the west (in Sind) are not separated from the main stock and put in the eastern or western group, but all of them are treated here jointly. Unlike Brāhmī, the use of Kharoṣṭhī is restricted to the north-west extending from about 69° to 73° 30' E and from the Hindu Kush to about 33° N. It is believed that the place of origin of this alphabet was Gandhara and from its use in the north-western inscriptions of Aśoka it can be seen that it was known to India definitely from the 3rd century B C.

The period covered by the inscriptions treated here extends from about the 1st cent. B C to the 4th century A D, though a large number of the inscriptions belong to the first two centuries of the Christian era. Almost all of them record some donations or pious acts either by individuals or some associations, in all probability of Buddhists. These donations include various utensils like a lamp, ladle, jars, silver vases, or images and sculptures, and the pious acts generally refer to digging of wells or dedicating tanks, some religious buildings, or gardens. Below is given a list of inscriptions dealt with in this chapter arranged according to their probable chronology.

#### I 1st Century B C Inscriptions

- 1 Swāt Relic vase inscription of the Meridarkh Theodoros (K1)<sup>1</sup> The vase was discovered in a Parthian village in the Swāt valley. The lines of the inscription have become indistinct through the paint.
- 2 Taxila Copper plate inscription of a Meridarkh (K2) The plate was discovered in three or four pieces in one of the stūpas to the west of Shāhpur, a village in Taxila.
- 3 Tīrath Rock inscription (K5) The inscription is found below the two large pādukās on a rock near the village of Tīrath, situated on the border of the Swāt Kohistan.
- 4 Maira inscription (K8) It was found in a well in a small village Maira Jhelum District. The record seems to be dated in the year 58 and thus probably corresponds to 27-26 B C.
- 5 Shahdaur inscription of Damijada (K9) It is engraved on a rock near the hamlet of Shahdaur in the Agror valley (Oghi Kanungo Circle). It is dated perhaps in the year 60 = 25-24 B C.

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<sup>1</sup> K refers to KONOW's edition of the *Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions* and the number following it refers to the one assigned to it in KONOW's work.

- 6 Mansehra inscription on a stone slab (K11) The inscription which is not well preserved probably belongs to the year 68<sup>1</sup> = 17-16 B C
- 7 Fatehjang Stone Inscription (K12) Fatehjang is the easternmost tahsil of the Attock District. The inscription is dated in the year 68<sup>1</sup> = 17 B C
- 8 Taxila Copper plate inscription of Patuka (K13) The exact find spot of the inscription is not known It is dated in the year 78<sup>1</sup> = 6 B C
- 9 Muchai inscription (K14) Muchai is in Yusufzai and the slab of sand-stone on which the inscription is found is No 146 of the Lahore Museum It is dated in the year 81<sup>1</sup> = 4-3 B C
- 10 Kumrahār terra cotta plaque inscription (K93) This was discovered at Kumrahār, Patna Nothing definite can be said about its date
- 11 Paṭhyār Rock inscription (K94) It is in the Kāngrā district, Punjab The inscription consists of two lines of which the upper is in Brāhmī while the lower in Kharoṣṭhī It may be dated in the 2nd or 1st century B C
- 12 Kanhuāra inscription (K95) On boulders of granite in the Kāngrā district there are two inscriptions, one in Brāhmī and the other in Kharoṣṭhī, of the same import They may be dated in the 1st century B C
- 13 Karnāl inscription (K96) Karnāl is the head quarters of the district and tahsil (29° 41' N and 76° E) on the old bank of Jumna The inscription may be dated in the 1st century B C

## II 1st Century A D Inscriptions

- 1 Bajaur seal inscription of Theodamas (K3) It is on a stone slab found in the village Miankilla in Bajaur, south-east of Jalalabad
- 2 Paris Cornelian inscription (K4) This cornelian, of unknown origin, is now to be found in the cabinet of Medals in Paris
- 3 Saddo Rock inscription (K7) Saddo is a village on the road leading from Swāt to Chitrāl
- 4 Shahdaur inscription of Śivarakṣita (K8) For Shahdaur see above No 5
- 5 The Mathura Lion Capital (K15) The capital of red sand-stone which was discovered in 1869 consists of two closely joined lions standing on a pedestal The inscriptions are found on the bodies of the two lions and the top, back, and the bottom of the block. The main part of the inscription records the donations by the chief queen of the Mahākṣatrapa Rajula
- 6 Mathura elephant inscription (K16) The stone decorated with an elephant war found in a mound at Rawal near Mathura The inscription is on the back of it.
- 7 Bīmarān vase inscription (K17) <sup>1</sup> Bīmarān, where this inscribed steatite vase was found, is a small village to west-north-west of Jalālābād
- 8 Kala Sang inscription (K18) It is a stone inscription found at Kala Sang, a hillock in the territory of Khudu Khels of the Yusufzai border It is dated probably in the year 100<sup>1</sup> = A D 16-17
- 9 Mount Banj slab inscription (K19) The find-spot is perhaps an ancient well situated in the valley between the two spurs of the Mount Banj It is dated in the year 102<sup>1</sup> = A D 18-19
- 10 The so called Takht-I-Bāhī inscription (K20) The stone No I 1 in the Lahore Museum is supposed to have come from Takht-i-Bāhī in Yusufzai

It is dated in the year 103 = A D 19 It is also dated in the year 26 which is perhaps to be referred to the Parthian era instituted by Azes

- 11 and 12 Other Takht-I-Bāhī inscriptions (K21, K22) On the back of a damaged Buddha figure (Peshawar Museum No 1160) and on the fragment of a black pottery (Peshawar Museum No 444) are to be found these inscriptions
13. Pājā inscription (K23) It is a stone inscription found at Pājā, a ridge and a village between Jamālgarhī and Takht-I-Bāhī It is dated in the year 111 = A D. 27
- 14 Kāldarra inscription (K24) It is near Dargai, to the south of Malakand pass in Swāt It is dated in the year 113 = A D 29
- 15 Mārguz inscription (K25) The inscribed slab was found in the village Mārguz in the Swābī tahsil of the Peshawar district It is dated probably in the year 117 = A D 33-34
- 16 Panjtār inscription (K26) The inscribed stone is reported to have been found at Salimpūr, near Panjtār It is dated in the year 136 = A D 52
- 17 Taxila silver scroll inscription (K27) The silver scroll was found in one of the chambers to the west of the Dharmarājikā stūpa of the Chir mound It is dated in the year 136 = A D 52
- 18 Peshāvar Museum inscription (K28) This is No 20 of the Peshāvar Museum, the details about its provenance being unknown It is dated in the year 168 = A D 84
- 19 Taxila Gold plate inscription (K31) It was discovered in a group of remains outside the northern wall of the Sirkap city This and the following two are undated
- 20 Taxila vase inscription (K32)
- 21 Taxila copper ladle inscription (K33) Two of the ladles in the Taxila Museum contain an identical inscription
- 22 Bedadi copper ladle inscription (K34) The village Bedadi is on the Siram river, some 12 miles from Mānsehrā
- 23 Dharmarājikā inscriptions (K35) Six fragmentary inscriptions were found in this site near Taxila

### III 2nd Century A D Inscriptions

1. Khalatse inscription (K29) It is a village in Ladakh, 52 miles below Leh It is dated in the year 187 = A D 103-4 There are also other Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions discovered at Khalatse. One of them reads *sakhavasa*, another *śasakhasa* or *śasatasa*, while two more give only the letter *sa* As these readings are only tentative no meaning can be ascribed to them
- 2 Taxila silver vase inscription (K30) This is dated in the year 191 = A D 107-8
- 3 Minor Taxila inscriptions (K37) The excavations at Sirkap have brought to light several antiquities bearing Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions, perhaps of the 1st or 2nd century A D
- 4 Seal inscription of Śivasena (K38) A seal ring of copper was found in the Panjab which bore the name of a Ksatrapa Śivasena

- 5 Dewai inscription (K39) The inscribed stone was found at Dewai, a small fort on the eastern slope of Mahāban. It is dated in the year 200 = A D 116
- 6 Jamālgarhī lamp inscription (K51) There is a fragmentary inscription on a fragment of a stone lamp discovered at Jamālgarhī
- 7 Jamālgarhī pavement stone inscription (K52) The pavement is round the main stūpa. It may be dated perhaps in the 2nd century A.D.
- 8 Peshāvar Museum inscription (K61) No 1 of the Peshāvar Museum was brought from the Khudu Khel country, the exact find spot of which is unknown
- 9 Peshāvar Museum inscription (K62) This wedge-shaped fragment is No 4 of the Museum and it was also brought from the Khudu Khel country
- 10 Naugrām inscription (K63) A stone bearing a fragmentary inscription was found at Naugrām, a village in the Khudu Khel country
- 11 Peshāvar inscription on writing-board (K64) This sculpture, No 347 of the Peshāvar Museum, shows the Bodhisattva seated with a writing-board in his lap
- 12 Lahore inscription on writing board (K65) This is No 206 of the Lahore Museum showing the Bodhisattva standing before his teacher Viśvāmitra
- 13 Yākubī image inscription (K66) A sculpture, now No 280 of the Peshāvar Museum, was found at Yākubī in the Swabī tahsil of the Peshāvar District
- 14 Peshāvar Museum inscription (K67) On a fragment of a building stone, No 3 of the Peshāvar Museum, are two letters, *m*, and *me* or *śa*. They may be mason's marks
- 15 Peshāvar Museum inscription (K68) This is a small stone, No 5 of the Museum, of unknown provenance
- 16 Peshāvar Museum inscription (K69) This is another fragment, No 7 of the Museum, with a few letters in two lines
- 17 Peshāvar sculpture inscription (K70) On the upper right hand corner of a sculpture (No 193 of the Museum) representing two wrestlers is a short inscription.
- 18 Nowshera pedestal inscription (K71) It is on the pedestal of a sculpture in the officers' mess
- 19 Kanīṣka casket inscriptions (K72) A relic casket was discovered in the big Kanīṣka stūpa which stands outside the Ganj gate of the Peshāvar City. It is dated in the year 1 of Kanīṣka
- 20 Shāh-jī-kī Dherī inscribed bricks (K73) These bricks were discovered in the western edge of the above stūpa. They contain either one or more letters and are now deposited in the Peshāvar Museum (Nos 483-93)
- 21 Sui Vihār copper-plate inscription (K 74) Sui Vihār is the name of a ruined stūpa to the south-west of Bahāwalpur. The record is dated in the year 11 of the Kanīṣka era = A D 139
- 22 Zeda inscription (K75) Zeda is a village near Unḍ, situated in 34°3' N and 72° 32' E. It is dated in the year 11 of Kanīṣka era = A D 139
- 23 Mānikīāla inscription/ (K76) It is on a massive stone in one of the stūpas to the south of the village Mānikīāla in the Rawalpindi district. It is dated in the year 18 of Kanīṣka era = A D 145

- 24 Mānikīālā bronze casket inscription (K77) The casket was found in the great stūpa
- 25 Mānikīālā silver disc inscription (K78): This was also found in the same stūpa
- 26 Box-lid inscription (K79) The lid of a brass-casket sent from Afghanistan contains an inscription Its exact find-place is not known It is dated in the year 18 of Kan era = A D 146
- 27 Kurram casket inscription (K80) The inscription is found on the four sides of the copper casket of which the original find spot is not known It is dated in the year 20 of Kan era = A D 148
- 28 Peshāvar Museum inscription (K81) This is a stone inscription, No 21 of the Museum
- 29 Hidda inscription (K82) The village Hidda is situated about five miles to the south of Jalālābād It is dated in the year 28 of the Kan. era = A D 155
- 30 Shakardarra inscription (K83) The inscription comes from an old well in Shakardarra near Campbellpore in N W Frontier Province It is dated in the ear 40 of Kan era = A D 168
- 31 Rāwal stone inscription (K84) Rāwal is a village near Mathurā The inscription which is now placed in the Mathurā Museum is nothing but a clumsy copy of the Shakardarra record (No 30 above)
- 32 Ārā inscription (K85) This is Lahore Museum No I 133 Ārā is a nālā near Bāgnīlab which is to the south-south-west of Attock Date year 41 (= A D 169)
- 33 Wardak vase inscription (K86) Wardak is some 30 miles to the west of Kabul Date year 51 = A D 179
- 34 Und inscription (K87) Und or Ohind is a village 15 miles above Attock. Date year 61 = A D 189

#### IV 3rd Century A D (and some later) Inscriptions

- 1 Loryān Tangai pedestal inscription (K40) The pedestal of a statue was discovered in a ruined stūpa in the valley of Loryān near the northern opening of the Shāhkot pass into Lower Swāt. It is dated in the year 318 = A D 234
- 2 Loryān Tangai inscription (K41) No 4860 of the Calcutta Museum is a Buddha statue brought from Loryān Tangai Below the folds of garment is an inscription
- 3 Loryān Tangai inscription (K42) Another statue of the Buddha, No 4871 of the Calcutta Museum, was also brought from the same place.
- 4 Loryān Tangai inscription (K43) This is No 4995 of the Calcutta Museum a headless statue of a Bodhisattva.
- 5 Loryān Tangai inscription (K44) This is No 5095 of the Calcutta Museum, a bas-relief representing a teaching Buddha
- 6 Jamālgarhī inscription (K45) Jamālgarhī is a village to the south of the Pājā ridge It is dated in the year 359 = A D 275
7. Jamālgarhī pedestal inscription (K46) This sculpture forming the pedestal for a standing statue comes from the same place.

- 8 Jamālgaṛhī image halo inscription (K47) This halo of a statue seems to have disappeared to-day
- 9 Jamālgaṛhī pilaster base inscription (K48) This inscription on a fragment of a pilaster base may be dated in the end of the 3rd century A.D.
- 10 Lahore Museum halo inscription (K49) This is No 257 of the Museum, a broken Buddha image of unknown provenance
- 11 Lahore pedestal inscription (K50) This is No 679 of the Lahore Museum, a pedestal of unknown provenance. The characters seem to agree with the Jamālgaṛhī records
- 12 Hashtnagar pedestal inscription (K53) Hashtnagar is a modern name given to eight small villages on the left bank of the Swāt river above its confluence with the Kābul river It is dated in the year 384 = A.D. 300
- 13 Pālāṭu Dherī pedestal inscription (K54) At this place a pedestal of a standing Buddha was found and this is at present No 626 of the Peshavar Museum.
- 14 Pālāṭu Dherī inscriptions on jars (K55) These are written in a thin wash on the walls of three jars found in a mound
- 15 Sahr-I-Bahlol potsherds (K56) A considerable number of pottery fragments with ink inscriptions were found here during excavations
- 16 Ghaz Dherī pedestal inscription (K57) Ghaz Dherī is a mound opposite Pālāṭu Dherī The pedestal is of a fragmentary Bodhisattva statue.
- 17 Shahr-I-Nāpursān pedestal inscription (K58) The place is situated between Rājar and Utmanzai in Hashtnagar The pedestal is No 1194 of the Lahore Museum.
- 18 Mīr Ziyārat clay sherd (K59) One of the Mounds in the Shahr-I-Nāpursān group is now called Mīr Ziyārat The letters found on the broken shed do not yield any sense.
- 18 Māmāne Dherī pedestal inscription (K88) This sculpture represents Indra's visit to Buddha. It was found in a small hamlet built on the top of a small ancient mound in the Chārsadda tahsīl of the Peshavar district. It is dated in the year 89 = A.D. 216
- 20 Kāniza Dherī inscription (K89) The find place is an ancient mound near the village Umarazai in the Chārsadda tahsīl Palaeographically the inscription may be dated in the 3rd century A.D.
- 21 Taja inscription (K90) The inscription is, however, not published
- 22 Mohenjo Daro fragments (K91) At Mohenjo Daro Larkhana district, Sind, were found some glazed fragments of pottery containing a word or few letters on each
- 23 Tor Dherai inscribed potsherds (K92) It is seven miles south-east of Duka tahsīl, Loralai district, Baluchistan Fifty pottery fragments with inked letters, five in Brāhmī and the rest in Kharoṣṭhī, were discovered here. Nothing can be made out of Brāhmī fragments Though the Kharoṣṭhī fragments belong to different jars it has been found possible to connect them together in a single legend which seems to have been repeated, only with slight variations, on different jars They may roughly be dated about or after 200 A.D.

- 24 Skārah Dherī image inscription (K60). The place is situated near the village Spinvarī, eight miles north of Chārsadda. It is dated in the year 399 = A D 315
- 25 Jauliā inscriptions (K36). According to Sir John MARSHALL the inscriptions belong to the 5th or the 6th century A D

## PHONOLOGY

## I VOWELS

§ 499 The vowels, with the exception of *ṛ* and the diphthongs, are usually well preserved. As the Kharoṣṭhī script does not mark the long vowels, it has not been possible to discuss their treatment as in the Brāhmī inscriptions.

§ 500 Treatment of the vowel *ṛ*. The vowel *ṛ* is never preserved. It is generally changed to *a*, and in a few cases to *i* and *u*. It is only in exceptional instances that *ṛ* is changed to *ri*.

(a) Change *ṛ* > *a*

- 1st cent. A D . Sk *grha-* > *-gaha-* K 27<sup>a</sup>  
 Sk *amṛta-* > *amata-* K 26<sup>a</sup>  
 2nd cent. A D Sk *kṛta-* > *kata-* K 75<sup>a</sup>  
 Sk *ṛṣā-* > *taṣa-* K 80<sup>a</sup>

(b) Change *ṛ* > *i*

- 1st cent. B C Sk *kṛti-* > *kiti-* K 93.

(c) Change *ṛ* > *u*

- 2nd cent. A D Sk *vrddha-* > *vudha-* K 75<sup>a</sup>

(d) Change *ṛ* > *ra*

- 1st cent. A D Sk *pṛthivī-* > *pradhravi-* K 15

(e) Change *ṛ* > *ri*<sup>2</sup>

- 1st cent. B C Sk *kṛṣṇayaśas-* > *kṛṣayaśa-* K 95<sup>1</sup>, K 96<sup>1</sup>  
 3rd cent. A D Sk *pṛtñām* > *-pitrnam* K 92

§ 501 Treatment of the diphthongs *ai* and *au*. They are regularly changed to *e* and *o* respectively.

(a) Change *ai* > *e*

- 1st cent. A D . Sk *Vaiśākha-* > *Veśakha-* K 20<sup>a</sup>  
 2nd cent. A D Sk *Caitra-* > *Cetra-* K 87<sup>1</sup>, also cf *Veśakha-* K 39<sup>1</sup>.  
 3rd cent. A D Sk *cāitya-* > *cetiya-* K 48<sup>1</sup>

(b) Change *au* > *o*

- 1st cent. B C . Sk *pautra-* > *potra-* K 96<sup>a</sup>  
 Sk *Prasthapada-* > *Prothavala-* K 12  
 2nd cent. A D Sk *Gautama-* > *Go'ama-* K 79  
 Sk *nauframa-* > *-noframra-* K 83<sup>a</sup>.  
 3rd cent. A D cf *Prothada-* K 40<sup>1</sup>

<sup>2</sup> This is the regular treatment of the vowel *ṛ* in the Kharoṣṭhī documents of Chinese Turkestan, cf BURROW, § 5



§ 502 Treatment of Sk *aya* and *ava* They are changed to *e* and *o* respectively

(a) Change *aya* > *e*

- 1st cent. B C Sk. *prati-√sthāpaya-* > *prati-ḥaveli* K 13<sup>a</sup>  
 1st cent. A.D cf *preḥaveli-* K 31<sup>1</sup>  
 2nd cent. A.D of *pratiḥaveli* K 86<sup>1</sup> etc

(b) Change *ava* > *o*

- 3rd cent A.D Sk. *Saṅghavaṃman-* > *Saṅghoruma-* K 40<sup>2</sup>,  
 also cf *Budhoruma-* K 41<sup>1</sup>, K 58<sup>1</sup>

§ 503 Treatment of the Sk vowel *a* The vowel *a* is fairly well preserved The following sporadic changes, however, may be noted

(a) Change *a* > *i*

- 1st cent A.D Sk. *śata-* > *-satī-* K 20<sup>2</sup>, K 23<sup>1</sup>  
 2nd cent A.D Sk. *sarva-* > *sarvī-na* K 86<sup>3</sup>  
 Sk. *kṛtālaya-ka-* > *kadalayī-g(ṛ)a-* K 86<sup>1</sup>  
 4th cent A.D cf *cadusatī-* K 60<sup>1</sup>

(b) Change *a* > *u* occurs only in a single word

- 2nd cent. A.D Sk *kṣana-* > *kṣuna-* K 75<sup>1</sup>, K 79 etc  
 3rd cent. A.D cf *kṣuna-* K 88

(c) Change *a* > *e* before a cluster

- 1st cent. A.D Sk *pra-√sthāpaya-* > *preḥaveli-* K 31<sup>1</sup>

(d) Initially *a-* is lost in the following cases

- 1st cent A.D Sk *apī* > *vī* K 15 I<sup>1</sup>  
 2nd cent A.D Sk *aranya-* > *rañña-* K 80<sup>1</sup>  
 3rd cent A.D cf *raña-* K 45<sup>2</sup>

§ 504 Treatment of the vowel *i* It is well preserved The following changes are only occasional

(a) Change *i* > *a*

- 1st cent A.D Sk *puṣkarmī-* > *pukarami-* K 24<sup>1-2</sup>  
 Sk *pṛthivī-* > *padhravi-* K 15M<sup>2-3</sup>

The change sometimes occurs before terminations

- 1st cent. A.D Sk *Sarvāstivādin-* > *Sarvastivā(ṛ)a na* K 15A<sup>1,3</sup>,  
 K 15 J<sup>3</sup> etc  
 3rd cent A.D Sk. *samanuyāyī-* > *samanuyaya-na* K 88

(b) change *i* > *e* before a cluster

- 1st cent. A.D Sk *agra-mahīṣī-* > *agra-maheṣ(ṛ)ī-* K 15 A<sup>2</sup>  
 2nd cent A.D Sk *\*itra* > *etra* K 76<sup>1</sup>, <sup>5</sup>  
 Sk *kaniṣka-* > *kaneṣha-* K 76<sup>1-2</sup> also cf K 72<sup>3</sup>

§ 505 Treatment of the vowel *u* The vowel is very well preserved Note however the following

(a) Change *u* > *i* due to dissimilation

- 2nd cent A.D Sk *kuṭumbī-* > *kuṭimbī-* K 74<sup>3</sup>

(b) Change *u* > *o* before a cluster

1st cent. B C Sk *Buddha* > *Bodha*- K 5

§ 506 The vowel *o* is perhaps changed to *u* in

4th cent A D Sk *ekona* > *ek[u]na*- K 60<sup>1</sup>

## II CONSONANTS SIMPLE

§ 507. The consonants in their initial position are almost always well preserved. There occur only a few cases of initial cerebralisation and loss of occlusion in the case of aspirates. The distinction between the three sibilants is closely preserved and the change of *r* > *l* is almost absent. The changes that are noted below are mostly intervocal and are more or less of limited application showing only some general tendencies of pronunciation. The striking feature in this connection is the change of a consonant into fricative which is generally represented by the addition of *r* put into brackets or sometimes by the addition of *y*. The following paragraphs do not illustrate the cases of preservation—they only show the changes which the consonants sometimes undergo.

§ 508 Gutturals (a) The change of intervocal surd to sonant<sup>3</sup> is noticed only in the case of *-k-*. It may be noted further that in all instances the change has occurred in the last syllable.

(1) Change *-k-* > *-g-*

1st cent. B C Sk *jñātika* > [*ñatiga*]- K 13<sup>1</sup>

1st cent. A D Sk *pratyeka* > *pracega*- K 27<sup>1</sup>

2nd cent. A D Sk *dandanāyaka* > *dadaniayaga*- K 76<sup>1</sup>

Sk *navakramika* > *navakarmiga*- K 76<sup>12</sup>

Sk *mahāsaṅghika* > *mahasamghiga*- K 86<sup>1</sup>

3rd cent. A D Sk *stūpaka* > *-tubaga*- K 41<sup>2</sup>

Also cf [*ñā*]*d*[*ga*]- K 55 C

(b) The change of a guttural to a fricative or a sonantised fricative is noticed in the following cases<sup>1</sup>

(1) Change *-k-* > *-k(r)-* or *-g(r)-*

1st cent. A D Sk *nāgaraka* > *nak(r)arak(r)a*- K 15 N<sup>1</sup>

also cf *Sak(r)astana* K 15P<sup>12</sup>

2nd cent. A D Sk *naraka* > *narag(r)a*- K 86<sup>2</sup>

Sk *śoṭa* > *śog(r)a*- K 80<sup>1</sup>

(ii) Change *-g-* > *-g(r)-*

1st cent. B C Sk. *bhagata* > *bhag(r)ata*- K 1

1st cent. A D cf *bhag(r)ata(r)a*- K 17<sup>2</sup>

2nd cent. A D Sk *agrabhāga* > *agrabhag(r)a*- K 85-

also cf *bhag(r)ata*- K 80, K 85<sup>1</sup>

3 For the voicing of intervocal unvoiced stops and their further spirantisation in some cases in the Niva Prākṛit, cf BURROW § 16 § 17

4 KOSOV (p. 222) remarks that guttural fricatives are found in modern Khoj. 27

- (c) The weakening of a guttural to *y* is noticed in such cases as
- (1) Change *-k-* > *-y-* The change is very rare and occurs only in the suffix
- 1st cent. B C Sk. *saṃvaṭsaraka-* > *saṃvaṭsaraya-* K 13<sup>1</sup>
- 1st cent. A D cf *saṃvaṭsaraya-* K 19<sup>2</sup>, K 23<sup>1</sup>
- (d) Change of sonant to surd<sup>5</sup> is also not quite frequent

- (1) Change *-g-* > *-k(ṛ)-*
- 1st cent. A D Sk *viṅgaraka-* > *nak(ṛ)ara-* K 15F<sup>1</sup>
- Sk *bhagavat-* > *bhak(ṛ)avat(ṛ)a-* K 15A<sup>12</sup>
- (e) Occlusion is lost in the following cases

- (1) Change *kh-* > *-h-*
- 1st cent. A D Sk *dānamukha-* > *danamukha-* K 17<sup>2</sup>
- Sk. *hitasukha-* > *hidasuha-* K 23<sup>2</sup>
- 2nd cent. A D cf *danamuha-* K 39<sup>2-3</sup>

- (f) Initial loss of aspiration occurs only in

- (1) Change *gh-* > *g-*
- 2nd cent. A D Sk. *ghaṭṭika-* > *gad(ṛ)ig(ṛ)a-* K 86<sup>1</sup>

- (g) Gutturals are lost intervocally in the following cases

- (1) *-k-* is lost in
- 1st cent. B C (?) Sk *ṣaṣṭhaka-* > [ṣaṣṭhaa-] K 9<sup>1</sup>
- 1st cent. A D Sk *loka-* > *loa-* K 31<sup>2</sup>
- Sk *Bāhlika-* > *Bahaha-* K 27<sup>2</sup>
- Sk *mahāsanghika-* > *Mahasaghua-* K 15N<sup>3</sup>

The instances are rather frequent, especially showing the loss in the suffix

- 2nd cent. A D Sk. *śrāvaka-* > *ṣavaa-* K 76<sup>9</sup>
- Sk. *navakarmika-* > *navakarmia-* K 82<sup>1</sup>
- 3rd cent. A D Sk *svāmika-* > *sāmia-* K 46<sup>1</sup>,
- also cf *ṣavaa-* K 45<sup>1</sup>, K 55C
- 4th cent. A D Sk *Vaiṇayika-* > *Venae(ṛ)a-* K 36 7

- (11) *-g-* is lost in

- 1st cent. B C *Moga-* > *Moa-* (?) K p 12, slab c
- 2nd cent. A D Sk. *nagara-* > *naara-* K 38

§ 509 Palatals (a) The weakening of a palatal occurs in

- (1) Change *-c-* > *-y-*

- 1st cent. B C Sk. *sahacara-* > *sahayara-* K 14<sup>2</sup>
- 1st cent. A D Sk. *ācārya-* > *ayaria-* K 15 N<sup>1</sup>, also
- cf *sahayara-* K 13, K 25<sup>1-2</sup>, K 28-
- 2nd cent. A D The change occurs even initially in Sk *ca* > *ya* K 86<sup>3</sup>

Perhaps the whole syllable *-ca-* is lost in

- Sk *sahacara-* > *sahara-* ? K 83<sup>2-1</sup>
- 3rd cent. A D Sk. *sārdhamcārīn-* ? > *sadayaria-* K 42<sup>2</sup>

5 This change is quite frequent in the *Kharoṣṭhī Dhammapada*. For the sporadic appearance of unvoicing of *g*, *ṛ*, *d*, and *b* in the Nīya Prakrit, cf BURROW, § 14

(ii) Change -j- > -y-<sup>6</sup> .

- 1st cent. B C Sk *mahārāja-* > *maharaya-* K 13<sup>1</sup>  
 Sk *pūjā-* > *puya-* K 2, K 13<sup>3</sup>  
 1st cent. A D cf *puya-* K 150G<sup>2</sup> etc, K 17, K 20<sup>5</sup>,  
*maharaya-* K 20<sup>1</sup>, K 26<sup>1</sup>,  
*yuvārāya-* K 15E<sup>1</sup>  
 2nd cent. A D cf *puya-* K 37 6, K 80<sup>4</sup> etc  
 3rd cent. A D cf *puya-* K 46<sup>1</sup>, K 88

(b) -j- is lost only in

- 1st cent. A D Sk *dharmarāṇi* > *dharmārāi-* K 35 1

(c) Change -jh- > -j-

- 3rd cent. A.D. Sk *upādhyāya-* > \**upajhaya-* > *upajaya-* K 88

§ 510 Cerebrals (a) The change of -t- > -d- is doubtful<sup>7</sup> Then again its change into a sonant fricative is found only in a solitary instance Equally rare is the change -ḍ- > -d(ṛ)-

(i) Change -t- > -d- or -ḍ(ṛ)- :

- 2nd cent. A D Sk *baṭu-* > [*badu-*] K 37 18  
 Sk *ghaṭṭika-* > *gaḍ(ṛ)ig(ṛ)a-* K 86<sup>1</sup>

(ii) Change -ḍ- > -d(ṛ)-

- 2nd cent. A D Sk *ṣaḍāyatana-* > *ṣad(ṛ)yadana-* K 80<sup>2</sup>

(b) Loss of aspiration is found in -dh-

(i) Change -dh- > -ḍ-

- 1st cent. A.D. Sk *aṣādha-* > *aṣada-* K. 27<sup>1</sup>  
 2nd cent. A D . cf *aṣada-* K 75<sup>1</sup> and *purvasada-* K 87<sup>1</sup>  
 4th cent. A D . cf *aṣada-* K 60<sup>1</sup>

(c) The cerebrals are all well preserved The change of a cerebral to a dental occurs with the nasal

(i) Change -n- > -ṇ- .

- 1st cent. B C The cerebral *n* is rigorously preserved  
 1st cent. A D The change is rare.  
 Sk. *kāṣāṇa-* > *kaḥaṇa[ṇa]-* K 10<sup>4</sup>  
 2nd cent. A D . Sk. *kṣana-* > *ksuna-* K 79, K 80<sup>1</sup> etc  
 Sk *mrvāna-* > *mrvana-* K 82<sup>2</sup>  
 3rd cent. A D . Sk *daḥṣṇa-* > *-daḥṣṇa-* K 88  
 Sk *śramana-* > *ṣamana-* K 55 A, K 88 etc  
 also cf *kṣuna-* K 88  
 4th cent. A D cf *Ṣamanamitra-* K 36 3

§ 511 Dentals (a) Change of a surd to sonant is found only with -t-.

(i) Change -t- > -ḍ.<sup>8</sup>

- 1st cent. B C . Sk *dadāli-* > *dēdī* K 11<sup>3</sup>

6 This change is regular in the *Dhammapada*

7 This change also is regular in the *Dhammapada*

8 This is regular in the *Dhammapada*

- 1st cent. A D Sk. *lohita*- > *-lohida*- K 35 2  
 Sk. *caturdiśa*- > *cadudiśa* K 24  
 Sk. *pituh*- > *pidu* K 20<sup>6</sup>  
 Initially Sk. *te* > *de* K 27<sup>6</sup>
- 2nd cent. A D Sk. *khātaka*- > *khadaa*- K 83<sup>1</sup>  
 Sk. *bhrātṛ*- > *bhradara* K 86<sup>2</sup>  
 Sk. *likhita*- > *likhida*- K 80<sup>1</sup>  
 Also cf. *madapīdara* K 86<sup>2</sup>, *bhavadī* K 80<sup>3</sup>,  
*khanavīda* K 81<sup>2</sup>, etc. etc
- 3rd cent. A D Sk. *jñātika*- > *ñadiga*- K 55 B  
 also cf. *cadudiśa*- K 55 A, B, *pīda* K 45<sup>1</sup>
- 4th cent. A D Sk. *catuhśata*- > *caduśati*- K 60<sup>1</sup>  
 Sk. *√bhr̥*- > *bharadu* K 60<sup>2</sup>

(b) Change of a dental into fricative

(i) Change *-t* > *-t(r)*-

- 1st cent. A D Sk. *Śivarakṣita*- > *Śivarakṣit(r)a*- K 17<sup>2</sup>  
 Sk. *pitāmahi*- > *pit(r)amahi* K 15 A<sup>7</sup>  
 Sk. *pratiṣṭhāpita*- > *prat(r)ṣṭhavit(r)a*- K 15 A<sup>11</sup>

(ii) Change *-t* > *-d(r)*-

- 1st cent. B C cf. *pratiṣṭhavid(r)a*- K 1

(c) Change of a sonant into a surd or a surd fricative occurs with *d*. The change is very rare.

(i) Change *-d*- > *-t*-

- 1st cent. A D Sk. *Prauṣṭhapada*- > *Proṭhavata*- K 12  
 2nd cent. A D Sk. *samutpāda*- > *sammupata*- K 80<sup>1</sup>  
 Sk. *sarvāstivādīm* > *sarvastivatī*- K 72<sup>4</sup>

(ii) Change *-d*- > *-t(r)*-

- 1st cent. A D Sk. *udaka*- > *ut(r)aa*- K 15 KL<sup>3</sup>  
 Sk. *pradeśa*- > *prat(r)eś(r)a*- K 15 A<sup>10-11</sup>, K 15 M<sup>2-3</sup>  
 also cf. *sarvastivat(r)a*- K 15A<sup>15</sup>

(d) Change of a sonant into sonant aspirate occurs due to contamination

(i) Change *-d*- > *-dh*-

- 1st cent. A D Sk. *duhitṛ*- > *dhit(r)a* K 15 A<sup>5</sup>

(e) Loss of occlusion is doubtfully instanced in the change *-lh*- > *-h*-

- 1st cent. B C Sk. *ṣaṣṭhika*- > [ṣaṣṭhaa-] K 9<sup>1</sup>

(f) Intervocally *-t-* is lost in a rare illustration

- 3rd cent. A D Sk. *niryātita*- > *niryāida*- K 88

§ 512 Labials (a) Change of *-p*- > *-v*-<sup>9</sup> is rather frequent

- 1st cent. B C Sk. *Prauṣṭhapada*- > *Proṭhavata*- K 12  
 Sk. *pratiṣṭhāpayatī* > *pratīthavelī* K 13<sup>3</sup>
- 1st cent. A D Sk. *stūpa*- > *thuva*- K 32,  
 also cf. *pratīthavita* K 32, *karavita* K 24<sup>2</sup>, etc. etc
- 2nd cent. A D Sk. *kūpa*- > *kuva*- K 83<sup>3</sup>  
 Sk. *rūpa*- > *ruva*- K 80<sup>2</sup>,  
 also cf. *karavīda*- K 68, *khanavīda*- K 81<sup>2</sup>

9 This change is regular in the *Dhammapada*

Doubtfully this *v* is aspirated<sup>10</sup> in Sk. *kārāpaka* > *kara[vha]a*- K 76<sup>r</sup>.

3rd cent. A D Sk *kāśyapīya*- > *kaśaviya*- K 56,  
also cf *Proṭhavada*- K 40, K 53 .

4th cent. A D cf *kaśava*- K 36 9, 10, 11

(b) Sometimes -*p*- > -*b*-

1st cent. B C Sk *stūpa*- > *thuba*- K 2

2nd cent. A D cf *thuba*- K 80<sup>1</sup>, K 82<sup>1</sup>, etc

3rd cent. A D cf *thubaga*- K 41<sup>2</sup>

(c) Initially *bh*- > *h*- only in

1st cent. A D Sk *bhavatu* > *hotu* K 27<sup>5</sup>

(d) Few labials are turned into fricatives

(i) Change -*bh*- > -*v*(*r*)-

2nd cent. A D Sk *Abhisāraprastha*- > *Av(r)isarapatha*- K 38

(ii) Change -*m*- > -*m*(*r*)- All instances come from loc sg term

2nd cent. A D cf *viharam(r)ṛ* K 86<sup>1</sup>, *thubam(r)ṛ* K 86<sup>1</sup>,  
*kṣunamm(r)ṛ* K 79

(e) In a few cases -*p*- is lost

1st cent. B C Sk *kūpa*- > *kua* K 14<sup>2</sup>

1st cent. A D Sk *antahpura*- > *alcura*- K 15A<sup>2</sup>  
also cf *kua*- K 19<sup>2</sup>, etc

2nd cent. A D cf *kua*- K 75<sup>2</sup>

§ 513 Semi-vowels The semi-vowels as a general rule are well preserved  
Only the semi-vowel *y* undergoes a few changes The change -*r*- > -*l*- is quite exceptional

(a) Changes in the semi-vowel *y*

(i) Change -*y*- > -*g*(*r*)*a*- this is rather peculiar

2nd cent. A D Sk *pratyaya*- > -*pracag(r)a*- K 80<sup>2</sup>  
Sk *upāyāsa*- ? > *uvag(r)asa*- K 80<sup>2</sup>

(ii) Change -*y*- > -*ī*-

3rd cent. A D Sk *aśvayuj*- > *Aspāi[u]*- K 45<sup>1</sup>

(iii) -*y*- is lost in some cases

1st cent. A D Sk *ācārya*- > \**acariya*- > *ayana*- K 15 N<sup>1</sup> etc.  
Sk *Kāśyapīya*- > *Kaśaria*- K 33

2nd cent. A D Sk *kṣaya*- > -*khaa*- K 82<sup>2</sup>  
Sk *samudaya*- > *sammudaa*- K 80<sup>2</sup>  
Sk *traya*- > *taa*- K 76<sup>2</sup>

3rd cent. A D Sk *Buddhapriya*- > *Budhapria*- K 88  
Sk *bhāryā*- > \**bhariya*- > -*bharina*- K 46<sup>1</sup>.  
Sk *dharmayukta*- > *dlamanta*- K 45<sup>2</sup>.

4th cent. A D Sk *vaiṇayika*- > *icrac(r)a*- K 38 7  
Sk *arīhaya* > *arīlac* K 60<sup>2</sup>

(b) Changes in the semi-vowel -*r*-

(i) Change -*r*- > -*r*(*r*)-

1st cent. A D : cf *Khar(r)costa*- K 15 A<sup>1</sup>, K 15 E<sup>1</sup>.

10 This -*ih*- is sometimes found for labial aspirates in the *Dhammapadam*

(11) Change  $-r- \rightarrow -l-$ 1st cent. A D Sk. *paricchunna-*  $\rightarrow$  *palichuna-* K 15 J<sup>1</sup>(c). Changes in the semi-vowel  $-v-$ (1) Change  $-v- \rightarrow -b-$ 1st cent. A D Sk. *samvatsara-*  $\rightarrow$  *sambalśara-* K 20<sup>2</sup>(11) Change  $-v- \rightarrow -vh-$  or  $-vh(r)-$ 2nd cent. A D Sk. *Dīvākara-*  $\rightarrow$  *Divhakara-* K 71Sk. *bhagavat-*  $\rightarrow$  *[bha]gavh(r)a[ta]-* K 62<sup>1</sup>

§ 514 Sibilants (a) The distinction between the three sibilants is well preserved. In some cases the sibilants are turned into fricatives. Following are a few illustrations of the preservation of  $\$$  and  $\xi$

(1)  $\$$  is preserved in such cases as1st cent. B C Sk. *śarīra-*  $\rightarrow$  *śarira-* K 1, K 13<sup>3</sup>Sk. *deśa-*  $\rightarrow$  *deśa-* K 13<sup>2-3</sup>2nd cent. A D Sk. *vaiśākha-*  $\rightarrow$  *veśakha-* K 39<sup>1</sup>also cf *śarira-* K 793rd cent. A D Sk. *caturdiśa-*  $\rightarrow$  *caturdiśa-* K 924th cent. A D Sk. *śarman-*  $\rightarrow$  *śarma-* K 60<sup>2</sup>Sk. *daśama-*  $\rightarrow$  *daśama-* K 60<sup>2</sup>'(11)'  $\xi$  is preserved in such cases as1st cent. B C Sk. *śaṣṭi-*  $\rightarrow$  *śaṣṭi-* K 9<sup>1</sup>2nd cent. A D Sk. *eṣah*  $\rightarrow$  *eṣa* K 86<sup>4</sup>3rd cent. A D Sk. *Buddhaghoṣa-*  $\rightarrow$  *Budhaghoṣa-* K 40<sup>1</sup>4th cent. A D Sk. *āṣāḍha-*  $\rightarrow$  *aṣāḍa-* K 60<sup>1</sup>

(b) Only in a single case  $\xi > \$$  or rather we may say that the original  $\xi$  is preserved

1st cent. B C Sk. *śodaśa-*  $\rightarrow$  *śodaśa-* K 12(c)  $\xi$  is modified to  $\xi(r)$ <sup>11</sup> in1st cent. A D Sk. *pradeśa-*  $\rightarrow$  *prat(r)eś(r)a-* K 15 A<sup>10-11</sup>Sk. *caturdiśa-*  $\rightarrow$  *cat(r)udīś(r)a-* K 15 A<sup>14-15</sup>

(d)  $\xi$  is modified to  $\$$  (the dash above may be, according to KONOW, a sign of aspiration) or to  $\xi(r)$

(1) Change  $-\xi- \rightarrow -\$-$ 2nd cent. A D Sk. *tṛṣā-*  $\rightarrow$  *taśa-* K 80<sup>3</sup>(11) Change  $-\xi- \rightarrow -\xi(r)-$ 1st cent. A D Sk. *agra-mahīṣi-*  $\rightarrow$  *agra-maheṣ(r)i-* K 15 A<sup>2</sup>(e)  $s$  is also modified to  $s(y)$  or  $s(r)$ (1) Change  $s > s(y)$ 2nd cent. A D Sk. *māse*  $\rightarrow$  *mas(y)e* K 79, K 86<sup>1</sup>Sk. *putrasya*  $\rightarrow$  *putras(y)a* K 37 1 and 2, 53rd cent. A D Sk. *sarva-*  $\rightarrow$  *s(y)va-* K 92,  
also cf *dharmapatis(y)a* K 92

11 For the change of  $\$ \geq z$  and of  $s \geq z$  cf BURROW, § 21, § 22.

(ii) Change *s* > *s*(*r*)

2nd cent. A D Sk *sah* > *s*(*r*)*a* K 86<sup>1</sup>, it also occurs in gen sg term *mūthyagas*(*r*)*a* K 86<sup>3</sup>, *Hoveṣkas*(*r*)*a* K RF<sup>2</sup>

3rd cent A D · Sk *samyak*- > *s*(*r*)*ama*- K 92

also cf *viharasvamis*(*r*)*a*, (or *-svamis*(*y*)*a*) K 92

§ 515 Palatalisation The law of palatalisation has only a limited application in these inscriptions The sounds which are palatalised belong only to the dental class

(a) Palatalisation of *t* :(i) Change *-ty-* > *-c-*

1st cent B C Sk. *samucchitya* > [*samuchica*] K 11<sup>2</sup>.

1st cent. A D Sk *pratyeka*- > *pracega*- K 27<sup>1</sup>

Sk *amātya*- > *-amaca*- K 27<sup>1-5</sup>

Sk *parityāga*- > *paricaga*- K 27<sup>5</sup>

2nd cent A D Sk *pratyaya*- > *pracag*(*r*)*a*- K 80<sup>2</sup>

Sk. *upakṛtya* > *upakaca* K 75<sup>3</sup> ·

Sk *pralītya* > *pratica* K 80<sup>1</sup>

(ii) Change *-tv-* > *-c-* ·

2nd cent A D · Sk. *sthāpayitvā* > *ṭhapaicam* K 74<sup>3</sup> Or perhaps the usual absolute ending *-tya* > *-ca*

(b) Palatalisation of *d*(i) Change *-dy-* > *-j-*

2nd cent. A D Sk *avidyā-* > *aviṣa-* K 80<sup>2</sup>

(c) Palatalisation of *dh*(i) Change *-dhy-* > *-jh-* or *-j-*<sup>12</sup>

2nd cent A D. Sk *Mahādhyāna*- > *Mahajhana*- K 379

3rd cent A D Sk. *upādhyāya*- > *\*upajhaya*- > *upajaya*- K 88.

(d) Assimilation of the clusters *jñ* and *ny* > *ñ*<sup>13</sup>(i) Change *jñ* > *ñ*

1st cent. B C Sk. *jñāti*- > [*ñāti*]- K 13<sup>1</sup>

Sk *ājñā*- > *-añā*- K 11<sup>2</sup>, K 13<sup>1</sup>

1st cent A D · cf *ñāti*- K 35.2

Sk. *\*yuvārājñā* > *yuvarañā* K 15A<sup>1</sup>.

2nd cent A D Sk *viññāna*- > *viñāna*- K 80<sup>2</sup>

3rd cent A D cf *ñadiga*- K 55 C

(ii) Change *-ny-* > *-ñ-* or *-mñ-* ·

1st cent A D Sk *puṇya*- > *puñā*- K 26<sup>1</sup>, also cf *Puñā-mata*- K 4

2nd cent A D Sk *aranya*- > *rañā*- K 80<sup>1</sup>, K 82<sup>1</sup>

3rd cent. A D cf *-rañā*- K 45<sup>2</sup>

(e) Palatalisation of *s* > *ś* in the conjunct *ts* ·

1st cent. B C Sk. *samtatsara*- > *sañtatsara*- K 13<sup>1</sup>

12 For similar change in *ḍl vāra*- > *jāra*- etc. in the Niya documents cf BURROW §41.

13 For similar palatalisation of *ny* and *jñ* cf BURROW, §41, §44.



1st cent. A D cf *saṃvaśāra*- K 19<sup>2</sup>, K 23<sup>1</sup>

2nd cent. A D cf *saṃvaśāra*- K 74<sup>1</sup>

§ 516 Cerebralisation Dentals are sometimes changed into cerebrals under the influence of *ṛ* or a sibilant. The nasal *ṇ*, though very often preserved, is also many times changed to *n* even when Sk. usage does not require such a change

(a) Cerebralisation of the dental *t*

(i) Change *-ṛ-t-* > *-ḍ-* *-ḍ(ṛ)-* This change is rather unusual

2nd cent. A D Sk *pratyamśa*- > *paḍiasa*- K 76<sup>11</sup>,  
or *paḍ(ṛ)īyamśa*- K 86<sup>2</sup>

(ii) Change *st-* > *ṭh-*

1st cent. A D Sk *stūpa*- > *-[ṭhu]va*- K 19<sup>2-3</sup>

(b) Cerebralisation of the dental *th*

(i) Change *-ṛ-th-* > *-ṭh-* or *-dh-* or *-dh(ṛ)-*

1st cent. A D Sk *prathama*- > *praṭhama*- K 20<sup>2</sup>, *pradhama*- K 26<sup>1</sup>  
Sk *pṛthuvī*- > *paḍh(ṛ)avi*- K 15A<sup>10-11</sup>, 15M<sup>2-3</sup>

3rd cent. A D cf *paḍhamma*- K 45

(ii) Change *sth* > *ṭh*

1st cent. A D Sk *dhanasthita*- > *'dhanatṭhi|ta*- K 10<sup>3</sup>

2nd cent. A D Sk. *sthāpayitvā* > *ṭhapaicam* K 74<sup>3</sup>

(c) Cerebralisation of *d*

(i) Change *-dr-* > *-ḍr-*

2nd cent. A D Sk *Dronīpadra*- > *Dronvadra*- K 83<sup>3</sup>

(d) Cerebralisation of *dh*

(i) Change *-rdh-* > *-ḍh-*

1st cent. B C Sk *Mitravardhana*- > *Mitravaḍhana*- K 9<sup>2</sup>

Sk. *Balavardha*- > *Valavadha*- K 9<sup>1</sup>

(e) *ṇ* is cerebralised both initially and medially. As already noted above *ṇ* is also preserved in many cases<sup>14</sup>

(i) Change *-ṇ-* > *-n-*

1st cent. A D Sk *nagara* > *nagara*- K 27<sup>2</sup>

Sk. *nirvāna*- > *nivana*- K 27<sup>6</sup>

2nd cent. A D Sk. *nānā* > *nana* K 76<sup>5</sup>

Sk *naraka*- > *narag(ṛ)a*- K 86<sup>3</sup>

also cf *nag(ṛ)ara*- K 72<sup>1</sup>, *-naara*- K 38

(ii) Change *-ṇ-* > *-n-*

1st cent. B C Sk *bahujana*- > *bahujana*- K 1

Sk. *Śākyamuni*- > *Śakamuni*- K 1, K 5, K 13<sup>3</sup>

Sk. *padān* > *padam* K 5

14 "The impression left by this state of affairs is that intervocalic *ṇ* and *n* had the same sound, at least over the greater part of the territory, and that the sound was probably a cerebral. The signification of the two letters was consequently lost sight of, the traditional writing acting as a check on the development of a consistent orthography" KOVON, pp. ciii iv

- 1st cent. A D Sk *dānamukha-* > *danamuha-* K 17<sup>2</sup>, K 19, etc.  
 Sk. *tena-*<sup>1</sup> > *tena* K 27<sup>2</sup>  
 Sk. *satvānām* > *-satvana* K 23<sup>2</sup>
- 2nd cent. A D Sk. *pājana-* > *pujana-* K 75<sup>2</sup>  
 Sk. *kaniṣka-* > *kaniška-* K 75<sup>2</sup>, K 76<sup>1-2</sup>  
 Sk. *etena* > *etena* K 76<sup>6</sup>  
 Sk. *Vāsudevena* > *Vasudevena* K 81<sup>3</sup>.
- 3rd cent. A D . cf. *danamukha-* K 46<sup>1</sup>, K 47, K 58<sup>1</sup> etc ;  
*samanuyayana* K 88
- 4th cent. A D . Sk. *tanaya-* > *tanaya-* K 60<sup>2</sup>  
 Sk. *ekona-* > *ekuna-* K 60<sup>1</sup>  
 also cf. *danamukha-* K 36 7, 8, 10 etc
- (b) Clustter *jñ-* > *n-* only in Wardak<sup>15</sup>  
 2nd cent. A D Sk. *jñālī-* > *nalī-* K 86-.

### III CONSONANT CLUSTERS

§ 517 Though most of the clusters are as usual assimilated, still there are some which are preserved. This preservation of consonant clusters is found in a large majority of cases with such clusters as are formed with *r* and also to a certain extent with *y* or *v* and also with a sibilant. There are not many instances of anaptyxis. As usual the assimilated cluster is represented by a single consonant. Palatalisation and cerebralisation in consonant clusters have been already dealt with. In the following treatment only important clusters are illustrated, the usual instances of assimilation being mostly dropped.

#### § 518 Clusters with Gutturals

##### (a) Clusters with sibilant + gutturals

###### (i) Change *-ṣk-* > *-k-*

1st cent. B C Sk. *puṣkarinī-* > *pukarīna-* K 94, K 96<sup>2</sup>

1st cent. A D cf. *pukarāni-* K 24<sup>1-2</sup>

###### (ii) Cluster *-ṣk-* is preserved in

2nd cent. A D *Kaniška-* K 74<sup>1</sup>, *Vajheṣka-* K 85-

###### (iii) Change *sk* > *k* or *k* (the dash may suggest aspiration)

1st cent. A D Sk. *skandhāvāra-* > *kadhatara-* K 15 I<sup>1</sup>, = 3

2nd cent. A D Sk. *skandha-* > *-kamdha-* K 80<sup>2</sup>

Sk. *samskāra-* > *samtara-* K 65, K 80<sup>2</sup>

##### (b) Clusters with *r* + gutturals

###### (i) Cluster *rg* is preserved

3rd cent. A D . Sk. *Mārgaśīras-* > *Ma[rgaśī]ras(r)a-* K 88

4th cent. A D . Sk. *starga-* > *s[tar]ga-* K 60

###### (ii) Cluster *rgḥ* is earlier assimilated but preserved later on

1st cent. B C Sk. *arḥa-* > *agla-* K 2.

3rd cent. A D Sk. *āṛghājus-* > *āṛglāyu[ta\*]* K 92

<sup>15</sup> KONOW (p. cv) opines that this and some other indications show that 'the Wardak inscription does not represent the local vernacular but a more eastern language brought to the country by foreign settlers.'

## § 519 Clusters with cerebrals

## (a) Clusters with sibilant + cerebrals

(i) Change *-ṣṭ-* > *-ṭh-*1st cent. B C Sk *aṣṭa* > *aṭha* K 11<sup>4</sup>, K 13<sup>1</sup>Sk. *ṣaṣṭi-* > *ṣaṭhi-* K 11<sup>1</sup>2nd cent. A D Sk *yaṣṭi-* > *yaṭhi-* K 74<sup>2,3</sup>Sk. *aṣṭama-* > *aṭhama-* K 39<sup>2</sup>(ii) Change *-ṣṭ-* > *\*-ṭh-* > *-ḍh-*1st cent. B C Sk *aṣṭa* > *aḍha-* K 11<sup>11</sup>(iii) *-ṣṭ-* is perhaps preserved in [*ṣaṣṭi-*] K 9<sup>1</sup> in the 1st cent. B C(iv) Change *-ṣṭh-* > *-ṭh-* or *-th-*1st cent. B C Sk. *apraṭiṣṭhāpita-* > *apraṭiṭhaviṭa* K 13<sup>3</sup>But also cf *praṭiṭhaviṭa* K 13<sup>3</sup>1st cent. A D Sk *kamṣṭha-* > *kamṭha-* K 15 E<sup>5</sup>Sk. *jyeṣṭha-* > *jēṭha-* K 28<sup>1</sup>But cf *praṭiṭhaviṭa-* K 322nd cent. A D cf *jēṭha-* K 85<sup>3</sup>, *praṭiṭhavedi* K 62<sup>1</sup> etc3rd cent. A D Sk. *Vāsiṣṭha-* > *Vaseṭha-* K 46<sup>1</sup>Sk. *Prauṣṭhapada-* > *Proṭhavana-* K 40<sup>1</sup>(v) Change *-ṣṭh-* > *-st-*1st cent. B C Sk. *praṭiṣṭhāpita-* > *praṭistaviṭa-* K 21st cent. A D Sk *praṭiṣṭhāpita-* > *praḍistaviṭa-* K 27<sup>1,2</sup>2nd cent. A D cf *praṭistapita-* K 82<sup>1</sup> etc.

## § 520 Clusters with dentals

## (a) Clusters with sibilants + dentals

(i) Change *st-* > *th-* (or *t-*)1st cent. B C Sk. *stūpa-* > *thuba-* K 21st cent. A D cf *thuva-* K 15A<sup>11</sup>, K 322nd cent. A D cf *thuba-* K 80<sup>1</sup> etc., but also cf [*tu*]ba- K 61<sup>2</sup>3rd cent. A D cf again [*tu*]baga- K 41<sup>2</sup>(ii) Intervocally *-st-* is preserved everywhere1st cent. A D Sk. *vāstavya-* > *vastava-* K 27<sup>2</sup>Sk. *sarvāstivādīn* > *sarvastivat[ṛ]a-* K 15 A<sup>15</sup>2nd cent. A D Sk. *daurmanastā-* > *dormanasta-* K 80<sup>3</sup>,  
also cf *sarvastivadi-* K 80<sup>1</sup> etc., *-vastava-* K 81<sup>4</sup>3rd cent. A D cf *s(y)arvastivadi-* K 92(iii) Change *sth* > *th*1st cent. A D Sk. *śivasthala-* > *śivathala-* K 26<sup>2</sup>3rd cent. A D Sk. *sthūnā-* > *thuna-* K 48<sup>2</sup>(iv) *sth* is also preserved as *st* in1st cent. B C Sk. *sthiti-* > *-stithi-* K 11st cent. A D Sk. *Sakasthāna-* > *Sak(ṛ)astana-* K 15 P<sup>1-2</sup>

(b) Clusters with *r* + dentals(i) Cluster *-rth-* is preserved2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *artha-* > *-artha-* K 72<sup>5</sup>, K 85<sup>5</sup>4th cent. A.D. Sk. *√arh-* > *√artha-* K 60<sup>2</sup>(ii) Change *-rd-* > *-d-*1st cent. A.D. Sk. *cāturdiśa-* > *catudiśa-* K 22, K 33 etc3rd cent. A.D. cf. *catudiśa-* K 55 A B(iii) But *-rd-* is also preserved in1st cent. A.D. It is noticed in *Khadaa-* K 15 Q<sup>1</sup>3rd cent. A.D. cf. *caturdiśa-* K 92(iv) *-rdh-* is preserved1st cent. B.C. Sk. *sārdham* > *sardha* K 9<sup>1</sup>2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *saṃvardhaka-* > *-saṃvardhaka-* K 76<sup>2</sup>.(v) *-rdh-* is probably changed to *-d-* in3rd cent. A.D. Sk. *sārdhavicārin-* ? > *sadavīyan-* K 40<sup>2</sup>§ 521 Clusters with labials<sup>10</sup>

## (a) Clusters with sibilants + labials

(i) *-śp-* is preserved in1st cent. A.D. It is found in *Pīśpas(r)ṭ-* K 15 A<sup>7</sup>2nd cent. A.D. It is found in *Veśpaśi-* K 76<sup>3</sup>(ii) *-sp-* > *-ṣ-* (?)2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *Pauṣpapurīya-* > *Ṣoṣapurīa-* K 85<sup>4</sup>(iii) *sp-* > *ph-*2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *sparśa-* > *phaṣa-* K 80<sup>2</sup>§ 522 Clusters with *y* Though most of the clusters are assimilated, some of them are preserved(i) *-ky-* > *-k-*1st cent. B.C. Sk. *Śākyamuni-* > *Śakamuni-* K 1 etc1st cent. A.D. cf. *Śakamuni-* K 15 A<sup>12</sup>4th cent. A.D. cf. *Śakamuni-* K 36 12(ii) *-ky-* is preserved in2nd cent. A.D. cf. *Śākyamuni-* K 80<sup>1</sup>, K 86<sup>1</sup>.(iii) *-gy-* > *-g-*1st cent. A.D. Sk. *ārogya-* > *aroga-* K 27<sup>2</sup>, K 35.22nd cent. A.D. cf. *aroga-* K 86<sup>3</sup>3rd cent. A.D. cf. *aroga-* K 58<sup>2</sup>, etc.(iv) *-cy-* > *-c-*1st cent. B.C. Sk. *prācyal* > *pracu* K 13<sup>2</sup>1st cent. A.D. cf. *praca-* K 26<sup>2</sup>16 The clusters *-lp-* and *-lm-* are preserved in the Niya Prakrit, cf. BUDZON, §40

(v) *ɳy* > *ɳ* both initially and medially

- 1st cent. A D Sk *ɳyeṣṭha* > *jeṭha*- K 28<sup>1</sup>  
 Sk *rāɳya* > *raja*- K 26<sup>1</sup>, K 34  
 2nd cent. A D cf *jeṭha*- K 85<sup>3</sup> and *raja*- K 75<sup>2</sup>

(vi) *-ḍhy-* > *-ḍh-*

- 1st cent. A D Sk. *āḍhya* > *aḍha*- K 10<sup>3</sup>

(vii) *-ty-* > *-ṭiy-* or it is preserved (For palatalisation of this and the following few clusters see above)

- 3rd cent. A D Sk. *caṭiya* > *ceṭiya*- K 48<sup>1</sup>  
 Sk. *pratyamśa* > *pratiyamśa*- K 92

It is preserved in

- 3rd cent. A D Sk *parityāga* > *-parityaga*- K 92

(viii) *-thy-* is preserved in

- 2nd cent. A D Sk *muthyā* > *muthya*- K 86<sup>3</sup>

(ix) *-dy-* > *-y-* (?) The case is very doubtful

- 1st cent. A D Sk *ādyā* > *aya*- K 27<sup>1</sup>

(x) *-py-* is preserved in

- 2nd cent. A D Sk *arūpyatā* > *arupyata*- K 86<sup>3</sup>

(xi) *-bhy-* > *-bh-*

- 1st cent. A D Sk denominative from *abhyutsava* > *√abhusava*-  
 K 15 A<sup>13</sup>

(xii) *ɳy* > *y*

- 1st cent. B C Sk. *bhāryā* > *-bhaya*- K 2

(xiii) *ɳy* > \**ɳy* > *ɳa*

- 1st cent. A D Sk. *ācārya* > *ayaria*- K 15 K L<sup>1</sup>, K 15 N<sup>1</sup>  
 3rd cent. A D Sk *bhāryā* > *bhana*- K 46<sup>1</sup>

(xiv) *ɳy* is preserved<sup>17</sup> in

- 1st cent. A D cf *acarya*- K 45, *bharya*- K 353  
 2nd cent. A D cf *acarya*- K 74<sup>2</sup> etc, *-bharya*- K 85<sup>5</sup>  
 3rd cent. A D cf *acarya*- K 92, *niryāida*- K 88

(xv) *-ly-* occurs<sup>17</sup> in

- 2nd cent. A D cf *Kamagulya*- K 86<sup>1</sup>

(xvi) *-vy-* > *-v-*

- 1st cent. A D Sk *vāstavya* > *vastava*- K 27<sup>2</sup>  
 2nd cent. A D cf *-vastava*- K 81<sup>4</sup>

(xvii) *-ṣy-* > *-ś-* or *-ṣy-* ɳ

- 1st cent. A D *Kāṣyapīya* > *Kaśavīa*- K 33, but *Kaṣyavīya*- K 34  
 3rd cent. A D cf *Kaśavīya*- K 56, but *Kaṣ[y]avīya*- K 55 B  
 4th cent. A D cf *Kaśava*- K 36 11

17 The clusters *ɳy* and *ly* are probably regularly preserved in the Nīya Prakrit, cf BURROW, § 42.

(xviii) -ṣy- is preserved<sup>18</sup> in

2nd cent. A D cf -ṣīṣya- K 74<sup>2</sup>

(xix) sy- > \*sty- > sta-

1st cent. A D Sk *syāt* > *statī* K 31<sup>2</sup>

-sy- is preserved<sup>19</sup> only in K 74

2nd cent. A D cf *kaṁṣkasya* K 74<sup>1</sup> *devaputrasya* K 74<sup>1</sup>

(xx) -hy- > -hry-

2nd cent. A D Sk *mahyam* = *mahya* K 86

§ 523 Clusters with *r* As noted above these clusters are mostly preserved<sup>20</sup>

(i) *kr* is preserved

1st cent. B C Sk *sankrama-* > *samkrami-* K 8 A<sup>1</sup>

2nd cent. A D Sk *anukrama-* > *anukrama-* K 83<sup>23</sup>

(ii) *gr* is preserved

1st cent. A D cf *paragraha-* K 15 A<sup>15</sup>

2nd cent. A D cf *agra-* K 82<sup>2</sup>, K 86<sup>2</sup>, *anugraha-* K 75<sup>3</sup>

3rd cent. A D. cf *agra-* K 92, *paragraha-* K 45<sup>2</sup>

It is assimilated to -g- in

3rd cent. A D cf *paragaha-* K 55 A

(iii) -jr- > \*-jir- > -yir-

1st cent. A D Sk *Vajrastūpa-* > *Vayiraṭhuva-* K 19<sup>2-3</sup>

(iv) *tr-* > *t-*

1st cent. A D Sk. *tri-* > [*tī*]- K 20<sup>2</sup>

2nd cent. A D Sk *traya-* > *taa-* K 76<sup>6</sup>

-*tr* is preserved

1st cent. B C *atra* K 13<sup>2</sup>, Sk *pautra-* > *potra-* K 96<sup>2</sup>

1st cent. A D *tatra* K 26<sup>2</sup>, *putra* K 15 B<sup>2</sup>

2nd cent. A D cf *kṣatrapa-* K 30, K 38 etc.

*Yasaputra-* K 37 8, K 80<sup>1</sup>

3rd cent. A D cf *Budhamitra-* K 42<sup>1</sup>, *Samghamitra-* K 58<sup>1</sup>

4th cent. A D cf *Budhamitra-* K 36 1, *Saghamitra* K 36 2

(v) -*dr-* is preserved

2nd cent. A D *Indradcva-* > *Idradeva-* K 81<sup>2</sup>

also cf *bha[dra]* K 39<sup>3</sup>

(vi) Both *pr-* and -*pr-* are preserved (or changed to *p*).

1st cent. B C Sk *pratiṣṭhāpita-* > *pratiṣṭhavid(ṛ)a-* K 1, etc

1st cent. A D Sk *prathama-* > *pradhama-* K 26<sup>1</sup>

2nd cent. A D cf *pratigraha-* K 72<sup>1</sup>, *Jhānapriya-* K 37 9

It is changed to -*p-* in :

Sk *abhisāraprastha-* > *Av(ṛ)isārapastha-* K 38

<sup>18</sup> It is however assimilated to *ś* in the Niva Prakrit. cf BURROW, § 41

<sup>19</sup> The cluster *śy* becomes *s* in the gen. sg. term of the Niva Prakrit, cf BURROW § 41.

<sup>20</sup> As a rule such clusters are not assimilated in the Niva documents also cf BURROW § 36

- 3rd cent. A D Sk. *prāpā-* > *prapa-* K 92, also cf *Budhapria-* etc K 88.  
But it is changed to *p-* in *padhamma-* K 45<sup>1</sup>
- (vii) *br* is preserved  
2nd cent. A D Sk. *brāhmaṇa-* > [bra]m[h]ana- K 81<sup>2</sup>  
also cf *Bramadata-* K 37 14  
3rd cent. A D *brahma-* (fragmentary)<sup>1</sup> K 91
- (viii) *bhr* is preserved (or changed to *bh*)  
1st cent. B C Sk. *bhrātṛ-* > *bhratara* K 13<sup>4</sup>  
1st cent. A D cf *bhratra* K 15 A<sup>7-8</sup>  
2nd cent. A.D. cf *bhratara* K 76<sup>11</sup>  
But perhaps changed to *bh* in  
Sk. *bhramita-* > [bha]mita- K 66<sup>1</sup>
- (ix) *śr* is either preserved or changed to *ṣ* from 2nd cent. A D onwards.  
1st cent. B C cf *śramana-* K 8B<sup>2</sup> and *śu[śruṣa]* K 11<sup>3</sup>  
1st cent. A D Sk. *śrāvana-* > *śravana-* K 23<sup>1</sup> etc  
Change *śr* > *ṣ*<sup>21</sup>  
1st cent. A D Sk. *śraddhā-* > [ṣa]dha- K 20<sup>4</sup>  
Sk. *śruta-* > [ṣu]ta- K 10<sup>2</sup>  
2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *śramana-* > -*ṣamana-* K 79  
Sk. *śrāvaka-* > *ṣavaa-* K 76<sup>0</sup>  
3rd cent. A D cf *ṣavaa-* K 45<sup>1</sup>, K 55 C, *ṣamana-* K 88, K 55 A, B, etc  
Sk. *Bahuśrutīyaka-* > *Bahuṣutīaka-* K 55 B  
4th cent. A D cf *Ṣamanamitra-* K 36 3
- (x) -*śr-* is preserved.  
1st cent. A D Sk. *sahasra-* > -sa[ha]s[ra]- K 10<sup>4</sup>
- § 524 Clusters with *v*
- (a) Cluster *tv* is changed to *t* or *p*<sup>22</sup> or is preserved
- (i) Change -*tv-* > -*t-*  
1st cent. A D In the absolute ending  
Sk. *kṛtvā* > *karita* K 15 J<sup>2</sup>, E<sup>4</sup>
- (ii) Change -*tv-* > -*p-*  
1st cent. A.D. Sk. *satva-* > -*sapa-* K 24<sup>2</sup>  
2nd cent. A.D. Sk. *ekacatvārimśa-* > *ekacaparīśa-* K 85<sup>2-3</sup>  
also cf -[sapa]- K 85<sup>5</sup>  
3rd cent. A D cf -sa[pā]\*- K 45<sup>2</sup>
- (iii) -*tv-* is preserved in—  
1st cent. A.D. cf *satva* K 23<sup>2</sup>  
2nd cent. A D cf *satva-* K 72<sup>2</sup>, K 74<sup>3</sup>, etc.  
3rd cent. A.D. cf *satva-* K 46<sup>1</sup>
- (b) Cluster *rv* is either preserved or changed to *v*

21 For similar change regularly in the Nīya Prakrit, cf BURROW, § 38,

22 For similar changes in the Nīya Prakrit, cf. BURROW, § 43,

(1)' *rv* is preserved in

1st cent. B C	<i>sarva-</i> K 13 <sup>1</sup> , <sup>3</sup> , <sup>4</sup>
1st cent. A D	<i>sarva-</i> K 23 <sup>2</sup> , K 27 <sup>1</sup> , etc
2nd cent. A D	<i>sarva-</i> K 72 <sup>2</sup> , <i>purva-</i> K 76 <sup>1</sup>
3rd cent. A D	<i>sarva-</i> K 45 <sup>2</sup> , etc.

(ii) Change *-rv-* > *-v-* (or *-mv-*).

1st cent. A D	Sk <i>nrvāna-</i> > <i>mvana-</i> K 27 <sup>5</sup>
2nd cent. A D	Sk <i>sarvatratā-</i> > <i>savatrata-</i> K 37.6.
	Sk <i>sarva-</i> > <i>samva-</i> K 76 <sup>5</sup>

(c) Cluster *śv* > *śp* or is preserved<sup>23</sup>(i) Change *śv* > *śp* <sup>4</sup>

1st cent. B C	Sk. <i>viśva-</i> > <i>viśpa-</i> K 8 B <sup>2</sup> , K 11 <sup>5</sup>
1st cent. A D	Sk <i>īśvaraka-</i> > <i>īśparaka-</i> K 33
	Sk <i>sa + aśva-</i> > <i>saśpa-</i> K 15 A <sup>13</sup>
2nd cent. A D	Sk <i>Viśvāmūtra-</i> > <i>Viśpamūtra-</i> K 37 18
3rd cent. A D	Sk <i>Aśvayuj-</i> > <i>Aśpañu-</i> K 45 <sup>1</sup> .

## (ii) It is preserved in

2nd cent. A D	cf <i>Śved(r)avarma-</i> K 80 <sup>1</sup>
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(d) Cluster *sv* is preserved<sup>24</sup> or is changed to *s*(i) *sv-* is preserved

2nd cent. A D	Sk <i>svāmī</i> > <i>-svamī-</i> K 61 <sup>1</sup> , <i>-svamini-</i> K 74 <sup>2</sup> .
3rd cent. A D	cf. <i>-svamī-</i> K 92
4th cent. A D	<i>s[var]ga-</i> K 60 <sup>2</sup>

(ii) *sv* > *s*

1st cent. A D	cf <i>B[alasa]mi-</i> K 20 <sup>2</sup>
3rd cent. A D	cf <i>sāma-</i> K 46 <sup>1</sup>

§ 525 Clusters with *l* *-hl-* > *-hal-*

1st cent. A D	Sk <i>Bāhlika-</i> > <i>Bahalia-</i> K 27 <sup>2</sup>
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## § 526 Clusters with sibilants

(a) *-rś-* > *-ṣ-* <sup>1</sup>

2nd cent. A D	Sk <i>sparśa-</i> > <i>phaṣa-</i> K 80 <sup>2</sup>
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(b) Clusters with *ṣ*(i) *kṣ* > *kh* both initially and medially

1st cent. B C	Sk <i>Takṣaśilā-</i> > <i>Takhaśila-</i> K 13 <sup>2</sup> .
1st cent. A D	Sk <i>bhikṣu-</i> > <i>bhikhu-</i> K 15 F-
	Sk <i>dakṣiṇā-</i> > <i>-dakhina-</i> K 27 <sup>2</sup>
2nd cent. A D	Sk <i>kṣana-</i> > <i>khana-</i> K 39 <sup>2</sup>
	also cf <i>Takhaśila-</i> K 37.20
3rd cent. A D	Sk <i>Akṣayika-</i> (?) > <i>A[ḥḥai]a-</i> K 43

23 For similar treatment in the Nya Prānt, cf BURROW, § 49

24. The cluster *sv* is preserved as *śv* or *śp* in the Nya Prānt, cf. BURROW, § 49



(11)<sup>1</sup> *kṣ* is also very often preserved<sup>25</sup>

- 1st cent B C cf *kṣatrapa*- K 13<sup>2</sup>, *kṣaharala*- K 13<sup>1</sup>, *-dakṣ(ṛ)na*- K 2  
 1st cent A D cf *kṣtrava*- K 15 C<sup>3</sup>, *Śivarakṣita*- K 10<sup>2</sup>,  
*Takṣaśila*- K 33  
 2nd cent. A D Sk *kṣana*- > *kṣana*- K 75<sup>1</sup>, etc  
 also cf *bhikṣu*- K 74<sup>2</sup>, *-dakṣma*- K 86<sup>3</sup>  
 3rd cent A D cf *kṣuna*- K 88, *-dakṣma*- K 58<sup>2</sup>, K 88,  
*Budharakṣida*- K 42<sup>1-2</sup>  
 4th cent A D cf *Budharakṣida*- K 36 4, *bhikṣu*- K 36 7

(111) *-ṛṣ-* > *-ṣ-* or *-h-*

- 1st cent B C Sk. *varṣa*- > *vaṣa*- K 14<sup>1</sup>  
 1st cent A D cf *vaṣa*- K 20<sup>1</sup>, K 24<sup>1</sup>  
 But Sk *kārsāpana*- > *kahapana*- K 10<sup>1</sup>  
 4th cent A D cf *vaṣa*- K 60<sup>1</sup>

(iv) For *ts* > *tś* cf above palatalisation The cluster *-t-* however is assimilated to *s*

- 1st cent A D Sk *ulsava*- > *usava*- K 15 A<sup>13</sup>

§ 527 Cluster *-ṛh-* > *-rah-*

- 1st cent. A D Sk. *arhat*- > *arahata*- K 27<sup>1</sup>

§ 528 Clusters with nasals The usual treatments of such nasals as *ngh* > *mgh* (or *gh*) and others are not exemplified below The following paragraphs take into account only some important clusters with nasals

(a) Clusters with the nasal *ñ*

(i) For the treatment of *ñh* > *ñ* and to *n* see above palatalisation and cerebration.

(11) Cluster *-ñc-* > *-mc-*

- 1st cent B C Sk. *pañcama*- > *pañcama*- K 13<sup>1</sup>  
 1st cent A D cf *pañcadasa*- K 28<sup>1</sup>  
 3rd cent. A D cf *pañcama*- K 53

(111) Cluster *-ñj-* > *-mj-*

- 1st cent. A D cf *Mu[m]javamda*- K 17

(b) Clusters with the nasal *n*

(i) Cluster *ṣn* > *ś* (the dot above may indicate aspiration)

- 1st cent B C Sk *Kṛṣṇayasas*- > *Kṛṣayaśa*- K 95<sup>1</sup>

(11) Cluster *nd* > *md* or *d* This *d* is sometimes turned into fricative *ḍ(ṛ)*

- 2nd cent A D Sk. *aṇḍaja*- > *a[m]ḍaja*- K 86<sup>3</sup>  
 Sk. *daṇḍanāyaka*- > *daṇanayaga*- K 76<sup>3</sup>  
 Sk. *apāṣaṇḍika*- > *avaṣaḍ(ṛ)iga*- K 86<sup>3</sup>  
 3rd cent A D Sk *Khaṇḍavāna*- > *Khaṇḍavāna*- K 41<sup>2</sup>

(c) Clusters with *n*

(i) The cluster *nt* > *mt* or *t*, *nd* > *md* or *d*, and *ndh* > *mdh* or *dh* These treatments are quite normal and there is nothing particular about them

<sup>25</sup> It is preserved in the form *ch* in the Nīya Prakrit, cf BURROW, § 48

- (ii) Cluster -nv- > -nuv-  
2nd cent. A D Sk *\*tanvaka-* > *tanuvaka-*<sup>26</sup> K 80<sup>1</sup>
- (d) Clusters with *m* Some of the clusters with *m* present interesting phenomena
- (1) Cluster *tm* is represented in more than one way<sup>27</sup>
- (i) Change *tm* > *tv*  
1st cent. A D Sk *ātman-* > *atvana-* K 27<sup>1</sup>, K 35 2
- (ii) Change *tm* > *t*  
2nd cent. A D Sk *ātma-* > *ata-* K 37 16<sup>1</sup>
- (iii) Change -*tm-* > -*p-*  
2nd cent. A D Sk *ātman-* > *apanaga-* K 76<sup>1</sup>
- (iv) -*tm-* is preserved  
2nd cent. A D cf *atmana-* K 85<sup>5</sup>
- (2) Cluster -*rm-* > -*m-* or is preserved or changed to -*rum-*
- (i) Change -*rm-* > -*m-*  
1st cent. B C Sk *navakarmika-* > *navakamika-* K 13<sup>1</sup>  
1st cent. A D Sk *Dharma-* > *Dhama-* K 15 C<sup>1</sup>  
also cf *dhamadana-* K 15 H<sup>1</sup>  
3rd cent. A D cf *Dhama-* K 55C, *dhamāūta-* K 45<sup>2</sup>
- (ii) *rm* is preserved mostly from 2nd cent. A D  
1st cent. B C cf *dharmarava-* (?) K 11<sup>5</sup>  
2nd cent. A D cf *dharma-* K 82<sup>2</sup>, *navakarmiga-* K 75<sup>12</sup> etc  
3rd cent. A D cf *Dharmapriya-* K 88, *deyadharmā-* K 88, K 92  
4th cent. A D cf *śarma-* K 60<sup>2</sup>, *Dharmanadi-* K 36 1
- (iii) Change -*rm-* > -*rum-* in proper names  
3rd cent. A D Sk. *Buddhavarman-* > *Budhavaruma-* K 48<sup>1</sup> or  
*Budhoruma-* K 41<sup>1</sup>, K 58<sup>1</sup>, also cf K 40<sup>2</sup> and K 49
- (3) Cluster -*hm-* > -*mh-* or -*m-* .  
2nd cent. A D Sk *brāhmaṇa-* > *brahmāna-* K 81<sup>5</sup>  
but cf *Bramadata-* K 37 14
- (4) Cluster -*mb-* > -*b-* or -*mb-*  
1st cent. A D Sk *kuṣumbinī-* > *kuṣibini-* K 35 4  
2nd cent. A D cf *kutimbini-* K 74<sup>3</sup>  
3rd cent. A D Sk *cmbā-* > *amba-* K 46<sup>1</sup>
- (5) Cluster -*my-* > -*m-*  
1st cent. A D Sk *samjck-* > *sama-* K 27<sup>5</sup>
- (6) Cluster -*mv-* > -*mv-* or -*mb-* .  
1st cent. B C : Sk. *samvatsara-* > *samvatsāra-* K 13  
1st cent. A D : cf *samvatsāra-* K 19<sup>5</sup>, K 23<sup>1</sup>.  
2nd cent. A D cf *samvatsāra-* K 74<sup>1</sup>  
But also cf *sambatsāra-* K 82, K 85.

<sup>26</sup> For the form *tanuvaka* in the Niva Prakar of Buhner 229

<sup>27</sup> For the changes -*tm-* > -*t-* and then to -*p-* in the Niva Prakar of Buhner 229

(7) Cluster *-mś-* > *-ms-* or *-ś-*

2nd cent. A D Sk *pratyamśa-* > *pracamśa-* K 82<sup>2</sup>, K 86<sup>2</sup>  
 Sk *vimsa-* > *visa-* K 83<sup>2</sup>,  
 also cf *aṭhaviśa-* K 74<sup>1</sup>, *-padīsa* K 76<sup>11</sup>

3rd cent. A D cf *pratyamśa-* K 92

(8) Cluster *-ms-* > *-mś-*

2nd cent. A D Sk *samsāra-* > *samsara-* K 64

(9) Cluster *-mh-* > *-h-*

3rd cent. A D Sk *Siṃhamitra-* > *Sihamitra-* K 44

## MORPHOLOGY

A. Declension It may be noted at the outset that in the writing of the inscriptions sometimes it is found that some titles and names are strung together as if to form a compound so that only the last word appears in its declined form

§ 529 Bases in *-a* and *-ā*(a) Masculine and Neuter nouns in *-a*

Nom. sg mas

Nom pl mas *-a*

(1) *-o* This is more frequent<sup>28</sup>

1st cent B C *śarira* K 1

*thubo* K 2

(used as masculine)

*deśo* K 13<sup>2</sup>, etc

1st cent A D *taruka* K 26<sup>4</sup>

1st cent A D *kuo* K 18, etc

*thuvo* K 32, etc

2nd cent<sup>1</sup> A D *danamukho* K 39<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup>

*kuvo* K 83<sup>3</sup>

3rd cent A D *deyadharmo* K 92

*pratyamśo* K 92

4th cent A D *kaśavo* K 36 11

*danamukho* K 36 7 etc

(11) *-e* This is also more or less frequent.

1st cent. B C *kue* K 14<sup>2</sup>

1st cent. A D *danamukha* K 17<sup>2</sup> etc.

*kue* K 23<sup>2</sup>, K 28<sup>3</sup>

2nd cent A.D *danamukhe* K 66<sup>1</sup>

*pratigrahe* K 72<sup>4</sup>, etc.

3rd cent. A D *dhamaūte* K 45<sup>2</sup>

*nuryaide* K 88

<sup>28</sup> Considered region wise, KONOW observes (p cxii), "It will be seen that the *o-* and *e-* forms are distributed according to locality. The *o-* area in the north extends to the Indus, including the Mahābān range beyond the river, and in the south it comprises Mohenjo Daro and Tor Dherai. In Panjatar, Yakubi, and probably in Mārguz we have *o* in the masculine and *e* in the neuter. The districts to the west of the Indus have, with the above exceptions, *e* throughout. Only Wardak has *o*, another indication of an eastern origin."

(iii). -a This is not as frequent It may also be due to the probable use of words without case terminations<sup>20</sup>

1st cent B C *kṣātrapa* and *Liaka* K 13 reverse.

1st cent A.D. *parivara* K 20<sup>1</sup>

*thuwa* K 15 A<sup>14</sup>

2nd cent A D *danamukha* K 75<sup>2</sup>, *Śivasena* K 38, etc

Acc sg mas (1) -am Acc pl -a (?)

1st cent. B C *samgharamam* K 13<sup>3</sup> 2nd cent A D *nana* K 76<sup>4</sup>

2nd cent A D *parivaram* K 74<sup>3</sup>

(ii) -a

1st cent A D *kumara* K E<sup>2</sup>

*kamīha* K 15 E<sup>8</sup>

4th cent A D *daśama* K 60<sup>2</sup>

Nom Acc sg neut. (1) -am

Nom Acc pl neut (1) -m

1st cent. B C *śarīram* K 13<sup>3</sup>

1st cent B C *padam* K 5

2nd cent A D . *śarīram* K 62<sup>1</sup>

(ii) -a (?) .

*pratiṭhanam* K 74<sup>3</sup>

1st cent A D *śivathala* K 26<sup>1</sup>

(ii) -a

1st cent. B C *apratīṭhavita* K 13<sup>1</sup>

1st cent A D . *śarīra* K 15 A<sup>11</sup>

*dana* K 34, etc

2nd cent A D *kata* K 75<sup>3</sup>

*śarīrā* K 82<sup>1</sup>, K 86<sup>1</sup>

3rd cent A D *danamukha* K 47

(iii) -e This is perhaps because the neuter noun is used as masculine

1st cent A D *śivathale* K 26<sup>2</sup>

(cf the use of *danamukhe* above in nom sg mas )

Instr sg (1) -na This is more frequent

Inst pl -hi

1st cent A D . *daśahi* K 10<sup>4</sup>

1st cent B C *sabharyakena* K 2

2nd cent A D . *Budhehi* K 76<sup>2</sup>

*utarena* K 13<sup>2</sup>, etc

3rd cent A D *sahaehi* K 45<sup>1</sup>

1st cent A D *vastavena* K 27<sup>2</sup>

*Sihilena* K 32

2nd cent. A D . *Burntena* K 76<sup>1</sup>

*Vasudevena* K 81<sup>3</sup>

(ii) -na This is less frequent

1st cent. B C *meridhakhena* K 1

1st cent A D *ut(ṛ)acna* K 15 KL<sup>1</sup>

*alcurena* K 15 A<sup>8</sup>

2nd cent A D *Budhilena* K 76<sup>12</sup>

*Samghanuttrera* K 82<sup>1</sup>

3rd cent A D *śamanena* K 88

*śavacna* K 45<sup>1</sup>

(iii) -e This is rather peculiar

<sup>20</sup> BURROW explains this ending in the Niva Prakrit as due to confusion with acc. *-e* (< *-an*), cf § 53

1st cent A D	<i>kṣatrave</i> K 15 M <sup>1</sup> , C <sup>1</sup> <i>śudase</i> K 15 C <sup>3</sup> <i>Moike</i> K 26 <sup>2</sup> , <i>-putre</i> K 26 <sup>2</sup>		
Dat sg (i) -e		Dat pl -hi	
1st cent B C	[hiṭa][e*] K 9 <sup>2</sup>	2nd cent A D	<i>śarīrehi</i> K 17 <sup>2</sup>
1st cent A D	<i>nivanae</i> K 27 <sup>5</sup> <i>hidasukhae</i> K 23 <sup>2</sup>		
2nd cent A D	<i>hītae</i> K 82 <sup>2</sup> , <i>-arthae</i> K 85		
(ii) -ya			
2nd cent A D	<i>-sukhaya</i> K 78 <sup>1</sup>		
(iii) -a			
2nd cent A D	<i>upakacaa</i> K 75 <sup>3</sup>		
Gen sg (i) -sa		Gen pl (i) -na	
1st cent. B C	<i>masasa</i> K 12, K 13 <sup>1</sup> <i>vayulasa</i> K 94	1st cent B C	<i>sahayaṇa</i> K 12 <i>sahayarana</i> K 14 <sup>2</sup> etc
1st cent A D	<i>saghaṣ</i> K 15 A <sup>15</sup> <i>śṛavanasa</i> K 23 <sup>1</sup>	1st cent A D	<i>-budhana</i> K 17 etc <i>-satvana</i> K 23 <sup>2</sup> , etc
2nd cent A D	<i>maharajasa</i> K 29 <sup>2</sup> <i>putrasa</i> K 30	2nd cent A D	<i>satvana</i> K 86 <sup>3</sup> <i>acaryana</i> K 86 <sup>4</sup>
3rd cent. A D	<i>Dharmasa</i> K 55 CC <i>Sihamitrassa</i> K 44	3rd cent. A D	<i>satvana</i> K 46 <sup>1</sup>
4th cent A D	<i>Saghamitrassa</i> K 36 2	(ii) -na	
(ii) -s(r)a	<i>aṣaḍasa</i> K 60 <sup>1</sup>	1st cent. B C	<i>aḥana</i> K 11 <sup>4</sup> <i>-budhana</i> K 13 <sup>3</sup>
2nd cent A D	<i>mithyagas(r)a</i> K 86 <sup>1</sup> <i>Hoveṣkas(r)a</i> K 86 <sup>2</sup>	1st cent A D	<i>mahasaghāna</i> K 15N <sup>3</sup> <i>acaryana</i> K 34
3rd cent A D	<i>-Miras(y or r)a</i> K 92	2nd cent A D	<i>dharmana</i> K 82 <sup>2</sup> <i>acaryana</i> K 80 <sup>1</sup>
(iii) -s(y)a		3rd cent A D	(more frequent) <i>acaryana</i> K 56 <i>Kaṣavīyana</i> Q 55 B, etc.
2nd cent A D	<i>putras(y)a</i> K 37 1, 2, 5		
(iv) -sya	This appears only in one inscription.	(iii) -nam	
2nd cent A D	<i>masasya</i> K 74 <sup>1</sup> <i>Nagadatasya</i> K 74 <sup>2</sup>	3rd cent A D	<i>acaryanam</i> K 92 <i>-satvanam</i> K 92
Loc sg (i) -e		Loc pl -ṣu	
1st cent. B C	<i>paṃcame</i> K 13 <sup>1</sup> <i>vaṣe</i> K 14 <sup>1</sup>	2nd cent A D	<i>-bhamīṣu</i> K 66 <sup>1</sup>
1st cent A D	<i>divase</i> K 20 <sup>2</sup> <i>-nagare</i> K 27 <sup>2</sup>	4th cent A D	<i>tanayeṣu</i> K 60 <sup>2</sup>
2nd cent A D	<i>vihare</i> K 37 6 <i>divase</i> K 87 <sup>2</sup>		
3rd cent. A D	<i>sanghe</i> K 92, <i>ceṭīye</i> K 48 <sup>1</sup>		
4th cent A D	<i>divase</i> K 60 <sup>1</sup> , <i>hade</i> K 60 <sup>2</sup>		

## (ii) -e(m)

2nd cent. A D *divase(m)* K 74<sup>1</sup>

## (iii) -mī or -mmī

1st cent. A D *viharamī* K 28<sup>3</sup>, *danamī* K 26<sup>1</sup>2nd cent. A D *kṣunamī* K 75<sup>1</sup>, *viharammī* K 80<sup>1</sup>3rd cent. A D *-tubagamī* K 41<sup>2</sup>, *divasammī* K 53

## (iv) -m(r)ī or -mm(r)ī

2nd cent. A D *viharam(r)ī* K 86<sup>1</sup>, *kṣunamm(r)ī* K 79

## (v) -ī

2nd cent. A D *aṭhamī* K 87<sup>1</sup>, *ekacaṇḍarīṣāī* K 85<sup>2-3</sup>3rd cent. A D *masī* K 88, *paṃcamī* K 53

## (vi) -sī

1st cent. A D *hasīsa* occurs for *hasasī* K 31<sup>2</sup>

## (b) Feminine nouns in -ā

Nom. sg. -a

1st cent. B C [*karavita\**] K 96<sup>2</sup>1st cent. A D *pūya* K 15 O<sup>3</sup>2nd cent. A D *upāsika* K 14<sup>3</sup>3rd cent. A D *prapā* K 92

Acc. sg. -a

1st cent. A D *prama* K 15 N<sup>3-4</sup>

Ins. sg. -e

1st cent. B C *añae* K 13<sup>4</sup>1st cent. A D *Abuhola[e]* K 15 A<sup>6</sup>

Dat. sg. -e

1st cent. B C *pūyae* K 2, K 13<sup>3</sup>1st cent. A D *pūyae* K 17, K 20<sup>5</sup>, etc2nd cent. A D *pūyae* K 37 6, K 86<sup>2</sup>, etc3rd cent. A D *dakṣinae* K 58

Gen. sg. -e

1st cent. A D *śīrae* K 31<sup>1</sup>, *bhayae* K 35 33rd cent. A D *ambae* K 46<sup>1</sup>, *Saphae* K 47

Loc. sg. (1) -ye.

Loc. pl. -su

1st cent. B C *purvaye* K 13<sup>1</sup>1st cent. B C *viśpasu* K 11<sup>5</sup>.*Takhaśīlaye* K 13<sup>2</sup>

## (ii) -e

1st cent. A D *Takhaśīlāe* K 32, K 332nd cent. A D *purvae* K 76<sup>1</sup>*Takhaśīlāe* K 37 20

## § 530 Bases ending in -ī and -ī

## (a) Masculine nouns in -ī.

Nom. sg. -ī

1st cent. B C *māradanapātī* K 13<sup>4</sup>4th cent. A D *Śakanu[ī]* K 36 12

Inst. sg -*na*

1st cent. B C *Kṛīśakaviṇa* K 96<sup>1</sup>

Gen sg (1) -*sa*

1st cent B C *Śakamunisa* K 1

1st cent. A D *Śakamunisa* K 15 A<sup>12</sup>

2nd cent A D *Svarabudhisa* K 76<sup>11</sup>

*Śakyamunisa* K 80<sup>1</sup>

4th cent A D *Dharma*[*bhutisa*\*] K 36 6

(11) -*s(y)a*

3rd cent. A.D *dharmapatī*(*y*)*a* K 92

(111) -*e*

2nd cent A.D *Śakyamune* K 86<sup>1</sup>

(b) Feminine nouns in -ī

Nom sg *ī*

1st cent. B C *pukarīm* K. 94, K 96<sup>2</sup>, *kutī* K 93

1st cent A.D *dehajātī* K 31<sup>2</sup>

2nd cent A.D *kuṭumbīm* K 74<sup>2</sup>

*jadī* K. 80<sup>2</sup>

Acc sg -*m*

2nd cent A D *yaḥm* K. 74<sup>2</sup>

Ins sg (1) -*a*

1st cent. A.D *Pīśpas(r)ā* K 15A<sup>7</sup>

Inst. pl -*hi*

2nd cent. A.D *aḥavīmśatīhi* K 82<sup>1</sup>

(11) -*ī*

2nd cent A.D *abhibhūtī* K 82

Dat. sg (1), -*ye*

1st cent. B C -*stūtīye* K 1

(11) -*e*

1st cent B C -*vardhīe* K 13<sup>4</sup>

(111) -*se* (?)

2nd cent A D -*atīwadhase* K 75<sup>2</sup>

Gen. sg (1) -*ye*

1st cent. A D *preṭhavetīye* K 31<sup>1</sup>

(11) -*a*(?),

1st cent A D [*ku*][*īb*][*ī*][*nā\**] K 35<sup>4</sup>

Loc sg (1) -*a*

1st cent. B.C. *aḥaṣaṭhī* K11<sup>1</sup> (?)

Loc pl -*ṣu*

2nd cent A D *jaṭiṣu* K 85<sup>6</sup>

(11) -*e*

1st cent. A D *dharmarāṭīe* K 27<sup>2-3</sup>, K 35 1

(111) -*ya*

2nd cent A D *Arthamasiya* K 79, K 86<sup>1</sup>

§ 531 Bases ending in *-u*(a) Masculine names ending in *-u*Nom sg *-u*.1st cent A D *dhatu* K 16, K 31<sup>1</sup>Nom pl *-o*.1st cent. A D *dhatuo* K 27<sup>2</sup>Gen sg (i) *-sa*1st cent A D *bhikkhusa* K 15 F<sup>2</sup>2nd cent A D *baḷusa* K 37 184th cent A D *bhikkṣusa* K 36 7, etc(ii) *-sya*2nd cent A D *bhikkṣusya* K 74<sup>2</sup>(iii), *-no* (?)1st cent. A D *[bhikkṣun]o* K 35 1§ 532 Nouns ending in *-ṛ*(a) Masculine nouns in *-ṛ*.Acc. sg *-am*1st cent. B C *matapitarani* K 13<sup>3</sup>Inst. sg *-a*1st cent. B C. *-pitra* K 9<sup>1</sup>1st cent A D *bhratra* K 15 A<sup>7-8</sup>Gen sg (i) *-u*1st cent. B C *matapitu* K 21st cent. A D *pitu* K 31<sup>2</sup>*matapitu* K 27<sup>4</sup>2nd cent A D *matapitu* K 37<sup>6</sup>(ii) *-ra*2nd cent A D *bhratara* K 76<sup>11</sup>, K 86<sup>2</sup>(iii) *-e*1st cent A D *matapitae* K 23<sup>2</sup>(b) Feminine nouns in *-ṛ*Nom sg *-ā*.1st cent A D *mat(ṛ)ā* K 15 A<sup>5</sup>*dhṛ(ṛ)ā* K 15 A<sup>5</sup>2nd cent A D *mā* K 74<sup>3</sup>.Inst. sg *-ra*1st cent. A D *matra* K 15 A<sup>6</sup>*dhitra* K 15 A<sup>6</sup>Gen. sg *-u*<sup>50</sup>:1st cent. A D *matu* K 31<sup>1</sup>, *madu* K 20<sup>5</sup>2nd cent. A D *madu* K 75<sup>2</sup>

## § 533 Nouns ending in consonants

(a) Nouns in *-at*.Inst. sg *-a*.2nd cent. A D *bhag(ṛ)avata* K 80<sup>2</sup>.Nom pl (?) *-a*2nd cent A D *madapīdara* K 86<sup>2</sup>.Acc pl *-a*1st cent. B C *bhratara* K 13<sup>4</sup>Inst. pl *-hi*1st cent A D *bhratarehi* K 32.Gen pl (i) *-na*2nd cent A D *matarapitarana* K 85<sup>4</sup>.(ii) *-nam*3rd cent A D *[ma\*]tapitrimam*  
K 92



Gen sg (1) -o

1st cent B C *bhag(τ)avato* K 1

1st cent. A D *bhagavato* K 27<sup>1</sup>, <sup>2</sup> K 31<sup>1</sup>

(11) -a

1st cent B C *bhagavata* K 13<sup>3</sup>

1st cent A D *bhag(τ)avat(τ)a* K 17<sup>2</sup>

2nd cent. A D *aropayata* K 74<sup>2</sup>

(111) -sa

2nd cent A.D. *bhag(τ)avalasa* K 80<sup>1</sup>

(b) Nouns ending in -an

Nom. sg -a

2nd cent A.D. *Śved(τ)avarma* K 80<sup>1</sup>

Acc. sg (neut) -am

4th cent. A D *śarmam* K 60<sup>2</sup>

Gen. sg (1)<sup>1</sup> -no

1st cent. B C *rajano* K 9<sup>1</sup>

(11) -a<sup>2</sup>

1st cent B C *mahamtasa* K 13<sup>1</sup>

1st cent. A D *atvanasa* K 35 2

2nd cent A.D. *atmanasa* K 85 5

3rd cent. A D *Budhorumasa* K 41<sup>1</sup>, K 58<sup>1</sup>

(111) -no

1st cent. A D *atvano* K 27<sup>6</sup>

(1v) -ñā

1st cent. A D *yuvārāñā* K 15 A<sup>4</sup>

Loc. sg -e

1st cent. A.D. *nusime* K 15 A<sup>11</sup>

(c) Nouns ending in -as

Nom sg -e

3rd cent. A D [oke] K 45<sup>2</sup>

Acc. sg -a

1st cent B C *oja* K 11<sup>2</sup>

Dat. sg -se (?)

2nd cent. A D *vardhase* K 22

Gen sg (1) -sa

1st cent B C. *Kriśayaśasa* K 95<sup>1</sup>

(11) -s(τ)a

3rd cent. A D *Margasīras(τ)a* K 88

(d). Nouns ending in -m

Gen sg (1) -sa

1st cent B C. *Samkramisa* K 8A<sup>1</sup>

Gen pl (1) na

1st cent. A.D. *sarvastivat(τ)ana*

30 The Nīya Prakrit ending, however, is -e or -ae, cf BURROW, § 68.

1st cent. A D	· <i>Balasamisa</i> K 20 <sup>2</sup>		K 15 J <sup>3</sup> .
	<i>sarvastivat(ṛ)asa</i>	(ii) - <i>nam</i>	
	K 15 F <sup>2</sup> , N <sup>2</sup>	3rd cent. A D	<i>s(y)arvastivadinam</i>
3rd cent A D	<i>sadavīyariṣa</i> K 40 <sup>2</sup>		K 92
4th cent A D	<i>Dharmanadisa</i> K 36 1	(iii) - <i>na</i>	
(ii) - <i>s(ṛ)a</i>		3rd cent A D	<i>samanuyayana</i> K 88
2nd cent A D	- <i>svamīs(ṛ)a</i> K 61 <sup>1</sup>		
3rd cent. A.D	· - <i>svamīs(y or ṛ)a</i> K 92		
(iii) - <i>sya</i>			
2nd cent A D	· <i>dharmakathīsyā</i> K 74 <sup>2</sup>		
(e) Other nouns in consonants .			
Gen sg ending in - <i>ṛ</i>	- <i>sa</i>		
3rd cent A D	<i>Aśpāi[u]sa</i> K 45 <sup>1</sup>		

## PRONOUNS

## § 534 Demonstrative pronouns

(a) The pronominal base *īdam*

## 1 Masculine

Nom sg		Nom pl .	
1st cent A D	<i>ayam</i> K 32	1st cent. B C	<i>ime</i> K 1
	<i>aya</i> K 27 <sup>5</sup>	1st cent. A.D	· <i>ime</i> K 27 <sup>2</sup>
	<i>īmo</i> K 15M <sup>2</sup>		
2nd cent. A D	<i>aya</i> K 61 <sup>2</sup> , K 80 <sup>4</sup>		
	<i>īmo</i> K 85 <sup>6</sup>		
3rd cent. A.D	<i>ime</i> K 88		
Acc. sg .			
2nd cent. A.D	<i>īmam</i> K 74 <sup>3</sup>		
Inst. sg			
2nd cent. A D	· <i>īmena</i> K 86 <sup>1</sup> , <sup>2</sup>		
Gen sg .			
2nd cent A D	<i>asa</i> K 80 <sup>3</sup>		
Loc. sg			
1st cent B C	<i>īmamī</i> K 13 <sup>5</sup>		
1st cent. A.D	<i>īśa</i> K 27 <sup>1</sup> , <i>īś(ṛ)a</i> K 15 A <sup>10</sup>		
2nd cent. A D	<i>īśa</i> K 86 <sup>1</sup> , K 87 <sup>1</sup>		
	<i>īśe</i> K 75 <sup>1</sup> , K 79 etc.		
3rd cent A D	<i>īśe</i> K 45 <sup>2</sup> , K 88		

## 2 Feminine.

Nom sg .		Loc. pl .	
3rd cent. A D	<i>yamī</i> (for <i>īyamī</i> ) K 92	1st cent B C	· <i>īmasu</i> K 11

(b) The pronominal base *etad*

## 1 Masculine.

Nom sg .	
1st cent A.D	: [ <i>eṣa</i> ] K 35 <sup>1</sup>
2nd cent. A.D	<i>eṣa</i> K 85 <sup>4</sup>

Inst. sg

2nd cent. A.D. *etena* K 76<sup>s</sup>, *edena* K 82<sup>2</sup>

2 Feminine.

Loc sg

1st cent. B.C. *etaye* K 13<sup>1</sup>

3 Neuter

Acc (or Nom ?) sg

1st cent. B.C. *eśa* K 11<sup>2</sup>

§ 535. Relative Pronoun *yad*

1 Masculine.

Nom sg

1st cent. B.C. *ya* K 13<sup>s</sup>

1st cent. A.D. *yo* K 10<sup>s</sup>

2nd cent. A.D. *yo* K RF<sup>2</sup>,<sup>s</sup>

2 Neuter

Nom sg

1st cent. B.C. *ya* K 11<sup>s</sup>,<sup>o</sup>

§ 536 Personal Pronouns

(a) First personal pronoun

Inst. sg

1st cent. B.C. *me* K 11<sup>7</sup>

Dat. sg

2nd cent. A.D. *me* K 85<sup>s</sup>

Gen sg

1st cent. A.D. *me* K 26<sup>2</sup>

2nd cent. A.D. *me* K 86<sup>2</sup>, *maḥya* K 86<sup>2</sup>,<sup>s</sup>

(b) Second Personal Pronoun

Gen sg

1st cent. A.D. *de* K 27<sup>s</sup>

(c) Third Personal Pronoun

1 Masculine.

Nom sg

2nd cent. A.D. *sa* K 76<sup>4</sup>, K 86<sup>3</sup>

*s(r)a* K 86<sup>1</sup>

Inst sg

1st cent. A.D. *tena* K 27<sup>2</sup>

Gen. sg

1st cent. B.C. *tasa* K 13<sup>2</sup>

1st cent. A.D. *tasa* K 31<sup>2</sup>

2nd cent. A.D. *tasa* K 76<sup>4</sup>

Gen. pl

2nd cent. A.D. *teṣa* K 82<sup>2</sup>

2 Feminine.

Inst. sg

1st cent. A.D. [*taye*] K 15A<sup>15</sup>

§ 537 Base *sarva*

Inst sg .

2nd cent. A D     *sa(m)vena* K 76<sup>8</sup>

Acc pl

1st cent B C.     *sarva* K 13<sup>4</sup>

Gen pl

2nd cent A D     *sarvina* K 86<sup>3</sup>

## NUMERALS

## § 538 CARDINALS

(i) one

3rd cent A D     *eka* (n sg f) K 48<sup>2</sup>

(ii) eight

1st cent B C     *aṭhama* (g pl) K 11<sup>4</sup>

(iii) ten

1st cent A D     *daśahi* (In pl) K 10<sup>4</sup>.2nd cent A D     *daśahi* (In pl) K 82<sup>1</sup>

(iv) twenty-eight

2nd cent. A D     *aṭhaviṃśatihi* (Inst pl) K 82<sup>1</sup>

## § 539 ORDINALS

(i) first

1st cent. A.D     *pradhama-* K 26<sup>1</sup>3rd cent A D     *paḍhamma-* K 45<sup>1</sup>

(ii) fifth

1st cent. B C     *pañcama-* K 13<sup>1</sup>3rd cent A D     *pañcama-* K 53

(iii) eighth

2nd cent. A.D     *aṭhama-* K 87<sup>1</sup>

(iv) tenth

4th cent A.D     *daśama-* K 60<sup>2</sup>

(v) eleventh

2nd cent. A D     *ekadaśa-* K 74<sup>1</sup>

(vi) fifteenth

1st cent. A D     *pañcadaśa-* K 23<sup>1</sup>, K 28<sup>1</sup>

(vii) sixteenth

1st cent. B C     *ṣoḍaśa-* K 12

(viii) twentieth

2nd cent A.D     *viṃśama-* K 83<sup>2</sup>

(ix) twenty-eighth

2nd cent A D     *aṭhaviṃśa-* K 74<sup>1</sup>

(x) forty-first

2nd cent. A.D     *chacapaṭṭha-* K 55<sup>2</sup>.

- (xi) sixty-eighth  
1st cent. B C *aḍhaṣaṭhi-* K 11<sup>1</sup>
- (xii) Seventy-eighth  
1st cent. B C *aḥasataṭimaa-* K 13<sup>1</sup>
- (xiii) eighty-first  
1st cent. B C *ekaṣatimaya-* K 14<sup>1</sup>
- (xiv) one hundred and eleventh  
1st cent. A D *ekadaśa- śatimaya-* K 23<sup>1</sup>
- (xv) three hundred and ninety-ninth  
4th cent. A D *ekunacatuśatimaa-* K 60<sup>1</sup>

## CONJUGATION

## § 540 INDICATIVE MOOD

Present 3rd sg (i) *-ti*

- 1st cent. B C *pratiṭhaveti* K 13<sup>8</sup>  
2nd cent. A.D. *pariṭhaveti* K 86<sup>1</sup>  
*pratistavayati* K 76<sup>8</sup>

(ii) *-di*

- 1st cent. B C *dedi* K 11<sup>3</sup>  
2nd cent. A D *bhavadī* K 80<sup>3</sup>  
*pradiṭhavedi* K 80<sup>2</sup>

Present 1st sg middle *-e*

- 4th cent. A.D. *artha[e]* K 60<sup>2</sup>

Present 3rd pl middle *-rīm*

- 2nd cent. A.D. *dadarīm* K 74<sup>3</sup>

## § 541 IMPERATIVE MOOD

Third sg (i) *-tu*

- 1st cent. A.D. *hotu* K 27<sup>5</sup>  
2nd cent. A D *bhavatu* K 76<sup>10</sup>, K 82<sup>3</sup>

(ii) *-du*

- 4th cent. A D *bharadu* K 60<sup>2</sup>

## § 542 OPTATIVE MOOD

Third sg *-ti*

- 1st cent. B C *siati* K 11<sup>7</sup>, °  
1st cent. A.D. *siati* K 31<sup>2</sup>

## § 543 AORIST

Third sg *-u*

- 1st cent. A.D. *abhu* K 10<sup>5</sup>

## § 544 PRESENT PARTICIPLES

(i) *-anta*

- 1st cent. B C *puyayanta-* K 13<sup>3</sup>

(ii) *-at*

- 2nd cent. A.D. *aropayata* (g sg) K 74<sup>2</sup>

(iii) Fem *-ati*

- 1st cent. A.D. *preṭhav[e]ti-* K 31<sup>1</sup>

## § 545 PAST PASSIVE PARTICIPLES

(i) *-ta*

- 1st cent. B C     *pratistavita-* K 2  
 1st cent. A D     *pratithavita-* K 32  
                        *karita-* K 23<sup>2</sup>, *karavita-* K 24<sup>2</sup>  
 2nd cent. A D     *kata* K 75<sup>3</sup>, *uta-* K 80<sup>2</sup>

(ii) *-da*

- 1st cent. A D     *ṣṣyadida-* K 17, *karavida-* K 26<sup>2</sup>  
 2nd cent. A D     *khada-* K 75<sup>2</sup>, *likhida-* K 80<sup>4</sup>  
                        *karavida-* K 68, *khanavida-* K 81<sup>2</sup>  
 3rd cent. A D     *ṣṣryāida-* K 83  
                        *praṭhāvīda-* K 45<sup>2</sup>

(iii) *-d(r)a*

- 1st cent. B C     *praṭiṭhāvīd(r)a-* K 1

## § 546 INFINITIVE

(i) *-tave*

- 1st cent. A D     : *ñavit(r)ava* (< √ñā-) K 15 N<sup>4</sup>

## § 547 ABSOLUTIVE

(i) *-ta*

- 1st cent. A D     *karita* K 15 J<sup>2</sup> (also cf *abhusavita* and *ayimīta* from the same inscription)

(ii) *-ya*

- 2nd cent. A D     *likhiya* K 85<sup>6</sup>

(iii) *-cam*

- 2nd cent. A D     *ṭhapaīcam* K 85<sup>6</sup>
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## APPENDIX

The study of the following seven inscriptions has been inadvertently missed in the body of the present work. The omission was noticed by me at a stage when it was too late for me to incorporate these inscriptions at their proper places in the work. I found it, therefore, desirable to note at least the linguistic peculiarities found in them here at the end. The new inscriptions at Koṇḍāṇe (No. 5) and Śailār-wāḍī (No. 6) have not been published so far<sup>1</sup>

No. 1. A Brahmi Inscription at Barli. This inscription is not included in LUDERS List. It has been edited by R. R. HALDER in *IA* 58.229, 1929 and by K. P. JAYASWAL in *JBORS* 16.67-8, 1930. It is a fragmentary inscription engraved on a white stone which was found in the temple of Bhilot Mātā, about a mile from Barli village in Ajmere District. It is now preserved in the Rājputānā Museum at Ajmere. The characters of this record are pre-Aśokan Brāhmī and the language is Prakrit. It is dated in the year 84 of an unspecified era. Halder refers the year to a period to be reckoned from Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa which took place in 528-27 B.C. The date of the record, then, would be 528-27 = 444-443 B.C. According to JAYASWAL, however, the date refers to the era of Nanda to be counted from 458 B.C. The date of our record in that case would be 458-84 = 374-373 B.C.

### VOWELS

*a* > *i* in the presence of *y* cf. Sk. *Mādhyaṃka* > *Mājhuṃka* line 4

The vowel *ā* is probably preserved before the gen. sg. term of some feminine noun

cf. *ñāye* line 3

### CONSONANTS

The cluster *-dhy-* is palatalised to *-jḥ-*

cf. *Mājhuṃka* line 4

### CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The cluster *-ṣṭ-* > *-ṭḥ-* Sk. *mvīṣṭa* > *mvīṭha* line 4

The cluster *-jñ-* > *-ñ-*? cf. *ñā-ye* line 3

### NUMERAL

eighty-four *caturāśti* line 2

### DECLENSION

Dat. sg. mas. ending in *-a*

*-ya vi* (or *vī*) *rāya* line 1

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<sup>1</sup> They have been included by Dr. Moreshwar G. DIKSHIT in his Thesis "Buddhist Settlement of Western India" submitted for the Ph.D. degree of the University of Bombay in 1942. I am extremely thankful to Dr. DIKSHIT for having made available to me these inscriptions together with their readings.

Loc sg mas ending in -a

-e *va[se]* line 2, *Māḥimike* line 4

Dat sg fem. ending in -ā

-ye ? *ñāye* line 3

Nom sg fem ending in -ī

-i ? *Sālmālm* line 3

Dat. sg mas ending in -at

-e *bhagava[te]* line 1

No 2 A votive inscription from Ghaṇṭaśāla The inscription has been edited by D C SIRCAR in *Ind Cul* 6346, 1940 It was brought to his notice when he visited the exhibition hall of the tenth All-India Oriental Conference held at Tirupati The find spot of the record, Ghaṇṭaśāla Stūpa, is situated in the Kistna District. Though inscription is not dated, palaeographically it is assigned to the 1st cent. B C

#### VOWELS

ī > a before the term. of gen sg

Sk *antevāsmī* > *atevāsina-yā* The change of the vowel, however, indicates that the Pk form has directly come from the declined form in Sanskrit. Thus

Sk *antevāsmīyāh* > *atevāsmīyā* > *atevāsinayā*

The vowel -ā is preserved before the terminations

cf *Yagāyā-ya* and *Mahadevā-ya*

#### CONSONANTS

The cluster -dy- is palatalised to -j-

Sk. *padyā* > *paje* 'a flight of steps'

#### CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The cluster -ñ- > -ñ- ?

cf *Satayañayaga-* (> Sk. *Śatayañāyāga-* ?)

#### DECLENSION

Geng sg fem ending in -ā · *Yagāyāya* and *Mahadevā-ya*

Gen sg fem ending in -ī · -yā . *atevāsinayā*

No 3 Deotek Inscriptions Deotek is a small village some fifty miles south-east of Nagpur The inscriptions are included in LUDERS' List under No 1201 Their transcripts without translation were given by Sir CUNNINGHAM in *CII* Vol I (old edition), p 102, No 13 Even in late R. B. HIRALAL'S *List of Inscriptions in C P and Berar* (2nd edn) where they have been included, their contents are not specified The first attempt at their interpretation is made by V. V. MIRASHI in a paper submitted to the eighth All-India Oriental Conference held at Mysore in 1935 They are published in the *Proc and Trans of the Eighth All-India Oriental Conference*, pp 613-22

The inscriptions are two in number and are inscribed on a large slab The characters of the earlier of the two inscriptions are B-ūhmī and they resemble in many cases the characters of Girnar edicts of Aśoka It is mutilated to a large extent so



that only a half of the original has remained. It appears that "its object was to record the command of some lord (*sāmi*) (who is called King in line 4) prohibiting the capture and slaughter evidently of some animals in certain seasons as in Aśoka's fifth pillar edict, or, may be, throughout the year) and declaring some punishment for such as dared disobey it". From the nature of these contents Prof. Mirashi is inclined to refer this record to the age of Aśoka, notwithstanding the somewhat adverse evidence of Palaeography. The record is dated in the year 14 (probably of king Aśoka) in which the record was incised. The language of this inscription is evidently Prakrit<sup>2</sup>.

## VOWELS

*a* > *ā* by metathesis. Sk. *amātiya-* > *āmaca-* line 3

*ā* > *a* before a cluster. cf. *āmaca-* line 3. But the long vowel is preserved in *rāñā* (< Sk. *rājñā*) line 4.

## SIMPLE CONSONANTS

*-kh-* > *-g-* (< *-gh-*?) Sk. *lekha-* > \**legha-* > *lega-* line 4

The derivation is highly doubtful.

The cluster *-ty-* is palatalised to *-c-* cf. *āmaca-* line 3.

## CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The cluster *sv-* is preserved in *svāmi* line 1.

The cluster *-ñ-* > *-ñ-*

Sk. *ā√ñāp-* > *ā√ñāpa-* line 1

Sk. *rājñā* > *rāñā* line 4

The cluster *mb* is preserved in a place-name *Cikamba[n]* line 1.

## DECLENSION

Nom. sg. mas. ending in *-a* *-o* *hanamto* and *bamdhanto* line 2.

Nom. pl. mas. ending in *-a* *-ā* *āmācā* line 3.

Inst. sg. mas. ending in *-an* *-ā* *rāñā* line 4.

Nom. sg. mas. ending in *-in* *-i* *svāmi* line 1.

## VERB FORMS

Present third sg. *-ti* *āñāpayati* line 1.

Present Participles *-anta* *hanamta-* and *bamdhanta-* line 2.

No. 4. A Fragmentary Inscription from Kosam. It is edited for the first time by Amalananda GHOSH in *Ind. Cul.* 1694-5, 1935. This inscribed slab of stone was recovered from Kosam by B. M. VYAS and is now deposited in Allahabad Municipal Museum. The inscription is fragmentary as only two lines from its upper portion are available. Palaeographically this record, which is in Prakrit language, is ascribed to the 1st cent. B.C. It contains the name of a new king Varunamitra who must have belonged, according to GHOSH, to the dynasty of Mitra Kings.

2. The second inscription is engraved in the box-headed variety of the southern alphabet of about the 4th cent. A.D. The language of this record is Sanskrit. It is ascribed to the Vākātaka king Rudrasena I.

## VOWELS

*ā* is preserved before a consonant cluster, cf *rājñō* line 1

*i* > *ɪ* at the end of the first member of a compound

Sk *Gauṭīputra* > *Golīputa* line 1

## CONSONANTS

*-n-* is preserved in *Varunamuta* line 1

In term *-n-ḥ* > *-n-* after *r*

Sk *-putrena* > *-putēna* line 2

## CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The cluster *-jñ-* is preserved in *rājñō* line 1

## DECLENSION

Inst sg mas in *-a* *-na* *-putena* line 2

Gen sg mas in *-an* *-o* *-rājñō* line 1

No 5 An Early unpublished Inscription from Konḍāne A Prakrit Inscription from Konḍāne cave which is included by LUDERS (No 1071) has been already referred to above in the text of the present work.<sup>3</sup> This new inscription, a reference to which was made by G YAZDANI, Director of Archaeology, H E H the Nizam's Dominions, in his Presidential address to the 11th All-India Oriental Conference,<sup>4</sup> is carved on the façade of the Vihāra adjoining the ancient Caitya at Konḍāne It consists of two lines and is partly defaced The characters are Brāhmī and the language is Prakrit. The inscription is not published so far but is included by Dr Dikshit in his Thesis as noted above According to Dr Dikshit the date of the present record, on palaeographical grounds, would fall in the 1st cent BC As Dr DIKSHIT himself points out the readings which he has made out are only tentative for the facsimile at his disposal was far from satisfactory The material which it affords for linguistic study is extremely scanty

1 (Symbol) *S{ɪ}dha(m) || 'parā(?)kāsa hamma (ya?)*

2 *Kuakaputasa hamma*

## VOWELS

*a* > *ā* in a metrically long syllable cf *Parākāsa* (< Sk *Pārākasya*?) line 1

## CONSONANT CLUSTERS

The cluster *-rmy-* > *-mm-* cf Sk *larmya* > *lamma* lines 1 and 2

## DECLENSION

Gen sg mas ending in *-a* (*ā*)*sa* cf *Paālāsa* line 1, but cf *-putasa* in line 2

No 6 A New Inscription from Śailārādi A Prakrit inscription from the Buddhist cave at Śailārādi (L 1121) has been already referred to above. This

3 Cf p 46 § 158(5) above

4 Presidential Address 11th All India Oriental Conference Hyderabad (Dr ) (separate pamphlet) pp 22-3

5 Cf p 40 § 158(20) above

new inscription was found by M G DIKSHIT and though he has included it in his Thesis, it remains unpublished so far. It is carved over the recess above the door of a cell near the Caitya cave II. It consists of five lines of writing in the Brāhmī alphabet of the 2nd cent AD. The language of the record is Prakrit.

## VOWELS

*a* > *ā* in a metrically long syllable

Sk. *pravrajitkā* > *pāvāitkā* line 2

Sk. *samarpita* > *samāpita* lines 4-5

*ā* > *a* before a consonant cluster

Sk. *ācārya* > [*ā*]*cārya* line 4

*ī* > *i* before the gen sg fem term

Sk. *antevāsinī* > *ateasini-ya* line 1,

but cf the preservation of long *ī* in *Ghopakī-ya* in line 2

## SIMPLE CONSONANTS

-*d*- > -*y*- Sk. *bhadanta* > *bhayata* line 1

-*j*- is lost Sk. *pravrajitkā* > *pāvāitkā* line 2

-*y*- is lost in the terminations cf *bālikā-a* (< *bālikā-ya*), *Budhā-a* (< *Budhā-ya*)

-*v*- is lost Sk. *antevāsinī* > *ateasini* line 1

## CONSONANT CLUSTERS

-*ry*- > -*riy*- Sk. *ācārya* > [*ā*]*cāri[ya]* line 4

-*kṣ*- > -*kh*- Sk. *bhikṣu* > *bhikhu* line 4

## DECLENSION

Inst. pl mas. in -*a* -*hi* -*kulehi* line 4

Gen pl mas in -*a* -*na* *therāna* line 1 *Sihāna* line 1

Gen sg fem in -*ā*

(i) -*ya* *pāvāitkāya* line 2

(ii) -*a* *bālikāa* line 2, *Budhāa* line 2-3

Gen sg fem in -*ī* -*ya* *ateasiniya* line 1

## PRONOUN

Inst. pl of *sava*- -*hi* *savehi* line 3-4

No 7 A Prakrit Inscription from Vēlpūr. The inscription is only tentatively read by P Seshadri SASTRI in the latest issue of the *Journal of Andhra History and Culture*, Vol I, No 2, p 65 (July 1943). The village Vēlpūr is situated in the Sattanapalla taluk of the Guntur district. The inscription is engraved on a marble pillar in the temple of a village deity. The record is in Prakrit language and apparently refers to the reign of Mahārāja Hārītiputa. Though the personal name of this king is lost it is tentatively read as *Muda sada*.

As the inscription is not yet properly read it may not be advisable to make a full linguistic study at this stage. The following few forms may be, however, noted

(i) -*ī*- is preserved at the end of the first member in a compound

cf *Hārōṭi(puta)sa* l 3

(ii) Loc sg stem in -*a*, -*e* cf *hite* l 6

(iii) Gen sg stem in -*at*, -*o* cf *bhagavato* l 1

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# CORRIGENDA

Page	Line.	Incorrect	Correct.
2	26	<i>musāvāda</i>	<i>musāvāda</i> -bh
2	33	is appears	it appears
3	24	( <i>vadha</i> )	( <i>vudha</i> )
3	39	<i>niṣṭṣa</i>	<i>niṣṭṣa</i>
3	40	<i>niṣṭha</i>	<i>niṣṭha</i>
4	36	<i>rādi</i>	<i>rādi</i>
4	37	* <i>rānti</i>	< * <i>rānti</i>
5	29	delete the words "dropped or is"	
6	f n 14	<i>sāva</i>	<i>ṣāvā</i>
10	8	(S, M)	K, (S, M)
11	10	<i>adhātiya</i>	<i>aḍhātiya</i>
13	2 from below	S	<i>diadha</i> - S
14	20	l	l
14	Under MRE after	<i>cira</i> read Sk. <i>udāra</i> > <i>udāra</i> -	Kpb
14	f n 34	<i>laca</i> -, <i>taca</i> -	<i>loca</i> -, <i>roca</i> -
15	9	<i>divādaśa</i>	<i>divādasa</i>
15	15	§27(b) 3	§28(b)6
16	9	-s-	-ṣ-
19	24	- <i>lasa</i> -	- <i>ḷasa</i> -
19	35	<i>asudha</i>	<i>osudha</i>
20	f n 45	p 1	p 8
21	7	> G, K, D	> <i>dhammam</i> G, K, D
22	18	-st-	-sṭ-
23	11	√ <i>rābh</i> -	√ <i>rabh</i> -
23	37	-sy-	-ṣy-
24	23	<i>brāhmana</i> - S, M	<i>brāhmana</i> - G, <i>bramana</i> - S, M
25	1	> Sk. <i>catvāri</i>	< Sk. <i>catvāri</i>
27	17	-a	-o
28	6	<i>lipigarena</i>	<i>lipikarena</i>
28	22	<i>kōle</i>	<i>kāle</i>
28	39	-n- > at	-n- > -n- at
29	3 from below	<i>nālinam</i>	<i>nālinam</i>
30	26	-yc	-ya
30	30	<i>puṭhaviyam</i>	<i>puṭṭhaviyam</i>
31	8	<i>bhikkhenam</i>	<i>bhikkhuraṃ</i>
31	10	<i>gctura</i>	<i>gutura</i>
		<i>bahūsc</i>	<i>baḥūsu</i>
		<i>gclusc</i>	<i>gulusu</i>
31	24	<i>gacsi</i>	<i>gatusu</i>
33	26	<i>matāle</i>	<i>ratāle</i>
34	2	<i>paṇi[ṣa*]</i>	<i>paṇi[ṣa*]</i>
34	3	<i>macā</i>	<i>maṣā</i>
34	24	<i>macāyā</i>	<i>macaṣyā</i>
34	24	p-	ṣ-
34	24	<i>ṭre</i>	<i>ṭre</i>
35	4	<i>icā</i>	<i>icā</i>
35	14	-ṣ-	<i>icā</i>
35	3	- <i>ri</i> , <i>cicāri</i>	<i>icā</i>
35	7	RE	PE
35	10	- <i>cā</i>	- <i>cā</i>

Page.	Line.	Incorrect	Correct.
36	14	S	s
39	21	P7	PE
39	34	<i>badaya(śa)s</i>	<i>badaya(śa) S</i>
41	21	K, K,	M, K,
41	24	<i>va,</i>	<i>-a,</i>
41	34	<i>eyā</i>	<i>eyā</i>
42	31	<i>nīkromi</i>	<i>nīkrami</i>
42	f n 88	<i>chu-</i>	<i>ahu-</i>
45	36	<i>hamñiyasu</i>	<i>hamñeyasu</i>
43	41	For <i>susumsera</i> G etc read <i>ālābhīyisamtī</i> K, D, J, <i>anuvīdhīyisamtī</i> S M	
44	6	<i>suśruṣyū</i>	<i>suśruṣeyū</i>
44	37	<i>dekhitatīya</i>	<i>dakhitavīya</i>
45	9	<i>jāpotave</i>	<i>pāpotave</i>
46	f n 1	Addenda	Appendix
47	29	our dealing	our not dealing
51	13	<i>saḍḍṣā</i>	<i>sadḍṣā</i>
51	f.n. 9	<i>putu-</i>	<i>putu-</i>
57	24	<i>kaṇṣṭhā-</i>	<i>kaṇṣṭha-</i>
57	24	<i>haneṭha-</i>	<i>kaneṭha-</i>
59	1	<i>Rohm-</i>	<i>Rohm-</i>
64	6 and 8	'Also cf in termination' etc. should be read in place of 'Sk śramaṇa- > samana- L1124'	
64	last line	L 1195 etc	L 1095 etc.
68	26	<i>nirvīṣa-</i>	<i>nirvīṣa</i>
70	14	<i>naṭaka-</i>	<i>naṭaka-</i>
73	11	<i>bhrātṛnām</i>	<i>bhrātṛnām</i>
75	6	* <i>laṣṭi</i>	* <i>laṣṭi</i>
75	3 from below	>	<
78	15	L 1045	L 1048
79	24	L 1199 <sup>1</sup>	L 1099 <sup>1</sup>
81	34	EI 124	EI 24
85	1	<i>-ni-</i>	<i>-ny-</i>
85	last line	Add L 1135 <sup>2</sup> after <i>imasmiṃ</i>	
88	4 from below	<i>Dhamagutena</i>	<i>Dhamagutena</i>
89	26	L 1694 <sup>1</sup>	L 1094 <sup>1</sup>
91	15	<i>vālarakesa</i>	<i>Vālarakesa</i>
91	41	(or <i>-thāu-</i> ) <i>puta</i>	(or <i>-ṭhā</i> ) <i>putā</i>
92	1	<i>dakkhīnāyo</i>	<i>dakkhīnāyo</i>
93	9	<i>bhayava</i>	<i>bhayāva</i>
93	9	<i>Vohidālāva</i>	<i>Velidatāva</i>
98	5 from below	<i>mahārathī</i>	<i>mahārathī</i>
101	22	L 1135 <sup>5</sup>	L 1133 <sup>5</sup>
101	23	After 'also' read <i>Kaṇhērī</i> L 988 <sup>5</sup>	
101	24	delete ' <i>trm</i> L 1133 '	
102	32	<i>bhojakāpatī</i> L 1024 <sup>12</sup>	<i>dadāma</i> L 1124
107	29	state	stele
108	29	Add No 11 in the last column	
110	11	35 <sup>3</sup>	B5 <sup>3</sup>
110	17	L 1337 <sup>d</sup>	L 1337 <sup>r</sup>
112	22	20 19 135 <sup>3</sup>	20 19.B5 <sup>3</sup>
112	last line	<i>-nivāsaka-</i>	<i>-nevāsaka-</i>
114	23	L 1285	L 1295
114	36	(EI 20 22.F8)	(EI 20.22 F <sup>2</sup> )
116	f.n. 26	* <i>bhīku-</i>	* <i>bhīkhu-</i>

Page	Line	Incorrect.	Correct.
117	29	<i>pratiṣṭhāpita-</i>	<i>pratiṣṭhāpita-</i>
118	14	<i>EI 20,10 C3<sup>s</sup></i>	<i>EI 20 16 C3<sup>s</sup></i>
119	16	<i>-ma[ḍ]va-</i>	<i>-ma[ḍa]va-</i>
121	9	<i>Śiva[khada]varman</i>	<i>Śiva[khada]vamma-</i>
121	f n 39	<i>Śivvaguta</i>	<i>Śivaguta</i>
122	11	<i>-kagha-</i>	<i>-hagha-</i>
124	23	<i>EI 5</i>	<i>EI 15</i>
125	9	or <i>s</i>	or <i>ṣ</i>
127	19	<i>-rdh- &gt; -dr-</i>	<i>-rdh- &gt; -dh-</i>
129	4	<i>Sanghagṛaha-</i>	<i>Sanghagṛha-</i>
129	36	<i>dvāra</i>	<i>dvāra</i>
130	3 from below	<i>EI 10</i>	<i>EI 20</i>
132	13	<i>*pamda</i>	<i>*pamda</i>
134	23	<i>-savacchara-</i>	<i>-savvacchara-</i>
136	21	<i>Māugāmasa</i>	<i>Mātugāmasa</i>
139	13	<i>EI 20 16 C3<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>EI 20 16 C3<sup>o</sup></i>
144	6	<i>EI 20 19 C<sup>o</sup></i>	<i>EI. 20 19 C2<sup>o</sup></i>
145	13	<i>oyapāpehi L 1328<sup>27</sup></i>	<i>pariharāhi L 1328<sup>26</sup></i>
145	16	<i>cyapāpehi</i>	<i>oyapāpehi</i>
152	3 from below	<i>L 200<sup>2a</sup></i>	<i>L 100<sup>2a</sup></i>
155	30	decensional	declensional
156	f n. 30	<i>*pārṣ-</i>	<i>*pārṣa-</i>
159	21	<i>-lavana-</i>	<i>-lavana-</i>
159	f.n 32	<i>L 326</i>	<i>L 336</i>
160	13	<i>-h-</i>	<i>-b-</i>
160	5 from below	delete <i>Sk. kubera- &gt; kupira-</i> etc.	
162	36	<i>modhakīya-</i>	<i>madhyakīya-</i>
164	20	<i>a</i>	<i>r</i>
166	14	<i>bhāyā-</i>	<i>bhayā-</i>
169	after line 5	add ' (ii) change <i>-sv--&gt; -sav-</i> occurs rarely '	
169	8	for ' (ii) change <i>-sv- &gt; -sav-</i> occurs rarely '	
		read ' (iii) change <i>-śv-</i> or <i>sv- &gt; -sv-</i> or <i>sv-</i> '	
171	7 from below	for ' <i>Sk. smaśāna-</i> etc. '	
		read <i>Sk. Māhīṣmatī- &gt; Māhīṣatī-</i> L 375, L 497	
171	6 from below	<i>amaśāna-</i>	<i>smaśāna-</i>
173	8 from below	<i>L 515<sup>1</sup></i>	<i>L 595</i>
173	6 from below	<i>L 200<sup>2a</sup></i>	<i>L 100<sup>2a</sup></i>
174	3 from below	<i>i adika</i>	<i>i edika</i>
179	12	<i>pāpakāṭi(n)a</i>	<i>pāpakāṭima</i>
181	16	<i>&lt; ḍā</i>	<i>&lt; dā</i>
185	33	<i>L 1345<sup>24</sup></i>	<i>L 1345<sup>2, 4</sup></i>
185	39	<i>bhīṅgāta-</i>	<i>bhīmṅāta-</i>
196	last line	<i>auo[m]baram</i>	<i>ala[m]banam</i>
201	30	<i>-aṣ-t-</i>	<i>-aṣa-t-</i>
206	18	<i>2 B.C.</i>	<i>2 A.D.</i>
207	7 from below	(i-)	(i-) both in West
		(i-)	(i-) and South
215	7 from below	<i>chīlāta-</i>	<i>cīlāta-</i>
217	14	read <i>-ct-</i> above ( <i>-kt-</i> ) in the West	
222	9 from below	<i>-r-, (-r-)</i>	<i>-r- (-r-)</i>
223	10 from below	<i>-ṣt- &gt; -t-</i> (under Central)	<i>-ṣt- &gt; -kt-</i>
228	8 from below	<i>-tr-</i> (under Central 1 B.C.)	<i>-t-</i>
230	3 from below	<i>-r-</i> (under Central)	<i>-s-</i>
234	11	<i>-r-</i> (under East)	<i>-r-</i>
236	5 & 6 from below	transpose 1 or 2 A.D. and 1 B.C.	

Page	Line	Incorrect.	Correct.
239	(vi) Dat. sg read under South	<i>-ya</i> , (-e?) in 2 A.D	instead of 3 A.D
242	19(3 B.C.)	<i>ya</i> (in N-W)	<i>ye</i>
243	2 from below	<i>nā</i> (Central)	<i>nā</i>
245	3 from below	<i>ns</i> (North)	<i>ṣu</i>
247	4 from below	<i>ya</i> (North)	<i>-yā</i>
247	3 from below	In Central (2 B.C.) after <i>-yā</i> , (- <i>ye</i> ), add (- <i>to</i> )	
251	7 (1 B.C.)	<i>nam</i> (West)	<i>-nam</i>
251	9 (1 or 2 A.D.)	<i>nam</i> (South)	<i>-nam</i>
251	19	<i>ya</i> , <i>-ye</i> (1 A.D.) to be read after <i>-u</i> , -( <i>r</i> ) <i>a</i> (2 A.D.) in West.	
256	5	read <i>nam</i> after <i>nā</i> (2 B.C.) in West	
257	6 from below	read <i>ṣe</i> after <i>se</i> , <i>ṣe</i> (3 B.C. Aś.) in North.	
261	22	<i>imasā</i>	<i>imasā</i> (North)
263	5 from below	read <i>ān</i> under North (3 B.C. Aś.)	
266	2 from below	<i>-sīt</i> (N-West)	<i>-śa-t</i>
	3 from below	<i>-sa-t</i> (South)	<i>-s-t</i>
	3 from below	<i>-śa-t</i> (Central)	<i>-s-t</i>
269	20	<i>ṣ-</i>	<i>ṭ-</i>
	32	3rd cent. A.D	2nd cent. A.D
280	8	§370	§470
280	10 from below	<i>ñ-</i> > <i>-n-</i>	<i>-ñ-</i> > <i>-n-</i>
281	7 and 8	read E → C → W → S	
284	18 and 19	read Thus <i>-nām</i> ( <i>-nā</i> )	$\begin{matrix} W \\ N \end{matrix} \geq C$
294	29	as	was
296	5 from below	<i>kaneṣha-</i>	<i>kaneṣka-</i>
298	11	<i>danamukha-</i>	<i>danamuha-</i>
299	4	K 150	K 15
299	31	<i>kāṣāpaṇa-</i>	<i>Kāṣāpāna-</i>
303	3	K RF <sup>2</sup>	K 86 <sup>2</sup>
305	4	<i>pūjana-</i>	<i>pūjana-</i>
305	31	<i>k</i> or <i>k</i>	<i>k</i> or <i>k'</i>
305	33	<i>-kamdha-</i>	<i>-k'andha-</i>
305	34	<i>samkara-</i>	<i>samk'ara-</i>
308	28	K 45	K 34
312	33	<i>ṣn</i> > <i>ś</i>	<i>ṣn</i> > <i>ś'</i>
312	34	<i>krīṣayaśa-</i>	<i>krīṣ'ayaśa</i>
314	7	<i>samśara-</i>	<i>samśāra-</i>
314	18	Add '1st cent. B.C.' before <i>thubo</i>	K 2
316	18	<i>saghaṣ</i>	<i>saghasa</i>
322	14	K RF <sup>2</sup> , 3	K 86 <sup>2</sup> , 3
326	15	528-27	528-84
333	12	JAOS 69	JAOS 59

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3. Treatment of *ar*, Aśokan §5, Western §161, Southern §214, Central §267, Eastern §318, Synoptic Tables §365, Kharoṣṭhī §501
4. Treatment of *au*, Aśokan §6, Western §161, Southern §214, Central §267, Eastern §318, Synoptic Tables §366, Kharoṣṭhī §501
5. Treatment of *aya*, (also *ayɿ* and *avɿ*), Aśokan §7, Western §162, Southern §215, Central §268, Eastern §319, Synoptic Tables §367, Kharoṣṭhī §502
6. Treatment of *ava*, Aśokan §8, Western (also *apa*) §163, Southern §216, Central §269, Synoptic Tables §368, Kharoṣṭhī §502
7. Treatment of *a*, Aśokan §9, §10, Western §164, Southern §217, Central §270, Eastern §320, Synoptic Tables §369, Conclusions §446, Kharoṣṭhī §503
8. Treatment of *ɿ*, Aśokan §11, §12, Western §166, Southern §219, Central §272, Eastern §322, Synoptic Tables §371, Conclusions §448, Kharoṣṭhī §504
9. Treatment of *u*, Aśokan §15, §14, Western §168, Southern §221, Central §274, Eastern §324, Synoptic Tables §373, Conclusions §450, Kharoṣṭhī §505
10. Treatment of *ā*, Aśokan §15, §16, §17, Western §165, Southern §218, Central §271, Eastern §321, Synoptic Tables §370, Conclusions §447
11. Treatment of *i*, Aśokan, §15, §18, §19, Western §167, Southern §220, Central §273, Eastern §323, Synoptic Tables §372, Conclusions §449
12. Treatment of *ī*, Aśokan §15, §20, §21, Western §169, Southern §222, Central §275, Eastern §325, Synoptic Tables §374, Conclusions §451
13. Treatment of *e*, Aśokan §22, Southern §223, Central §276, Eastern §326, Synoptic Tables §375
14. Treatment of *o*, Aśokan §23, Southern §224, Central §277, Eastern §327, Synoptic Tables §376, Kharoṣṭhī §506
15. Simple Consonants, Aśokan §24, Western §170, Southern §225, Central §278, Eastern §328, Kharoṣṭhī §507.
16. Gutturals, Aśokan §25, Western §171, Southern §226, Central §279, Eastern §329, Synoptic Tables §377-§380, Conclusions §452-455, Kharoṣṭhī §508
17. Palatals, Aśokan §26, Western §172, Southern §227, Central §280, Synoptic Tables §381, §382, Conclusions §456-457, Kharoṣṭhī §509
18. Cerebrals, Aśokan §27, Western §173, Southern §228, Central §281, Eastern §330, Synoptic Tables §381-387, Conclusions §458-461, Kharoṣṭhī §510
19. Dentals, Aśokan §28, Western §174, Southern §229, Central §282, Eastern §331, Synoptic Tables §388-§391, Conclusions §462-464, Kharoṣṭhī §511
20. Labials, Aśokan §29, Western §175, Southern §230, Central §283, Eastern §332, Synoptic Tables §392-395, Conclusions §465, Kharoṣṭhī §512
21. Semivowel *y*, Aśokan §31, Western §176(a), Southern §251(a), Central §284(a), Eastern §333(a), Synoptic Tables §396, Conclusions §466, Kharoṣṭhī §513(a).
22. Semivowel *ɾ*, Aśokan §32, Western §176(b), Southern §231(b), Central §284(b), Eastern §333(b), Synoptic Tables §397, Conclusions §467, Kharoṣṭhī §513(b)
23. Semivowel *l*, Aśokan §33, Eastern §333(c), Synoptic Tables §398
24. Semivowel *ɿ*, Aśokan §34, Western §176(c), Southern §231(c), Central §284(c), Eastern §333(d), Synoptic Tables §399, Conclusions §468, Kharoṣṭhī §513(c).
25. Sibilants Aśokan §35, Western §177, Southern §232, Central §285 Eastern §334, Synoptic Tables §400 Conclusions §469 Kharoṣṭhī §514
26. Aspirate *h* Aśokan §36 Western §178, Synoptic Tables §401
27. Palatalisation, Aśokan §37, Western §179, Southern §233, Central §286, Eastern §335, Synoptic Tables §402, Conclusions §470 Kharoṣṭhī §515



- 28 Cerebralisation, Aśokan §38, Western §180, Southern §234, Central §287, Eastern §336, Synoptic Tables §403, Conclusions §471, Kharoṣṭhi §516
- 29 Consonant Clusters, Aśokan §41, Western §181, Southern §235, Central §288, Eastern §337, Kharoṣṭhi §517
- 30 Clusters with Stops, Aśokan §42, Western §183, Southern §236, Central §289, Eastern §338, Synoptic Tables §404-§408, Conclusions §472-475, Kharoṣṭhi §518-521
- 31 Clusters with *γ*, Aśokan §43, Western §184, Southern §237, Central §290, Eastern §359, Synoptic Tables §409, Conclusions §476, Kharoṣṭhi §522
- 32 Clusters with *r*, Aśokan §44, Western §185, Southern §238, Central §291, Eastern §340, Synoptic Tables §410, Conclusions §477, Kharoṣṭhi §523
- 33 Clusters with *l*, Western §186, Southern §239, Synoptic Tables §411, Kharoṣṭhi §525
- 34 Clusters with *v*, Aśokan §45, Western §187, Southern §240, Central §292, Eastern §341, Synoptic Tables §412, Conclusions §478, Kharoṣṭhi §524
- 35 Clusters with Sibilants, Aśokan §46, Western §188, Southern §241, Central §293, Eastern §342, Synoptic Tables §413, Conclusions §479, Kharoṣṭhi §526
- 36 Clusters with *h*, Aśokan §46(5), Western §189, Southern §242, Central §294, Eastern §343, Synoptic Tables §414, Conclusions §480, Kharoṣṭhi §527
- 37 Clusters with *ñ*, Aśokan §48, Western §190(a), Southern §243(a), Central §295(b), Eastern §344(a), Synoptic Tables §415, Conclusions §481, Kharoṣṭhi §528(a)
- 38 Clusters with *n*, Aśokan §49, Western §190(b), Southern §243(b), Central §295(c), Eastern §344(b), Synoptic Tables §416, Conclusions §482, Kharoṣṭhi §528(b)
- 39 Clusters with *ṇ*, Aśokan §50, Western §190(c), Southern §243(c), Central §295(d), Eastern §344(c), Synoptic Tables §417, Conclusions §483, Kharoṣṭhi §528(c)
- 40 Clusters with *m*, Aśokan §51, Western §190(d), Southern §243(d), Central §295(e), Eastern §344(d), Synoptic Tables §418, Conclusions §484, Kharoṣṭhi §528(d)
- 41 Mas. and Neut. nouns in *-a*, Aśokan §53, Western §191(a), Southern §244(a), Central §296(a), Eastern §345(a), Synoptic Tables §419(a), Conclusions §485, Kharoṣṭhi §529(a)
- 42 Fem. nouns in *-ā*, Aśokan §54, Western §191(b), Southern §244(b), Central §296(b), Eastern §345(b), Synoptic Tables §419(b), Conclusions §486, Kharoṣṭhi §529(b)
- 43 Mas. and Neut. nouns in *-i*, Aśokan §55, Western §192(a), Southern §245(a), Central §297(a), Eastern §346(a), Synoptic Tables §420(a), Conclusions §487, Kharoṣṭhi §530(a)
- 44 Fem. nouns in *-ī*, Aśokan §56, Western §192(b, c), Southern §245(b, c), Central §297(b, c), Eastern §346(b, c), Synoptic Tables §420(b, c), Conclusions §488, §489, Kharoṣṭhi §530(b)
- 45 Mas. and Neut. nouns in *-u*, Aśokan §57, Western §193(a), Southern §246, Central §298(a), Eastern §347, Synoptic Tables §421(a), Conclusions §490, Kharoṣṭhi §531
- 46 Fem. nouns in *-ū*, Aśokan §58, Western §193(b), Central §298(b), Synoptic Tables §421(b), Conclusions §491
- 47 Mas. nouns in *-r*, Aśokan §59, Western §194(a), Southern §247(a), Central §299(a), Eastern §348(a), Synoptic Tables §422(a), Conclusions §492, Kharoṣṭhi §532(a)
- 48 Fem. nouns in *-ṛ*, Aśokan §60, Western §194(b), Southern §247(a), Central §299(b), Synoptic Tables §422(b), Conclusions §493, Kharoṣṭhi §532(b)
- 49 Fem. nouns in *-au*, Western §195, Synoptic Tables §423
- 50 Bases in *-at*, Aśokan §62, §63, Western §196(a), Southern §248(a), Central §300(a), Eastern §349(a), Synoptic Tables §424(a), Conclusions §494, Kharoṣṭhi §533(a)
- 51 Bases in *-an*, Aśokan §64, §65, Western §196(b, c), Southern §248(b, c), Central §300(b), Eastern §349(b), Synoptic Tables §424(b), (c), Conclusions §495, Kharoṣṭhi §533(b)
- 52 Bases in *-as*, Aśokan §66, §67, Western §196(d), Southern §248(d), Central §300(c, d), Eastern §349(c), Synoptic Tables §424(d), (e), Kharoṣṭhi §533(c)
- 53 Bases in *-am*, Aśokan §68, §69, Western §196(e), Southern §248(e), Central §300(e), Eastern §349(d), Synoptic Tables §424(f), Conclusions §496, Kharoṣṭhi §533(d)
- 54 A few other Consonantal bases, Aśokan §70, §71, Western §196(b), Southern §248(b), Central §300(f), Eastern §349(e), Synoptic Tables §424(g), Kharoṣṭhi §533(e)

- 56 Second Personal Pronoun, Aśokan §74, Southern §252(b), Synoptic Tables §426, Kharoṣṭhī §536(b)
- 57 Third Personal Pronoun, Aśokan §75, §76, §77, Western §199(b), Southern §252(c), Central §303(b), Eastern §352(a), Synoptic Tables §427, Kharoṣṭhī §536(c)
- 58 Pron Base *na-*, Aśokan §78
- 59 Pronoun *etad*, Aśokan §79, §80, §81, Western §197(b), Southern §249(b), Central §301(b), Eastern §350(b), Synoptic Tables §428(a), Kharoṣṭhī §534(b)
- 60 Pronoun *idam*, Aśokan §82, §83, §84, Western §197(a), Southern §249(a), Central §301(a), Eastern §350(a), Synoptic Tables §428(b), Kharoṣṭhī §534(a)
- 61 Pronoun *yad*, Aśokan §85-§87, Western §198, Southern §250, Central §302, Eastern §351, Synoptic Tables §429(a), Kharoṣṭhī §535
- 62 Pronoun *kim*, Aśokan §88, §89, Southern §251, Synoptic Tables §430
- 63 Pronoun *anya*, Aśokan §90, §91, Western §200(b), Southern §253(b), Synoptic Tables §432
- 64 Pronoun *sarva-*, Aśokan §92-§94, Western §200(a), Southern §253(a), Central §304(a), Synoptic Tables §431, Kharoṣṭhī §537
- 65 Pronoun *ekatara*, Aśokan §95
- 66 Pronoun *ekatya*, Aśokan §96
- 67 Pronoun *itara*, Aśokan §97
- 68 Pronoun *ubhaya* Aśokan §98.
- 69 Numerals, Cardinals, Aśokan §99-§121, Western §201, Southern §254, Central §305, Eastern §353, Kharoṣṭhī §538
- 70 Numerals, Ordinals, Aśokan §122-§125, Western §202, Southern §255, Central §306, Eastern §354, Kharoṣṭhī §539
- 71 Present Indicative, Aśokan §127, §128, Western §203, Southern §256, Central §307, Eastern §355, Synoptic Tables §433, Kharoṣṭhī §540
- 72 Present Subjunctive, Aśokan §129, §130
- 73 Optative, Aśokan §131, §132, Southern §258, Central §309, Synoptic Tables §435, Kharoṣṭhī §542
- 74 Imperative, Aśokan §133, §134, Western §204, Southern §257, Central §308, Synoptic Tables §434, Kharoṣṭhī §541
- 75 Imperfect, Aśokan §135, Western §205, Synoptic Tables §436
- 76 Aorist, Aśokan §136, §137, §138, Central §310, Eastern §356, Synoptic Tables §437, Kharoṣṭhī §543
- 77 Perfect, Aśokan §139
- 78 Future, Aśokan §140, §141, Western §206, Eastern §357, Synoptic Tables §438
- 79 Passive, Aśokan §142-§148
- 80 Desiderative, Aśokan §149-§151
- 81 Present Participle, Aśokan, §152, §153, Western §207, Southern §259, Central §311, Eastern §358, Synoptic Tables §439, Kharoṣṭhī §544
- 82 Past Participles, Aśokan §154, Western §208, Southern §260, Central §312, Eastern §359, Synoptic Tables §440, Kharoṣṭhī §545
- 83 Potential Participle, Aśokan §155, Western §209, Southern §261, Central §313, Eastern §360, Synoptic Tables §441
- 84 Infinitive, Aśokan §156, Southern §262, Eastern §361, Synoptic Tables §443, Kharoṣṭhī §546
- 85 Absolute, Aśokan §157, Western §210, Southern §263, Central §314, Eastern §362, Synoptic Tables §442, Kharoṣṭhī §547

- 28 Cerebralisation, Aśokan §38, Western  
Synoptic Tables §403, Conclusions
- 29 Consonant Clusters, Aśokan §41,  
§337, Kharoṣṭhī §517
- 30 Clusters with Stops, Aśokan §42, 1  
§338, Synoptic Tables §404-§408,
- 31 Clusters with *y*, Aśokan §43, Western  
Synoptic Tables §409, Conclusions
- 32 Clusters with *r*, Aśokan §44, Western  
Synoptic Tables §410, Conclusions
- 33 Clusters with *l*, Western §186, Southern
- 34 Clusters with *v*, Aśokan §45, Western §  
Synoptic Tables §412, Conclusions §4
- 35 Clusters with Sibilants, Aśokan §46, Western  
§342, Synoptic Tables §413, Conclusions
- 36 Clusters with *h*, Aśokan §46(3), Western  
§343, Synoptic Tables §414, Conclusions
- 37 Clusters with *ñ*, Aśokan §48, Western §19  
Eastern §344(a), Synoptic Tables §415, (c)
- 38 Clusters with *n*, Aśokan §49, Western §190  
Eastern §344(b), Synoptic Tables §416, (c)
- 39 Clusters with *n*, Aśokan §50, Western §190(c)  
Eastern §344(c), Synoptic Tables §417, Conclusions
- 40 Clusters with *m*, Aśokan §51, Western §190(d)  
Eastern §344(d), Synoptic Tables §418, Conclusions
- 41 Mas. and Neut. nouns in *-a*, Aśokan §53, Western  
§296(a), Eastern §345(a), Synoptic Tables §4  
§329(a)
- 42 Fem nouns in *-ā*, Aśokan §54, Western §191(b), Southern  
Eastern §345(b), Synoptic Tables §419(b), Conclusions
- 43 Mas and Neut. nouns in *-i*, Aśokan §55, Western §19  
§297(a), Eastern §346(a), Synoptic Tables §420(a)  
§530(a)
- 44 Fem nouns in *-ī*, Aśokan §56, Western §192(b, c),  
§297(b, c), Eastern §346(b, c), Synoptic Tables §42  
§489, Kharoṣṭhī §530(b)
- 45 Mas and Neut. nouns in *-u*, Aśokan §57, Western §193(c)  
§298(a), Eastern §347, Synoptic Tables §421(a), Conclusions
- 46 Fem nouns in *-ū*, Aśokan §58, Western §193(b), Central §  
§421(b), Conclusions §491
- 47 Mas. nouns in *-ṛ*, Aśokan §59, Western §194(a), Southern §24  
Eastern §348(a), Synoptic Tables §422(a), Conclusions §492,
- 48 Fem nouns in *-ṛ*, Aśokan §60, Western §194(b), Southern §247(c)  
Synoptic Tables §422(b), Conclusions §493, Kharoṣṭhī §532(b)
- 49 Fem nouns in *-au*, Western §195, Synoptic Tables §423
- 50 Bases in *-at*, Aśokan §62, §63, Western §196(a), Southern §248(a),  
Eastern §349(a), Synoptic Tables §424(a), Conclusions §494, Kharo
- 51 Bases in *-an*, Aśokan §64, §65, Western §196(b, c), Southern §248(l)  
§300(b), Eastern §349(b), Synoptic Tables §424(b), (c), Conclusions  
roṣṭhī §533(b)
- 52 Bases in *-as*, Aśokan §66, §67, Western §196(d), Southern §248(d), Central §  
Eastern §349(c), Synoptic Tables §424(d), (e), Kharoṣṭhī §533(c)
- 53 Bases in *-am*, Aśokan §68, §69, Western §196(e), Southern §248(e), Central §  
Eastern §349(d), Synoptic Tables §424(f), Conclusions §496, Kharoṣṭhī §533
- 54 A few other Consonantal bases, Aśokan §70, §71, Western §196(b), Southern §2  
Central §300(f), Eastern §349(e), Synoptic Tables §424(g), Kharoṣṭhī §533

- 56 Second Personal Pronoun, Aśokan §74, Southern §252(b), Synoptic Tables §426, Kharoṣṭhī §536(b)
- 57 Third Personal Pronoun, Aśokan §75, §76, §77, Western §199(b), Southern §252(c), Central §303(b), Eastern §352(a), Synoptic Tables §427, Kharoṣṭhī §536(c)
- 58 Pron Base *na-*, Aśokan §78
- 59 Pronoun *etad*, Aśokan §79, §80, §81, Western §197(b), Southern §249(b), Central §301(b), Eastern §350(b), Synoptic Tables §428(a), Kharoṣṭhī §534(b)
- 60 Pronoun *idam*, Aśokan §82, §83, §84, Western §197(a), Southern §249(a), Central §301(a), Eastern §350(a), Synoptic Tables §428(b), Kharoṣṭhī §534(a)
- 61 Pronoun *yad*, Aśokan §85-§87, Western §198, Southern §250, Central §302, Eastern §351, Synoptic Tables §429(a), Kharoṣṭhī §535
- 62 Pronoun *kim*, Aśokan §88, §89, Southern §251, Synoptic Tables §430
- 63 Pronoun *anya*, Aśokan §90, §91, Western §200(b), Southern §253(b), Synoptic Tables §432
- 64 Pronoun *sarva-*, Aśokan §92-§94, Western §200(a), Southern §253(a), Central §304(a), Synoptic Tables §431, Kharoṣṭhī §537
- 65 Pronoun *ekatara*, Aśokan §95
- 66 Pronoun *\*ekatya*, Aśokan §96
- 67 Pronoun *itara*, Aśokan §97
- 68 Pronoun *ibhaya* Aśokan §98
- 69 Numerals, Cardinals, Aśokan §99-§121, Western §201, Southern §254, Central §305, Eastern §353, Kharoṣṭhī §538
- 70 Numerals, Ordinals, Aśokan §122-§125, Western §202, Southern §255, Central §306, Eastern §354, Kharoṣṭhī §539
- 71 Present Indicative, Aśokan §127, §128, Western §203, Southern §256, Central §307, Eastern §355, Synoptic Tables §433, Kharoṣṭhī §540
- 72 Present Subjunctive, Aśokan §129, §130
- 73 Optative, Aśokan §131, §132, Southern §258, Central §309, Synoptic Tables §435, Kharoṣṭhī §542
- 74 Imperative, Aśokan §133, §134, Western §204, Southern §257, Central §308, Synoptic Tables §434, Kharoṣṭhī §541
- 75 Imperfect, Aśokan §135, Western §205, Synoptic Tables §436
- 76 Aorist, Aśokan §136, §137, §138, Central §310, Eastern §356, Synoptic Tables §437, Kharoṣṭhī §543
- 77 Perfect, Aśokan §139
- 78 Future, Aśokan §140, §141, Western §206, Eastern §357, Synoptic Tables §438
- 79 Passive, Aśokan §142-§148
- 80 Desiderative, Aśokan §149-§151
- 81 Present Participle, Aśokan, §152, §153, Western §207, Southern §259, Central §311 Eastern §358, Synoptic Tables §439, Kharoṣṭhī §544
- 82 Past Participles, Aśokan §154, Western §208, Southern §260, Central §312, Eastern §359, Synoptic Tables §440, Kharoṣṭhī §545
- 83 Potential Participle, Aśokan §155, Western §209, Southern §261, Central §313, Eastern §360, Synoptic Tables §441
- 84 Infinitive, Aśokan §156, Southern §262, Eastern §361, Synoptic Tables §443, Kharoṣṭhī §546
- 85 Absolute, Aśokan §157, Western §210, Southern §263, Central §314, Eastern §362, Synoptic Tables §442, Kharoṣṭhī §547

- 28 Cerebralisation, Aśokan §38, Western §180, Southern §234, Central §287, Eastern §336, Synoptic Tables §403, Conclusions §471, Kharoṣṭhī §516
- 29 Consonant Clusters, Aśokan §41, Western §181, Southern §235, Central §288, Eastern §337, Kharoṣṭhī §517
- 30 Clusters with Stops, Aśokan §42, Western §183, Southern §236, Central §289, Eastern §338, Synoptic Tables §404-§408, Conclusions §472-473, Kharoṣṭhī §518-521
- 31 Clusters with *y*, Aśokan §43, Western §184, Southern §237, Central §290, Eastern §339, Synoptic Tables §409, Conclusions §476, Kharoṣṭhī §522
- 32 Clusters with *r*, Aśokan §44, Western §185, Southern §238, Central §291, Eastern §340, Synoptic Tables §410, Conclusions §477, Kharoṣṭhī §523
- 33 Clusters with *l*, Western §186, Southern §239, Synoptic Tables §411, Kharoṣṭhī §525
- 34 Clusters with *v*, Aśokan §45, Western §187, Southern §240, Central §292, Eastern §341, Synoptic Tables §412, Conclusions §478, Kharoṣṭhī §524
- 35 Clusters with Sibilants, Aśokan §46, Western §188, Southern §241, Central §293, Eastern §342, Synoptic Tables §413, Conclusions §479, Kharoṣṭhī §526
- 36 Clusters with *h*, Aśokan §46(5), Western §189, Southern §242, Central §294, Eastern §343, Synoptic Tables §414, Conclusions §480, Kharoṣṭhī §527
- 37 Clusters with *ñ*, Aśokan §48, Western §190(a), Southern §243(a), Central §295(b), Eastern §344(a), Synoptic Tables §415, Conclusions §481, Kharoṣṭhī §528(a)
- 38 Clusters with *n*, Aśokan §49, Western §190(b), Southern §243(b), Central §295(c), Eastern §344(b), Synoptic Tables §416, Conclusions §482, Kharoṣṭhī §528(b)
- 39 Clusters with *ṇ*, Aśokan §50, Western §190(c), Southern §243(c), Central §295(d), Eastern §344(c), Synoptic Tables §417, Conclusions §483, Kharoṣṭhī §528(c)
- 40 Clusters with *m*, Aśokan §51, Western §190(d), Southern §243(d), Central §295(e), Eastern §344(d), Synoptic Tables §418, Conclusions §484, Kharoṣṭhī §528(d)
- 41 Mas. and Neut. nouns in *-a*, Aśokan §53, Western §191(a), Southern §244(a), Central §296(a), Eastern §345(a), Synoptic Tables §419(a), Conclusions §485, Kharoṣṭhī §529(a)
- 42 Fem nouns in *-ā*, Aśokan §54, Western §191(b), Southern §244(b), Central §296(b), Eastern §345(b), Synoptic Tables §419(b), Conclusions §486, Kharoṣṭhī §529(b)
- 43 Mas and Neut nouns in *-i*, Aśokan §55, Western §192(a), Southern §245(a), Central §297(a), Eastern §346(a), Synoptic Tables §420(a), Conclusions §487, Kharoṣṭhī §530(a)
- 44 Fem nouns in *-ī*, Aśokan §56, Western §192(b, c), Southern §245(b, c), Central §297(b, c), Eastern §346(b, c), Synoptic Tables §420(b), (c), Conclusions §488, §489, Kharoṣṭhī §530(b)
- 45 Mas. and Neut nouns in *-u*, Aśokan §57, Western §193(a), Southern §246, Central §298(a), Eastern §347, Synoptic Tables §421(a), Conclusions §490, Kharoṣṭhī §531
- 46 Fem nouns in *-ū*, Aśokan §58, Western §193(b), Central §298(b), Synoptic Tables §421(b), Conclusions §491
- 47 Mas nouns in *-ṛ*, Aśokan §59, Western §194(a), Southern §247(a), Central §299(a), Eastern §348(a), Synoptic Tables §422(a), Conclusions §492, Kharoṣṭhī §532(a)
- 48 Fem nouns in *-ṛ*, Aśokan §60, Western §194(b), Southern §247(a), Central §299(b), Synoptic Tables §422(b), Conclusions §493, Kharoṣṭhī §532(b)
- 49 Fem nouns in *-au*, Western §195, Synoptic Tables §423
- 50 Bases in *-at*, Aśokan §62, §63, Western §196(a), Southern §248(a), Central §300(a), Eastern §349(a), Synoptic Tables §424(a), Conclusions §494, Kharoṣṭhī §533(a)
- 51 Bases in *-an*, Aśokan §64, §65, Western §196(b, c), Southern §248(b, c), Central §300(b), Eastern §349(b), Synoptic Tables §424(b), (c), Conclusions §495, Kharoṣṭhī §533(b)
- 52 Bases in *-as*, Aśokan §66, §67, Western §196(d), Southern §248(d), Central §300(c, d), Eastern §349(c), Synoptic Tables §424(d), (e), Kharoṣṭhī §533(c)
- 53 Bases in *-m*, Aśokan §68, §69, Western §196(e), Southern §248(e), Central §300(e), Eastern §349(d), Synoptic Tables §424(f), Conclusions §496, Kharoṣṭhī §533(d)
- 54 A few other Consonantal bases, Aśokan §70, §71, Western §196(b), Southern §248(b), Central §300(f), Eastern §349(e), Synoptic Tables §424(g), Kharoṣṭhī §533(e)

- 56 Second Personal Pronoun, Aśokan §74, Southern §252(b), Synoptic Tables §426, Kharoṣṭhī §556(b)
- 57 Third Personal Pronoun, Aśokan §75 §76, §77, Western §199(b), Southern §252(c), Central §303(b), Eastern §352(a), Synoptic Tables §427, Kharoṣṭhī §536(c)
- 58 Pron Base *na-*, Aśokan §78
- 59 Pronoun *etad*, Aśokan §79, §80, §81, Western §197(b), Southern §249(b), Central §301(b), Eastern §350(b), Synoptic Tables §428(a), Kharoṣṭhī §534(b)
- 60 Pronoun *idam*, Aśokan §82, §83, §84, Western §197(a), Southern §249(a), Central §301(a), Eastern §350(a), Synoptic Tables §428(b), Kharoṣṭhī §534(a)
- 61 Pronoun *yad*, Aśokan §85-§87, Western §198, Southern §250, Central §302, Eastern §351, Synoptic Tables §429(a), Kharoṣṭhī §535
- 62 Pronoun *kim*, Aśokan §88, §89, Southern §251, Synoptic Tables §430
- 63 Pronoun *anya*, Aśokan §90, §91, Western §200(b), Southern §253(b), Synoptic Tables §432
- 64 Pronoun *sarva-*, Aśokan §92-§94, Western §200(a), Southern §255(a), Central §301(a), Synoptic Tables §431, Kharoṣṭhī §537
- 65 Pronoun *ekatara*, Aśokan §95
- 66 Pronoun *\*ekatva*, Aśokan §96
- 67 Pronoun *itara*, Aśokan §97
- 68 Pronoun *ubhaya* Aśokan §98
- 69 Numerals, Cardinals, Aśokan §99 §121, Western §201, Southern §251, Central §305, Eastern §353, Kharoṣṭhī §538
- 70 Numerals, Ordinals, Aśokan §122-§125, Western §202, Southern §255, Central §306, Eastern §354, Kharoṣṭhī §539
- 71 Present Indicative, Aśokan §127, §128, Western §203, Southern §256 Central §307, Eastern §355, Synoptic Tables §433, Kharoṣṭhī §540
- 72 Present Subjunctive, Aśokan §129, §130
- 73 Optative, Aśokan §131, §132, Southern §258, Central §509, Synoptic Tables §435, Kharoṣṭhī §542
- 74 Imperative, Aśokan §133, §134, Western §204, Southern §257, Central §308, Synoptic Tables §434, Kharoṣṭhī §541
- 75 Imperfect, Aśokan §135, Western §205, Synoptic Tables §436
- 76 Aorist, Aśokan §136, §137, §138, Central §310, Eastern §356, Synoptic Tables §437, Kharoṣṭhī §543
- 77 Perfect, Aśokan §139
- 78 Future, Aśokan §140, §141, Western §206, Eastern §357, Synoptic Tables §438
- 79 Passive, Aśokan §142-§148
- 80 Desiderative Aśokan §149 §151
- 81 Present Participle, Aśokan §152, §153, Western §207, Southern §259, Central §311 Eastern §358, Synoptic Tables §439, Kharoṣṭhī §544
- 82 Past Participles, Aśokan §154, Western §208 Southern §260, Central §312, Eastern §359, Synoptic Tables §440, Kharoṣṭhī §545
- 83 Potential Participle, Aśokan §155, Western §209 Southern §261, Central §313, Eastern §360, Synoptic Tables §441
- 84 Infinitive Aśokan §156, Southern §262, Eastern §361, Synoptic Tables §443 Kharoṣṭhī §546
- 85 Absolute, Aśokan §157, Western §210, Southern §263, Central §314, Eastern §362, Synoptic Tables §442, Kharoṣṭhī §547